

### **BAB III**

#### **PENUTUP**

##### **A. Kesimpulan**

Menurut ketentuan-ketentuan internasional seperti Piagam PBB, Konvensi Jenewa 1949 dan Protokol Tambahan Pada Konvensi-Konvensi Jenewa 12 Agustus 1949 dan yang Berhubungan Dengan Perlindungan Korban-Korban Pertikaian-Pertikaian Bersenjata Internasional (Protokol I) dan Protokol Tambahan Pada Konvensi-Konvensi Jenewa 12 Agustus 1949 dan yang Berhubungan Dengan Perlindungan Korban-Korban Pertikaian-Pertikaian Bersenjata Internasional Non-Internasional (Protokol II) tahun 1977 serta Statuta Roma 1998, Dewan Keamanan PBB tidak berhak memberikan sanksi bagi pelaku kejahatan perang dalam konflik ini dimana kedua pihak baik pemerintah Suriah dan kelompok oposisi.

Dewan Keamanan telah gagal mengambil langkah-langkah untuk memelihara perdamaian dan keamanan internasional di Suriah. Dikeluarkannya tiga rancangan resolusi juga masih belum bisa memberikan jalan keluar (solusi) politik bagi Suriah dan selalu menemui kendala karena adanya veto dari Rusia dan China yang selalu berseberangan pendapat dengan mayoritas anggota Dewan Keamanan yang lain.

Beberapa upaya memang sudah dilakukan Dewan Keamanan PBB yaitu pembentukan *Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons* (OPCW) atau Komisi Persiapan Organisasi untuk Pelarangan Senjata Kimia yang berakibat pada penarikan dan pemusnahan senjata dan bahan-bahan kimia berbahaya dari Suriah. *United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria* (UNSMIS) juga didirikan untuk mengamati perkembangan konflik di Suriah. Dalam kenyataannya yang memberikan dampak paling berpengaruh adalah dibentuknya OPCW untuk melucuti senjata serta bahan-bahan kimia di Suriah. Pembentukan UNSMIS dinilai kurang efektif karena para pihak juga tidak mengurangi frekuensi serangan, bahkan misi tersebut sempat ditunda dikarenakan alasan meningkatnya kekerasan.

## **B. Saran**

1. Dilakukannya mediasi politik oleh Dewan Keamanan PBB dengan mempertemukan pihak pemerintah Suriah dengan pihak oposisi guna menemukan solusi politik dan menghentikan konflik.
2. Sebaiknya anggota Dewan Keamanan PBB selalu berpijak pada ketentuan-ketentuan Piagam PBB dalam menjalankan tugas dan kewenangannya, dan harus bersikap obyektif dalam mensikapi sebuah konflik.

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# UNITED NATIONS MISSION TO INVESTIGATE ALLEGATIONS OF THE USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS IN THE SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC:

## REPORT ON THE INVESTIGATION OF ALLEGED USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS IN THE GHOUTA AREA OF DAMASCUS

Following the tragic events of 21 August 2013 and the receipt of dozens of requests from Member States, the Secretary-General called for the Mission, already working in Damascus, to investigate and report on the allegation of the use of chemical weapons in the Ghouta area of Damascus on 21 August 2013 as a matter of priority.

*The Secretary-General established the UN Mission to Investigate Allegations of the Use of Chemical Weapons in the Syrian Arab Republic on 21 March 2013 based on his authority under General Assembly resolution 42/37C and Security Council 620 (1988).*

*The UN Mission was headed by Professor Åke Sellström (Sweden) and assisted by expert teams from the Organisation of Prohibition of Chemical Weapons and the World Health Organisation.*

During a temporary ceasefire for five hours each day between 26-29 August 2013, the Mission was able to access affected sites in Moadamiyah, Ein Tarma and Zamalka in the Ghouta area of Damascus.

### Fact-Finding Activities:

- Interviews with more than 50 survivors, including patients, other victims, health workers and first-responders;
- Documentation of munitions and their sub-components;
- Assessment of symptoms of intoxicated survivors;
- Collection and analysis of bio-medical (hair, urine and blood) samples;
- Collection and analysis of 30 soil and environmental samples.

### Analytical Results and Factual Findings:

- Impacted and exploded surface-to-surface rockets, capable of carrying a chemical pay load, were found to still contain sarin;
- Close to the rocket impact sites, where survivors were affected, the environment was found to be contaminated by sarin;
- A number of survivors clearly diagnosed for intoxication by an organophosphorous compound and clearly presented symptoms of exposure;
- Almost all of the blood samples from the above same survivors were found positive for sarin and sarin signatures.

***UN MISSION'S CONCLUSIONS: On the basis of the evidence obtained during the investigation of the Ghouta incident, the conclusion of the UN Mission is that, on 21 August 2013, chemical weapons have been used in the ongoing conflict between the parties in the Syrian Arab Republic on a relatively large scale. In particular, the environmental, chemical and medical samples collected by the Mission provide clear and convincing evidence that surface-to-surface rockets containing the nerve agent sarin were used in the Ghouta area of Damascus.***



## Security Council

Distr.: General  
4 October 2011

Original: English

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### France, Germany, Portugal and United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: draft resolution

*The Security Council,*

*Expressing* grave concern at the situation in Syria,

*Recalling* its Presidential Statement of 3 August,

*Welcoming* the Secretary-General's statements articulating continued concerns about the ongoing violence and humanitarian needs, calling on the Syrian Government to halt its violent offensive at once, calling for an independent investigation of all human rights violations during recent demonstrations, and *stressing* the need to hold to account those responsible for human rights violations,

*Noting* Human Rights Council's report of its 17th Special session (A/HRC/S-17/1), including the decision to dispatch an independent international commission of inquiry to investigate all alleged violations of international human rights law since March 2011 in Syria,

*Recalling* the Syrian Government's primary responsibility to protect its population, and the Secretary-General's call for the Syrian Government to allow unhindered and sustained access for humanitarian aid and humanitarian organizations, *welcoming* OCHA's humanitarian assessment mission and *urging* the Syrian authorities to cooperate comprehensively with the United Nations,

*Stressing* that the only solution to the current crisis in Syria is through an inclusive and Syrian-led political process with the aim of effectively addressing the legitimate aspirations and concerns of the population which will allow the full exercise of fundamental freedoms for its entire population, including of the rights of freedom of expression, assembly and peaceful protest, and *further stressing* that such a political process can only be advanced through an environment free from any sort of violence, fear and intimidation,

*Noting* the announced commitments by the Syrian authorities to reform, and *regretting* the lack of progress in implementation,

*Reaffirming* its strong commitment to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Syria,

*Deeply concerned* by the continuing deterioration of the situation in Syria and the potential for further escalation of the violence, and *reaffirming* the need to resolve the current crisis in Syria peacefully,

*Welcoming* the engagement of the Secretary-General and the League of Arab States, and all other diplomatic efforts aimed at addressing this situation, including those of Turkey, Russia, Brazil, India, South Africa, and regretting the lack of a substantive response by the Syrian authorities to these demands,

1. *Strongly condemns* the continued grave and systematic human rights violations and the use of force against civilians by the Syrian authorities, and expresses profound regret at the deaths of thousands of people including women and children;

2. *Demands* an immediate end to all violence and *urges* all sides to reject violence and extremism;

3. *Recalls* that those responsible for all violence and human rights violations should be held accountable;

4. *Demands* that the Syrian authorities immediately:

(a) cease violations of human rights, comply with their obligations under applicable international law, and cooperate fully with the office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights;

(b) allow the full exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms by its entire population, including rights of freedom of expression and peaceful assembly, release all political prisoners and detained peaceful demonstrators, and lift restrictions on all forms of media;

(c) cease the use of force against civilians;

(d) alleviate the humanitarian situation in crisis areas, including by allowing expeditious, unhindered and sustained access for internationally recognized human rights monitors, humanitarian agencies and workers, and restoring basic services including access to hospitals;

(e) ensure the safe and voluntary return of those who have fled the violence to their homes;

5. *Calls for* an inclusive Syrian-led political process conducted in an environment free from violence, fear, intimidation, and extremism, and aimed at effectively addressing the legitimate aspirations and concerns of Syria's population, and *encourages* the Syrian opposition and all sections of Syrian society to contribute to such a process;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue to urge the Syrian Government to implement paragraphs 2 and 4 above, including by appointing at the appropriate time a Special Envoy in consultation

with the Security Council, and *encourages* all States and regional organizations to contribute to this objective;

7. *Encourages* in this regard the League of Arab states to continue efforts aimed at ending the violence and promoting such an inclusive Syrian-led political process;

8. *Strongly condemns* attacks on diplomatic personnel and recalls the fundamental principle of the inviolability of diplomatic agents and the obligations on host States, including under the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, to take all appropriate steps to protect embassy premises and prevent attacks on diplomatic agents;

9. *Calls upon* all States to exercise vigilance and restraint over the direct or indirect supply, sale or transfer to Syria of arms and related materiel of all types, as well as technical training, financial resources or services, advice, or other services or assistance related to such arms and related materiel;

10. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report on implementation of this resolution within 30 days of its adoption and every 30 days thereafter;

11. *Expresses* its intention to review Syria's implementation of this resolution within 30 days and to consider its options, including measures under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations;

12. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.



## Security Council

Distr.: General  
4 February 2012

Original: English

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**Bahrain, Colombia, Egypt, France, Germany, Jordan, Kuwait, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Portugal, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America:  
draft resolution**

*The Security Council,*

*Recalling* its presidential statement of 3 August 2011,

*Recalling* General Assembly resolution A/RES/66/176 of 19 December 2011, as well as Human Rights Council resolutions S/16-1, S/17-1 and S/18-1,

*Noting* the League of Arab States' request in its decision of 22 January 2012,

*Expressing* grave concern at the deterioration of the situation in Syria, and profound concern at the death of thousands of people and *calling* for an immediate end to all violence,

*Welcoming* the League of Arab States' Action Plan of 2 November 2011 and its subsequent decisions, including its decision of 22 January 2012, which aims to achieve a peaceful resolution of the crisis,

*Noting* the deployment of the League of Arab States' observer mission, *commending* its efforts, *regretting* that, due to the escalation in violence, the observer mission was not in a position to monitor the full implementation of the League of Arab States' Action Plan of 2 November 2011, and *noting* the subsequent decision of the League of Arab states to suspend the mission,

*Underscoring* the importance of ensuring the voluntary return of refugees and internally displaced persons to their homes in safety and with dignity,

*Mindful* that stability in Syria is key to peace and stability in the region,

*Noting* the announced commitments by the Syrian authorities to reform, and *regretting* the lack of progress in implementation,

*Reaffirming* its strong commitment to the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Syria, *emphasizing* its intention to resolve the current political crisis in Syria peacefully, and *noting* that nothing in this resolution authorizes measures under Article 42 of the Charter,

*Welcoming* the engagement of the Secretary-General and all diplomatic efforts aimed at addressing the situation, and *noting* in this regard the offer of the Russian Federation to host a meeting in Moscow, in consultation with the League of Arab States,

1. *Condemns* the continued widespread and gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms by the Syrian authorities, such as the use of force against civilians, arbitrary executions, killing and persecution of protestors and members of the media, arbitrary detention, enforced disappearances, interference with access to medical treatment, torture, sexual violence, and ill-treatment, including against children;

2. *Demands* that the Syrian government immediately put an end to all human rights violations and attacks against those exercising their rights to freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and association, protect its population, fully comply with its obligations under applicable international law and fully implement Human Rights Council resolutions S-16/1, S-17/1, S-18/1 and General Assembly resolution A/RES/66/176;

3. *Condemns* all violence, irrespective of where it comes from, and in this regard *demands* that all parties in Syria, including armed groups, immediately stop all violence or reprisals, including attacks against State institutions, in accordance with the League of Arab States' initiative;

4. *Recalls* that all those responsible for human rights violations, including acts of violence, must be held accountable;

5. *Demands* that the Syrian government, in accordance with the Plan of Action of the League of Arab States of 2 November 2011 and its decision of 22 January 2012, without delay:

- (a) cease all violence and protect its population;
- (b) release all persons detained arbitrarily due to the recent incidents;
- (c) withdraw all Syrian military and armed forces from cities and towns, and return them to their original home barracks;
- (d) guarantee the freedom of peaceful demonstrations;
- (e) allow full and unhindered access and movement for all relevant League of Arab States' institutions and Arab and international media in all parts of Syria to determine the truth about the situation on the ground and monitor the incidents taking place; and



(f) allow full and unhindered access to the League of Arab States' observer mission;

6. *Calls* for an inclusive Syrian-led political process conducted in an environment free from violence, fear, intimidation and extremism, and aimed at effectively addressing the legitimate aspirations and concerns of Syria's people, without prejudging the outcome;

7. *Fully supports* in this regard the League of Arab States' 22 January 2012 decision to facilitate a Syrian-led political transition to a democratic, plural political system, in which citizens are equal regardless of their affiliations or ethnicities or beliefs, including through commencing a serious political dialogue between the Syrian government and the whole spectrum of the Syrian opposition under the League of Arab States' auspices, in accordance with the timetable set out by the League of Arab States;

8. *Encourages* the League of Arab States to continue its efforts in cooperation with all Syrian stakeholders;

9. *Calls upon* the Syrian authorities, in the event of a resumption of the observer mission, to cooperate fully with the League of Arab States' observer mission, in accordance with the League of Arab States' Protocol of 19 December 2011, including through granting full and unhindered access and freedom of movement to the observers, facilitating the entry of technical equipment necessary for the mission, guaranteeing the mission's right to interview, freely or in private, any individual and guaranteeing also not to punish, harass, or retaliate against, any person who has cooperated with the mission;

10. *Stresses* the need for all to provide all necessary assistance to the mission in accordance with the League of Arab States' Protocol of 19 December 2011 and its decision of 22 January 2012;

11. *Demands* that the Syrian authorities cooperate fully with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and with the Commission of Inquiry dispatched by the Human Rights Council, including by granting it full and unimpeded access to the country;

12. *Calls upon* the Syrian authorities to allow safe and unhindered access for humanitarian assistance in order to ensure the delivery of humanitarian aid to persons in need of assistance;

13. *Welcomes* the Secretary-General's efforts to provide support to the League of Arab States, including its observer mission, in promoting a peaceful solution to the Syrian crisis;

14. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report on the implementation of this resolution, in consultation with the League of Arab States, within 21 days after its adoption and to report every 30 days thereafter;

15. *Decides* to review implementation of this resolution within 21 days and, in the event of non-compliance, to consider further measures;

16. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.





## Security Council

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19 July 2012

Original: English

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### France, Germany, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America: draft resolution

*The Security Council,*

*Recalling* its Resolutions 2043 (2012) and 2042 (2012), and its Presidential Statements of 3 August 2011, 21 March 2012 and 5 April 2012,

*Reaffirming* its strong commitment to the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Syria, and to the purposes and principles of the Charter,

*Reaffirming also* its support to the Joint Special Envoy for the United Nations and the League of Arab States, Kofi Annan, and his work, following General Assembly resolution A/RES/66/253 of 16 February 2012 and relevant resolutions of the League of Arab States, aimed at securing full implementation of his six-point plan in its entirety, as annexed to resolution 2042 (2012),

*Condemning* the Syrian authorities' increasing use of heavy weapons, including indiscriminate shelling from tanks and helicopters, in population centres and failure to withdraw its troops and heavy weapons to their barracks contrary to paragraph 2 of resolution 2043 (2012),

*Condemning* the armed violence in all its forms, including by armed opposition groups, and *expressing* grave concern at the continued escalation of violence, and *expressing* its profound regret at the death of many thousands of people in Syria,

*Condemning* the continued widespread violations of human rights by the Syrian authorities, as well as any human rights abuses by armed opposition groups, and recalling that those responsible shall be held accountable,

*Condemning* the series of bombings that have made the situation more complex and deadly, some of which are indicative of the presence of well-organised terrorist groups,

*Deploring* the deteriorating humanitarian situation and the failure to ensure timely provision of humanitarian assistance to all areas



affected by the fighting contrary to point 3 of the Envoy's six-point plan, *reiterating* its call for the Syrian parties to allow immediate, full and unimpeded access of humanitarian personnel to all populations in need of assistance, in particular to civilian populations in need of evacuation, and *calling upon* all parties in Syria, in particular the Syrian authorities, to cooperate fully with the United Nations and relevant humanitarian organizations to facilitate the provision of humanitarian assistance,

*Condemning* the continued detention of thousands of Syrians in networks of Government-run facilities and deploring that there is no freedom of assembly contrary to points 4 and 6 of the six-point plan, and *recalling* the urgency of intensifying the pace and scale of release of arbitrarily detained persons, and *reiterating* the need for Syrians to enjoy the freedom to assemble, including to demonstrate peacefully and freedom of movement for journalists throughout the country, as part of the necessary conditions for a political transition,

*Having considered* the Secretary-General's report on UNSMIS dated 6 July 2012, *commending* United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS) personnel for their continued efforts in a dangerous and volatile environment, and *deploring* that, due to the failure of the parties to implement the six-point plan and to the level of violence, monitoring access restrictions and direct targeting, the Mission's operational activities were rendered unworkable, and supporting the Secretary-General's recommendation that a shift in Mission structure and focus should be considered,

*Stressing* that rapid progress on a political solution represents the best opportunity to resolve the situation in Syria peacefully, *welcoming* in this regard the Final Communiqué of the Envoy's 30 June Action Group meeting, and *noting* that progress towards an atmosphere of safety and calm is key to enabling a credible transition,

*Welcoming* the Syrian Opposition Conference held under the auspices of the League of Arab States in Cairo on July 3, 2012, as part of the efforts of the League of Arab States to engage the whole spectrum of the Syrian opposition, and *encouraging* greater cohesion among the opposition,

*Noting* the Secretary-General's 6 July 2012 call on the Security Council to provide the necessary support and ensure sustained, united and effective pressure on all concerned to ensure compliance with its decisions and create conditions for the success of a political solution envisaged by the Action Group,

*Determining* that the situation in Syria constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

*Acting* under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Expresses grave concern* at the escalation of violence, and the failure of the parties, in particular the Syrian authorities, to implement the Envoy's six-point plan as annexed to resolution 2042

(2012), thus not permitting the creation of a political space that would allow for meaningful political dialogue, and *calls upon* all parties to recommit immediately and without waiting for the actions of others to a sustained cessation of violence in all its forms and implementation of the six-point plan;

2. *Endorses* in full the 30 June Action Group Final Communiqué and its underlying guidelines and principles (Annex);

**Enabling Transition: Immediate implementation of the Envoy's six-point plan**

3. *Demands* the urgent, comprehensive, and immediate implementation of, all elements of the Envoy's six-point proposal as annexed to resolution 2042 (2012) aimed at bringing an immediate end to all violence and human rights violations, securing humanitarian access and facilitating a Syrian-led political transition as outlined in the Annex, leading to a democratic, plural political system, in which citizens are equal regardless of their affiliations, ethnicities or beliefs, including through commencing a comprehensive political dialogue between the Syrian authorities and the whole spectrum of the Syrian opposition;

4. *Decides* that the Syrian authorities shall implement visibly and verifiably their commitments in their entirety, as they agreed to do in the Preliminary Understanding and as stipulated in resolution 2042 (2012) and 2043(2012), to (a) cease troop movements towards population centres, (b) cease all use of heavy weapons in such centres, (c) complete pullback of military concentrations in and around population centres, and to withdraw its troops and heavy weapons from population centres to their barracks or temporary deployment places to facilitate a sustained cessation of violence;

5. *Demands* that all parties in Syria, including the opposition, immediately cease all armed violence in all its forms, thereby creating an atmosphere conducive to a sustained cessation of violence and a Syrian-led political transition;

6. *Expresses grave concern* at the increasing numbers of refugees and internally displaced persons as a result of the ongoing violence, and *reiterates* its appreciation of the significant efforts that have been made by the States bordering Syria to assist those who have fled across Syria's borders as a consequence of the violence, and requesting UNHCR to provide assistance as requested by member states receiving these displaced persons;

**Transition**

7. *Demands* that all Syrian parties work with the Office of the Joint Special Envoy to implement rapidly the transition plan set forth in the Final Communiqué in a way that assures the safety of all in an atmosphere of stability and calm;

**Accountability**

8. *Recalls* that all those responsible for human rights violations and abuses, including acts of violence, must be held accountable;

9. *Decides* that the Syrian Government shall provide the UN Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic and individuals working on its behalf immediate entry and access to all areas of Syria, *decides* that the Syrian authorities shall cooperate fully with the Commission of Inquiry in the performance of its mandate;

**UNSMIS**

10. *Decides* to renew the mandate of the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS) for a period of 45 days, on the basis of the Secretary-General's recommendation to reconfigure the Mission to increase support for dialogue with and between the parties, and enhance attention to the political track and rights' issues across the six-point plan;

11. *Requests the Secretary-General* to retain the minimum military observer capacity and requisite civilian component necessary to promote forward steps on the six-point plan through facilitation of political dialogue and to conduct verification and fact-finding tasks;

12. *Condemns* all attacks against UNSMIS, *reaffirms* that perpetrators of attacks against UN personnel must be held to account, *demand*s that the parties guarantee the safety of UNSMIS personnel without prejudice to its freedom of movement and access, and *stresses* that the primary responsibility in this regard lies with the Syrian authorities;

13. *Demand*s that the Syrian authorities ensure the effective operation of UNSMIS by: facilitating the expeditious and unhindered deployment of its personnel and capabilities as required to fulfil its mandate; ensuring its full unimpeded, and immediate freedom of movement and access as necessary to fulfil its mandate, underlining in this regard the need for the Syrian authorities and the United Nations to come rapidly to an agreement on appropriate air transportation assets for UNSMIS; allowing its unobstructed communications; and allowing it to freely and privately communicate with individuals throughout Syria without retaliation against any person as a result of interaction with UNSMIS;

**Compliance**

14. *Decides* that, if the Syrian authorities have not fully complied with paragraph 4 above within ten days, then it shall impose immediately measures under Article 41 of the UN Charter;

## Reporting and Follow-Up

15. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the implementation by all parties in Syria of this resolution within 10 days of its adoption and every 15 days thereafter;

16. *Expresses* its intention to assess the implementation of this resolution and to consider further steps as appropriate;

17. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

## Annex

### Final Communiqué of the Action Group for Syria

1. On 30 June 2012, the Secretaries-General of the United Nations and the League of Arab States, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America, Turkey, Iraq (Chair of the Summit of the League of Arab States), Kuwait (Chair of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the League of Arab States) and Qatar (Chair of the Arab Follow-up Committee on Syria of the League of Arab States) and the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy met at the United Nations Office at Geneva as the Action Group for Syria, chaired by the Joint Special Envoy of the United Nations and the League of Arab States to Syria.

2. The members of the Action Group came together out of grave alarm at the situation in the Syrian Arab Republic. They strongly condemn the continued and escalating killing, destruction and human rights abuses. They are deeply concerned at the failure to protect civilians, the intensification of the violence, the potential for even deeper conflict in the country and the regional dimensions of the problem. The unacceptable nature and magnitude of the crisis demands a common position and joint international action.

3. The members of the Action Group are committed to the sovereignty, independence, national unity and territorial integrity of the Syrian Arab Republic. They are determined to work urgently and intensively to bring about an end to the violence and human rights abuses, and to facilitate the launch of a Syrian-led political process leading to a transition that meets the legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people and enables them independently and democratically to determine their own future.

4. In order to secure these common objectives, the members of the Action Group (a) identified steps and measures by the parties to secure the full implementation of the six-point plan and Security Council resolutions 2042 (2012) and 2043 (2012), including an immediate cessation of violence in all its forms; (b) agreed on principles and guidelines for a political transition that meets the legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people; and (c) agreed on actions that they would take to implement the objectives in support of the Joint Special

Envoy's efforts to facilitate a Syrian-led political process. They are convinced that this can encourage and support progress on the ground and will help to facilitate and support a Syrian-led transition.

**Identified steps and measures by the parties to secure the full implementation of the six-point plan and Security Council resolutions 2042 (2012) and 2043 (2012), including an immediate cessation of violence in all its forms**

5. The parties must fully implement the six-point plan and Security Council resolutions 2042 (2012) and 2043 (2012). To that end:

(a) All parties must recommit to a sustained cessation of armed violence in all its forms and to the implementation of the six-point plan immediately and without waiting for the actions of others. The Government and armed opposition groups must cooperate with the United Nations Supervision Mission in the Syrian Arab Republic (UNSMIS), with a view to furthering the implementation of the plan in accordance with the Mission's mandate;

(b) A cessation of armed violence must be sustained, with immediate, credible and visible actions by the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic to implement the other items of the six-point plan, including:

(i) Intensification of the pace and scale of release of arbitrarily detained persons, including especially vulnerable categories of persons, and persons involved in peaceful political activities; the provision, without delay and through appropriate channels, of a list of all places in which such persons are being detained; the immediate organization of access to such locations; and the provision, through appropriate channels, of prompt responses to all written requests for information, access or release regarding such persons;

(ii) Ensuring freedom of movement throughout the country for journalists and a non-discriminatory visa policy for them;

(iii) Respecting freedom of association and the right to demonstrate peacefully, as legally guaranteed;

(c) In all circumstances, all parties must show full respect for the safety and security of UNSMIS and fully cooperate with and facilitate the Mission in all respects;

(d) In all circumstances, the Government must allow immediate and full humanitarian access by humanitarian organizations to all areas affected by the fighting. The Government and all parties must enable the evacuation of the wounded, and all civilians who wish to leave must be enabled to do so. All parties must fully adhere to their obligations under international law, including in relation to the protection of civilians.



### **Agreed principles and guidelines for a Syrian-led transition**

6. The members of the Action Group agreed on the principles and guidelines for a Syrian-led transition set out below.

7. Any political settlement must deliver to the people of the Syrian Arab Republic a transition that:

(a) Offers a perspective for the future that can be shared by all in the Syrian Arab Republic;

(b) Establishes clear steps according to a firm timetable towards the realization of that perspective;

(c) Can be implemented in a climate of safety for all and of stability and calm;

(d) Is reached rapidly without further bloodshed and violence and is credible.

8. **Perspective for the future.** The aspirations of the people of the Syrian Arab Republic have been clearly expressed by the wide range of Syrians consulted. There is an overwhelming wish for a State that:

(a) Is genuinely democratic and pluralistic, giving space to established and newly emerging political actors to compete fairly and equally in elections. This also means that the commitment to multiparty democracy must be a lasting one, going beyond an initial round of elections;

(b) Complies with international standards on human rights, the independence of the judiciary, accountability of those in Government and the rule of law. It is not enough just to enunciate such a commitment. There must be mechanisms available to the people to ensure that these commitments are kept by those in authority;

(c) Offers equal opportunities and chances for all. There is no room for sectarianism or discrimination on ethnic, religious, linguistic or any other grounds. Numerically smaller communities must be assured that their rights will be respected.

9. **Clear steps in the transition.** The conflict in the Syrian Arab Republic will end only when all sides are assured that there is a peaceful way towards a common future for all in the country. It is therefore essential that any settlement provide for clear and irreversible steps in the transition according to a fixed time frame. The key steps in any transition include:

(a) The establishment of a transitional governing body that can establish a neutral environment in which the transition can take place, with the transitional governing body exercising full executive powers. It could include members of the present Government and the opposition and other groups and shall be formed on the basis of mutual consent;

(b) It is for the Syrian people to determine the future of the country. All groups and segments of society in the Syrian Arab

Republic must be enabled to participate in a national dialogue process. That process must be not only inclusive but also meaningful. In other words, its key outcomes must be implemented;

(c) On that basis, there can be a review of the constitutional order and the legal system. The result of constitutional drafting would be subject to popular approval;

(d) Upon establishment of the new constitutional order, it will be necessary to prepare for and conduct free and fair multiparty elections for the new institutions and offices that have been established;

(e) Women must be fully represented in all aspects of the transition.

**10. Safety, stability and calm.** Any transition involves change. However, it is essential to ensure that the transition can be implemented in a way that ensures the safety of all in an atmosphere of stability and calm. This requires:

(a) Consolidation of full calm and stability. All parties must cooperate with the transitional governing body to ensure the permanent cessation of violence. This includes completion of withdrawals and addressing the issue of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of armed groups;

(b) Effective steps to ensure that vulnerable groups are protected and that immediate action is taken to address humanitarian issues in areas of need. It is also necessary to ensure that the release of the detained is completed rapidly;

(c) Continuity of governmental institutions and qualified staff. Public services must be preserved or restored. This includes the military forces and security services. However, all governmental institutions, including the intelligence services, have to perform according to human rights and professional standards and operate under a leadership that inspires public confidence, under the control of the transitional governing body;

(d) Commitment to accountability and national reconciliation. Accountability for acts committed during the present conflict must be addressed. There also needs to be a comprehensive package for transitional justice, including compensation or rehabilitation for victims of the present conflict, steps towards national reconciliation and forgiveness.

**11. Rapid steps to come to a credible political agreement.** It is for the people of the Syrian Arab Republic to come to a political agreement, but time is running out. It is clear that:

(a) The sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of the Syrian Arab Republic must be respected;

(b) The conflict must be resolved through peaceful dialogue and negotiation alone. Conditions conducive to a political settlement must now be put in place;

(c) There must be an end to the bloodshed. All parties must recommit themselves credibly to the six-point plan. This must include a cessation of armed violence in all its forms and immediate, credible and visible actions to implement points 2 to 6 of the six-point plan;

(d) All parties must now engage genuinely with the Joint Special Envoy. The parties must be prepared to put forward effective interlocutors to work expeditiously towards a Syrian-led settlement that meets the legitimate aspirations of the people. The process must be fully inclusive in order to ensure that the views of all segments of Syrian society are heard in shaping the political settlement for the transition;

(e) The organized international community, including the members of the Action Group, stands ready to offer significant support for the implementation of an agreement reached by the parties. This may include an international assistance presence under a United Nations mandate if requested. Significant funds will be available to support reconstruction and rehabilitation.

#### **Agreed actions**

12. Agreed actions that the members of the Group will take to implement the above in support of the Joint Special Envoy's efforts to facilitate a Syrian-led political process are as follows:

(a) Action Group members will engage as appropriate, and apply joint and sustained pressure on, the parties in the Syrian Arab Republic to take the steps and measures outlined in paragraph 5 above;

(b) Action Group members are opposed to any further militarization of the conflict;

(c) Action Group members emphasize to the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic the importance of the appointment of an effective empowered interlocutor, when requested by the Joint Special Envoy to do so, to work on the basis of the six point plan and the present communiqué;

(d) Action Group members urge the opposition to increase cohesion and to be in a position to ensure effective representative interlocutors to work on the basis of the six-point plan and the present communiqué;

(e) Action Group members will give full support to the Joint Special Envoy and his team as they immediately engage the Government and the opposition, and will consult widely with Syrian society, as well as other international actors, to further develop the way forward;

(f) Action Group members would welcome the further convening by the Joint Special Envoy of a meeting of the Action Group, should he deem it necessary to review the concrete progress taken on all points agreed in the present communiqué and to determine what further and additional steps and actions are needed from the

Action Group to address the crisis. The Joint Special Envoy will also keep the United Nations and the League of Arab States informed.





# Security Council

Sixty-sixth year

*Provisional*

**6627**<sup>th</sup> meeting

Tuesday, 4 October 2011, 6 p.m.  
New York

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<i>President:</i>	Mrs. Ogwu .....	(Nigeria)
<i>Members:</i>	Bosnia and Herzegovina .....	Mr. Barbalić
	Brazil .....	Mrs. Viotti
	China .....	Mr. Li Baodong
	Colombia .....	Mr. Osorio
	France .....	Mr. Araud
	Gabon .....	Mr. Mougara Moussotsi
	Germany .....	Mr. Wittig
	India .....	Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri
	Lebanon .....	Mr. Salam
	Portugal .....	Mr. Moraes Cabral
	Russian Federation .....	Mr. Churkin
	South Africa .....	Mr. Sangqu
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland .....	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America .....	Ms. Rice

## Agenda

The situation in the Middle East

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This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

*The meeting was called to order at 6.20 p.m.*

### **Expression of thanks to the outgoing President**

**The President:** As this is the first meeting of the Council for the month of October 2011, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Nawaf Salam, Permanent Representative of Lebanon, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of September 2011. I am sure I speak for all members of the Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Salam and his delegation for the great diplomatic skill with which they conducted the Council's business last month.

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **The situation in the Middle East**

**The President:** Under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to participate in this meeting.

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

Members of the Council have before them document S/2011/612, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France, Germany, Portugal and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

*A vote was taken by a show of hands.*

#### *In favour:*

Bosnia and Herzegovina, Colombia, France, Gabon, Germany, Nigeria, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

#### *Against:*

China, Russian Federation

#### *Abstentions:*

Brazil, India, Lebanon, South Africa

**The President:** There were 9 votes in favour, 2 votes against and 4 abstentions. The draft resolution

has not been adopted, owing to the negative vote of a permanent member of the Council.

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

**Mr. Araud (France)** (*spoke in French*): I would of course first like to very warmly commend the Permanent Representative of Lebanon, who held the presidency of the Security Council for the month of September, for the enormously effective and courageous manner in which he carried out his duties. I would also like to congratulate you, Madame President, on having assumed your duties as President of the Council.

More than 2,700 civilian victims and tens of thousands of protesters held in Syrian prisons, more than 10,000 Syrian refugees in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan — that is the terrible toll on which the Syrian authorities can pride themselves since the beginning of the demonstrations, early in March. That is the terrible toll that some around this table today have still refused to condemn.

Since May, we have worked unrelentingly to bring about a response from the Security Council. Our objective was simple and remains so: to stop the brutal crackdown by the Syrian regime against its own people, who are legitimately demanding to exercise their most fundamental rights. This would create an atmosphere free of violence and intimidation and thus allow for the emergence of an inclusive political process led by and for the Syrian people.

To that end, France has assumed its responsibilities at the national and European levels. The European Union has adopted numerous series of sanctions against those responsible for the violence and the measures that have allowed the repression to continue. At the same time, diplomatic efforts continued against the Damascus regime. Those efforts were extensive and included those made by members of the Security Council. The Syrian authorities have remained deaf to those efforts. Faced with the extreme violence being brought against a population demanding to exercise their rights; faced with the deafness of the Syrian authorities; and confronted with the risk of regional instability, a united response from the international community was, and continues to be, necessary. The Security Council, which has the primary responsibility of maintaining peace and security, is

therefore the natural spokesperson for the international community.

Since May, we have worked tirelessly to ensure that the Council can send a clear and united message to the Syrian authorities. After the massacre in Hama, the Council adopted, on 3 August, a presidential statement (S/PRST/2011/16) condemning the Syrian authorities and calling for an immediate end to all violence. On that basis, we prepared a draft resolution. Every effort has been made to understand the concerns of some members of the Council and to prepare a unanimous response. Each of us knows that we agreed to modify our text on many occasions. In particular, we agreed to withdraw the proposed sanctions, which we thought were necessary. Each of us knows that we made numerous concessions. The text that we submitted today is, in many ways, very similar to the presidential statement that we adopted on 3 August. It was to have updated that statement in the light of recent events.

Thus, we cannot doubt the meaning of the veto against this text today. This is not a matter of language, it is a political choice. It is a veto on principle, which means that it is a refusal of all Council resolutions against Syria. It shows disdain for the legitimate aspirations that have been so bravely expressed in Syria for the past five months. It is a rejection of this tremendous movement for freedom and democracy that is the Arab Spring.

Let there be no mistake. This veto will not stop us. No veto can give *carte blanche* to the Syrian authorities, who have lost all legitimacy by murdering their own people. The appeals of the Arab League to put an end to this blood-letting, the statements from neighbouring countries and the suffering of the Syrian people clearly show that this veto runs counter to the path of the historic events occurring in Syria and throughout the region.

In the Security Council and within the European Union, France, along with all its partners, will not cease its efforts to ensure that the rights of the Syrian people are recognized and respected, so that those responsible for the violence can one day be brought to justice — and they will — and to promote an inclusive, credible political process that can fulfil the aspirations that are being expressed daily in Syria.

In conclusion, I should like to pay tribute to the courage of all those women and men who continue, after months of bloody repression, to call for freedom

in Syria. Only an effective response to those aspirations can restore stability to that country, on which depends the stability of a fragile region. The international community and the Council in particular, given its mandate, cannot escape its obligation to ensure that this happens, and we regret that that was not the case tonight.

**Mr. Churkin** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Madam, I wish you success in your work as President of the Security Council for this month. We would also like to thank Ambassador Salam and the entire Lebanese delegation for their outstanding work in September, which was not easy.

It is clear that the result of today's vote reflects not so much a question of acceptability of wording as a conflict of political approaches. That is the only part of what was said by my French colleague with which I agree. From the outset, the Russian delegation undertook intensive, constructive efforts to develop an effective response on the part of the Council to the dramatic events in Syria. The first such response was reflected in a consensual statement issued by the President on 3 August (S/PRST/2011/16). Based on that approach, together with our Chinese partners we prepared a draft resolution to which, as events developed, we made some changes, bearing in mind the concerns of our colleagues on the Council. We would like to thank our partners, especially Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa — the BRICS States — for supporting our text.

Of vital importance is the fact that at the heart of the Russian and Chinese draft was the logic of respect for the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Syria as well as the principle of non-intervention, including military, in its affairs; the principle of the unity of the Syrian people; refraining from confrontation; and inviting all to an even-handed and comprehensive dialogue aimed at achieving civil peace and national agreement by reforming the socio-economic and political life of the country.

Today's rejected draft was based on a very different philosophy — the philosophy of confrontation. We cannot agree with this unilateral, accusatory bent against Damascus. We deem unacceptable the threat of an ultimatum and sanctions against the Syrian authorities. Such an approach contravenes the principle of a peaceful settlement of the crisis on the basis of a full Syrian national

dialogue. Our proposals for wording on the non-acceptability of foreign military intervention were not taken into account, and, based on the well-known events in North Africa, that can only put us on our guard. Equally alarming is the weak wording in connection with the opposition and the lack of an appeal to them to distance themselves from extremists. Given the basis of statements by some Western politicians on President Al-Assad's loss of legitimacy, such an approach could trigger a full-fledged conflict in Syria and destabilization in the region as a whole. The collapse of Syria as a result of a civil war would have a very destructive impact on the situation in the entire Middle East.

The situation in Syria cannot be considered in the Council separately from the Libyan experience. The international community is alarmed by statements that compliance with Security Council resolutions on Libya in the NATO interpretation is a model for the future actions of NATO in implementing the responsibility to protect. It is easy to see that today's "Unified Protector" model could happen in Syria. All present should understand that the Russian position regarding the conflict in Libya is in no way based on any kind of special ties with the Al-Qadhafi regime, especially since a number of States represented at this table had warmer relations with the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

The people of Libya have spoken regarding Al-Qadhafi, and they have determined his fate. For us, Members of the United Nations, including in terms of a precedent, it is very important to know how the resolution was implemented and how a Security Council resolution turned into its opposite.

The demand for a quick ceasefire turned into a full-fledged civil war, the humanitarian, social, economic and military consequences of which transcend Libyan borders. The situation in connection with the no-fly zone has morphed into the bombing of oil refineries, television stations and other civilian sites. The arms embargo has morphed into a naval blockade in western Libya, including a blockade of humanitarian goods. Today the tragedy of Benghazi has spread to other western Libyan towns — Sirte and Bani Walid. These types of models should be excluded from global practices once and for all.

With respect to Syria, we are not advocates of the Al-Assad regime. We believe that the violence is unacceptable, and we condemn the repression of

protests by peaceful demonstrators. However, the continuation of this tragedy cannot be blamed only on the harsh actions of the authorities. Recent events convincingly show that the radical opposition no longer hides its extremist bent and is relying on terrorist tactics, hoping for foreign sponsors and acting outside of the law. Armed groups supported by smuggling and other illegal activities are providing supplies, taking over land, and killing and perpetrating atrocities against people who comply with the law-enforcement authorities.

In universities and schools, representatives of the Syrian intelligentsia and civil service have recently been casualties of the terrorists. We convey our condolences to Mufti Ahmad Hassoon, who is well known in the East for his active efforts to lay the foundations for tolerance and international dialogue, in connection with the death of his 22-year-old son in a terrorist attack on Sunday.

We must bear in mind the fact that a significant number of Syrians do not agree with the demand for a quick regime change and would rather see gradual changes, believing that they have to be implemented while maintaining civil peace and harmony in the country. Such changes, even if they are late in coming, are still beginning to be implemented, and we must not overlook this. The best way to end the crisis is to refuse to provoke a confrontation and to bring together all responsible members of the international community so as to induce the parties to launch an inclusive intra-Syrian political process. This is the path taken in Yemen, where intensive mediation efforts are under way aimed at bringing together the belligerent parties.

Russia is continuing to work with Damascus. We call on the Syrian leadership to more speedily implement the changes. They need to free those who have been detained during the unrest and who have committed no criminal acts. A more active dialogue must be undertaken with the opposition and access must be given to the international media, as well as step up their interaction with the League of Arab States. Judging by what the Arab League has done and what is being shown on television, our efforts are bearing fruit. We are continuing to work with constructive patriotic groups of the Syrian opposition who are concerned about the fate of their country and who have said that they want no foreign interference in their internal affairs.



We believe that today's message will be correctly understood by the opposition forces. There is no alternative to dialogue; there cannot be. If the opposition believes that Mr. Al-Assad's laws are imperfect, then it must take up the invitation of the Government to discuss them. We will indicate our concerns to the leaders of the Syrian opposition when they visit Moscow in the near future. Changes for a peaceful resolution are possible, and we will be supporting those prospects in coordination with all constructively inclined peace partners.

If Council colleagues agree with our approach, which is aimed at dialogue and full national reconciliation in Syria, we will continue to work on the Russian-Chinese draft so as to arrive at a balanced resolution containing the vital elements for a settlement. Our draft remains on the table.

On that basis, we are prepared to develop a genuinely collective and constructive position for the international community and not get involved with legitimizing previously adopted unilateral sanctions or attempts at violent regime change. The people of Syria deserve peaceful change, with the support of the international community.

**Mr. Li Baodong** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): China is highly concerned about the developments in Syria. We call on the various parties in Syria to exercise restraint and to avoid more bloodshed and all forms of violence. We hope that the Syrian Government will implement commitments to reform. We also hope that a Syrian-led and inclusive political process will be launched as soon as possible, so as to facilitate the early easing of tension there.

The international community should provide constructive assistance to facilitate the achievement of the objectives I have mentioned. In the meantime, it should fully respect Syria's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. Whether the Security Council takes further action on the question of Syria should depend upon whether it would facilitate the easing of tension in Syria, help to defuse differences through political dialogue and contribute to the maintenance of peace and stability in the Middle East. Most important, it should depend upon whether it complies with the Charter of the United Nations and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States — which has a bearing upon the security and survival of

developing countries, in particular small and medium-sized countries, as well as on world peace and stability.

The Chinese Government's position on those questions has been consistent and firm. On that basis, China has always participated positively and constructively in the consultations on the relevant draft resolutions. At the moment, the Security Council has before it two draft resolutions. One, which China supports, advocates respect for the sovereignty of Syria and resolving the crisis there through political dialogue. With regard to the other draft resolution, which the Council considered today, like quite a few other Council members, China believes that, under the current circumstances, sanctions or the threat thereof does not help to resolve the question of Syria and, instead, may further complicate the situation. Regrettably and disappointingly, this major and legitimate concern did not receive due attention from the sponsors. As it now stands, the draft resolution focuses solely on exerting pressure on Syria, even threatening to impose sanctions. It does not help to facilitate the easing of the situation in Syria. China therefore voted against it.

Syria is an important country in the Middle East. The maintenance of peace and stability in Syria serves the common interests of the Syrian people and the international community. Along with the international community, China is willing to play a positive and constructive role in appropriately resolving the question of Syria. We will continue to support the mediation efforts of the relevant countries and organizations in the region.

**Mr. Moraes Cabral** (Portugal): Allow me, first of all, to congratulate you, Madame President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council, as well as to wish you every success. I also wish to thank Ambassador Nawaf Salam and his team for the very efficient and wise way in which they conducted the Council's work during the month of September, often in very challenging conditions.

We deeply regret that the Security Council was unable to unanimously and unequivocally condemn, and demand an immediate end to, the Syrian Government's violent repression against its population, even though the situation in the country has continued to deteriorate since the adoption of the presidential statement of the Council on 3 August (S/PRST/2011/16).

As underlined all throughout this process, the key concern and objective of the draft resolution was to prevent further bloodshed and ensure a peaceful solution to the crisis in Syria. As such, and in an attempt to ensure a unified voice from the Council on a situation of such troubling proportions, the members of the European Union engaged openly and constructively with all members of the Council to ensure the adoption of a meaningful resolution with a view to sparing Syrians further suffering. We are therefore deeply disappointed with the outcome of today's voting.

The situation in Syria is of the utmost concern. The Syrian Government's violent repression against its population and the ongoing violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms must cease immediately. We regret the huge loss of life and strongly condemn the widespread human rights violations. Those responsible for human rights violations must be held accountable. We urge the Syrian authorities to cooperate fully with the commission of inquiry mandated by the Human Rights Council and to allow it expeditious and unhindered access.

We equally regret that the Syrian Government has repeatedly failed to heed the many calls urging an end to the violence and the undertaking of genuine, credible and inclusive political process. By persistently ignoring the appeals of Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, members of the Council and the Human Rights Council, the League of Arab States and its own neighbours, the Syrian authorities have allowed the situation to escalate and undermine the security and stability of the country and that of an already fragile region.

As it has stated many times before, Portugal remains fully committed to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Syria. We therefore once again call for an inclusive and credible Syrian-led political process aimed at effectively addressing the legitimate aspirations and concerns of Syria's population. Dialogue is the one and only way to ensure a peaceful outcome to the crisis in Syria. Violence and repression can never be the answer.

**Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri (India):** I want to start by congratulating you, Madame President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. We have no doubt that you will have an extremely successful presidency. I would also like to take this opportunity to complement

Lebanon, and in particular Ambassador Nawaf Salam, for the very wise and able stewardship that he provided to the Council during September, a difficult month at the best of times.

Both historically and in contemporary times, Syria has been an important country in the Middle East. Its role in the Middle East peace process and in the stability of the wider region cannot be overemphasized. Prolonged instability and unrest in Syria therefore clearly have ramifications for the region and beyond.

India remains concerned about the unfolding events in Syria that have resulted in the deaths of hundreds of civilians and security force personnel. We deplore all violence, irrespective of who its perpetrators are.

We recognize the responsibility of all States to respect the fundamental rights of their people, address their legitimate aspirations and respond to their grievances through administrative, political, economic and other measures. At the same time, States also have the obligation to protect their citizens from armed groups and militants. While the right of people to protest peacefully is to be respected, States cannot but take appropriate action when militant groups — heavily armed — resort to violence against State authority and infrastructure.

Given the complexity of ground realities in Syria, we believe that engaging Syria in a collaborative and constructive dialogue and partnership is the only pragmatic and productive way forward. In our bilateral contacts with the Syrian Government, as well as through the India-Brazil-South Africa initiative, we have urged them to exercise restraint, abjure violence and pay heed to the aspirations of their people.

The international community should give time and space for the Syrian Government to implement the far-reaching reform measures they have announced. For this, it is also necessary that the opposition forces in Syria give up the path of armed insurrection and engage constructively with the authorities. We firmly believe that the actions of the international community should facilitate engagement of the Syrian Government and the opposition in a Syrian-led inclusive political process, and not complicate the situation by threats of sanctions, regime change, et cetera.

The resolution under the Council's consideration does not accommodate our concern about the threat of sanctions. It does not condemn the violence perpetrated by the Syrian opposition, nor does it place any responsibility on the opposition to abjure violence and engage with the Syrian authorities for redressing of their grievances through a peaceful political process. We have, therefore, abstained in the vote on the resolution.

**Sir Mark Lyall Grant** (United Kingdom): May I take this opportunity to congratulate you, Madame President, on taking over the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October and to wish you well in that task. I also wish to thank Ambassador Nawaf Salam and his team from Lebanon, who ably stewarded the Council in September.

The United Kingdom is deeply disappointed by the decision of some Council members to block the adoption of the draft resolution submitted today by the European members of the Council. Two months ago, this Council adopted a presidential statement (S/PRST/2011/16) condemning the widespread violations of human rights and the use of force against civilians by the Syrian authorities. It called for an immediate end to violence, compliance with obligations under international law and for the Syrian Government to implement its stated commitments to reform.

Since the presidential statement, the situation has deteriorated further. The regime continues to brutally repress its people. It has killed almost three thousand civilians. It has used disproportionate force and has arbitrarily detained many thousands of people. Its actions may amount to crimes against humanity. There is no sign of reform or of a genuine attempt to address the concerns of the Syrian population. How can there be genuine dialogue when the regime is denying its people freedom of assembly and freedom of speech?

The failure of the Syrian regime to heed calls of the international community, both bilateral and collective, has been met with increasing concern by Syria's neighbours and the wider region. Two weeks ago, the United Nations Secretary-General said that enough is enough, and called for the international community to take coherent measures.

Against this backdrop, the time for strong Security Council action was long overdue. We, and indeed the majority of members of the Council,

believed that the time had come for the imposition of sanctions. But a minority — two with the power of veto — said they would oppose sanctions.

In an attempt to maintain the unity of this Council, for the past few weeks we have therefore been engaged in intensive negotiations aimed at ensuring that the Council could at least send a strong signal to the Syrian regime to stop the violence. Through these negotiations we tried to meet the stated concerns of Council members. We removed the sanctions. Still, it was unacceptable to the minority. We called on all sides to reject violence and extremism. Still it was unacceptable. We removed any sense that sanctions would automatically follow in 30 days if the regime failed to comply, and still it was unacceptable. By including reference to Article 41 of the United Nations Charter we made it clear that any further steps would be non-military in nature. Still it was unacceptable.

The text we voted on today contained nothing that any member of this Council should have felt the need to oppose. Yet two members chose to veto. It will be a deep disappointment to the people of Syria and to the wider region that some members of this Council could not show their support for their struggle for basic human rights that most populations of the countries around this table enjoy.

Some members of the Security Council have made bilateral attempts to engage President Assad and to persuade the Syrian Government to change course and implement reform. Each time, they have received vague promises of reform, and each time the Syrian Government has failed to deliver. By blocking this resolution, the onus is now on those countries to step up their efforts to persuade the Syrian Government to end the violence and pursue genuine reform.

If the situation continues as it is, this Council will have to shoulder its responsibilities and take the tough action that it has, unfortunately, been prevented from taking today.

**Mr. Osorio** (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): I wish to join my colleagues in hailing you, Madame President, and commending you on taking on the presidency of the Security Council. I wish you the greatest of success. You will have our full support. I would also like to thank the President last month, the Ambassador of Lebanon, and his entire team for the extraordinary guidance of our work.

My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution proposed by Germany, France, Portugal and the United Kingdom. We are convinced that it is the ideal and necessary means for urging the Syrian authorities to immediately cease their violent offensive against the civilian population so that an independent inquiry can be launched into all human rights violations committed during the protests and calling for punishment of those responsible for violence in all its forms.

The primary responsibility of the Government of Syria is to protect its population. It has not done so — much to the contrary. We are aware that the solution to the crisis in that country will come through a political process that effectively bears in mind the legitimate aspirations of the people. However, it is first and foremost necessary that their fundamental freedoms and human rights be respected.

We regret that the Security Council did not adopt this text and that the veto was used to reject it. After several months of negotiations the non-imposition of sanctions was attempted; that was a concession. Also, the Syrian authorities were urged to move ahead with the reforms, which have still not been implemented.

**Ms. Rice** (United States of America): Before I begin my statement, let me congratulate you, Madame President, on assuming the presidency of the Council for the month of October. We know you will lead us ably, and we very much look forward to cooperating with you. Let me join others in paying tribute to Lebanon and Ambassador Nawaf Salam for his stellar leadership of the Council through a very difficult month. We are grateful to him.

The United States is outraged that this Council has utterly failed to address an urgent moral challenge and a growing threat to regional peace and security. Several members have sought for weeks to weaken and strip bare any texts that would have defended the lives of innocent civilians from Assad's brutality. Today, two members have vetoed a vastly watered-down text that does not even mention sanctions.

Let me be clear. The United States believes it is past time for this Council to assume its responsibilities and impose tough, targeted sanctions and an arms embargo on the Assad regime, as we have done domestically. Yet today, the courageous people of Syria can now see clearly who on this Council supports their

yearning for liberty and universal human rights, and who does not.

During this season of change, the people of the Middle East can now see clearly which nations have chosen to ignore their calls for democracy and instead prop up desperate, cruel dictators. Those who oppose this draft resolution and give cover to a brutal regime will have to answer to the Syrian people and, indeed, to people across the region who are pursuing the same universal aspirations.

The record is clear. For more than six months, the Al-Assad regime has deliberately unleashed violence, torture and persecution against peaceful protesters, human rights defenders and their families. The High Commissioner for Human Rights has already warned that the Syrian Government's appalling actions might amount to crimes against humanity. The Al-Assad regime's critics have joined the chorus of condemnation from the region, including the Gulf Cooperation Council, which demanded an immediate end to what it called Assad's "killing machine". But the Security Council has not yet passed even a hortatory resolution to counter the Al-Assad regime's brutal oppression.

The arguments against strong Council action grow weaker and weaker by the day. Some on the Council argue that the Al-Assad regime's abuses are not that egregious or that the regime deserves more time for its so-called reforms. But as reporting by the United Nations itself makes clear, the Syrian Government's efforts to mask its continued atrocities are as transparent as its promises of reform are empty.

Others claim that strong Security Council action on Syria would merely be a pretext for military intervention. Let there be no doubt: this is not about military intervention; this is not about Libya. That is a cheap ruse by those who would rather sell arms to the Syrian regime than stand with the Syrian people.

This is about whether the Council, during a time of sweeping change in the Middle East, will stand with peaceful protesters crying out for freedom or with a regime of thugs with guns that tramples human dignity and human rights. As matters now stand, the Council will not even mandate the dispatch of human rights monitors to Syria, a grave failure that may doom the prospects for peaceful protest in the face of a regime that knows no limits.

In August, we clearly condemned the violence and made clear that the Syrian regime's repression is utterly unacceptable. Several of us on the Council and many throughout the international community have voiced our condemnation and imposed sanctions on the Al-Assad regime. Regional organizations such as the League of Arab States, the Gulf Cooperation Council and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation have urged the Syrian Government to stop the bloodshed. But the Syrian Government's reply has been an increase in the violence and repression, while some Council members have chosen to look the other way.

We urge the Governments that failed to support Council action to change course and heed the voices of the Syrian people. The Al-Assad regime flatly refuses to meet its international obligations, including those laid out in the Council's 3 August presidential statement (S/PRST/2011/16). The international community must bring real consequences to bear.

In failing to adopt the draft resolution before us, the Council has squandered an opportunity to shoulder its responsibilities to the Syrian people. We deeply regret that some members of the Council have prevented us from taking a principled stand against the Syrian regime's brutal oppression of its people. But the suffering citizens of Syria are watching today, and so is the entire Middle East. The crisis in Syria will stay before the Security Council, and we will not rest until the Council rises to meet its responsibilities.

**Mr. Salam** (Lebanon) (*spoke in Arabic*): First of all, I would like to congratulate Nigeria, Madame President, on assuming the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. I also wish to thank the President and all my colleagues for their kind words about our work during our presidency of the Council last month.

Permit me once again to say that, given the events unfolding in Syria, Lebanon would like to defend that brotherly Arab country and its right to sovereignty and the integrity of its people and land, including the right to ensure the security and safety of all its citizens. We would also like once again to express our great sorrow at the death of all victims in sisterly Syria. Thus, in conformity with the position it took on 3 August regarding the presidential statement (S/PRST/2011/16), and in protection of Lebanon's unity and stability, Lebanon today abstained from voting on the draft resolution before us.

**Mr. Barbalić** (Bosnia and Herzegovina): At the outset, allow me to congratulate the Nigerian delegation for assuming the presidency, as well as to congratulate Ambassador Salam and his delegation for their excellent leadership in September.

I would like now to voice our deep concern over the situation in Syria. Instead of witnessing a peaceful democratization and reform process, we are seeing further deterioration of the situation. Day in and day out, the Syrians continue to count increasing numbers of casualties. We would like to express our deepest sympathies to the families and friends of those who have lost their lives since the outbreak of the crisis in the country.

While expressing our full support for Syrian sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, we call upon the country's authorities to immediately start seeking ways to meet the legitimate aspirations and demands of their people through an inclusive and meaningful Syrian-led dialogue. We believe that the effective implementation of announced reforms can truly contribute to ending the unrest and restoring peace and order in Syria.

We furthermore strongly condemn the continuing violence and use of force, which is unacceptable under international humanitarian and human rights law. We call on the Syrian authorities to immediately stop such actions. Human lives must be respected and protected. We also reiterate our firm position that all those responsible for committing crimes must be brought to justice and held accountable for their actions.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is particularly worried about information regarding the flow of refugees fleeing the violence. We therefore underline the importance of unimpeded access of the United Nations and other international humanitarian organizations to the affected population.

We strongly believe that the proposed draft resolution addressed a number of critical issues. Moreover, we still consider that only prompt and decisive measures can bring about stabilization and avoid further escalation of the crisis in Syria. Had it been adopted, the proposed draft resolution could have benefited the Syrian people and contributed to peace and security in the region. Syria is an important regional stakeholder, and its stability is crucial for the peace process in the Middle East.

**Mr. Wittig** (Germany): Let me start by warmly thanking Ambassador Nawaf Salam and his team for his wise, effective and courageous leadership of the Council in the month of September. Let me also join others in congratulating you, Madame President, as you assume the presidency of the Council for this month; you can count on Germany's support.

Since the beginning of this year, we have witnessed tremendous change in the Arab world. We see how peaceful demonstrators express their desire for freedom, dignity and self-determination. We are impressed by the courage of the people and their readiness for sacrifice, in spite of oppression and authoritarian rule. Throughout the region, we commend all those who continue to express their legitimate aspiration in a peaceful manner. We are appalled by those who so brutally repress their own people.

The Syrian security forces — military and militias — have violently and indiscriminately crushed demonstrations that were overwhelmingly peaceful. Syrians from all segments of society were demanding their basic rights. Their aspirations were met with tanks, bullets and mass arrests, as well as murder, forced disappearance, torture, deprivation of liberty and persecution.

We mourn the victims and have profound respect for the hundreds of thousands of Syrians who have put their lives at risk to achieve a better future for themselves and their children. Thousands are still under arrest, in many cases without contact with their families. We urge the Syrian authorities to release all political prisoners and detained political demonstrators immediately.

For months now the international community has called on the Syrian authorities to end all violence, fully respect human rights and comply with their obligations under international law. The Security Council, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, the Gulf Cooperation Council, the Arab League, the European Union and many, many individual States and Governments — not a single one of those appeals has been heeded by the Syrian regime. On the contrary, the violent repression continued unabated.

Today the Council finally had a chance to decide that the actions of the Syrian leadership will not go unanswered. We sincerely regret that members of the

Council could not find a common voice to appropriately address the grave and systematic human rights violations by the Syrian authorities.

The stakes are high. If the repression by the Syrian regime does not stop, the country will move closer to the brink of civil war. The stability of the region is at risk. International peace and security are threatened. This is not the time or place for a mere wait-and-see approach; it is for actively engaging in pursuit of greater stability.

Today the Council failed to live up to its responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations: the maintenance of international peace and security. But let me be very clear. My country would have wished for a stronger resolution at a much earlier stage. For the sake of a unified signal from the Council, the European sponsors of this draft resolution (S/2011/612) have been working eagerly towards a compromise among Council members in recent weeks. We made substantial concessions in order to gain the support of the Council. We are deeply disappointed that some members did not find themselves in a position to reach a compromise, two of them using their veto power.

This should not, however, spoil the message already sent out by a large segment of the international community: we do not want to stand idly by while atrocities are being committed. The aspirations of the Syrian people cannot be answered by tanks, bullets and torture. Not only will members of the regime be held accountable for their deeds; they also have to understand that the only viable option for the future of Syria is through a meaningful, Syrian-led political process.

While we encourage political dialogue, we will continue, if need be, to push for sanctions against those who brutally repress their people and threaten international peace and stability. We will do so within the framework of the United Nations and the European Union, and bilaterally. The people in Syria and the Arab world should know that Germany, its partners and all those who cherish the values of freedom, dignity and self-determination will not relent in their efforts to stand by them.

**Mr. Sangqu** (South Africa): Let me begin, Madame President, by joining my colleagues in congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council this month. We wish you

every success. I also wish to thank Ambassador Salam of Lebanon for his stewardship of the Council in the busy month of September.

South Africa is deeply concerned about the deteriorating political and humanitarian situation in Syria. It is our hope that the situation will be resolved in a peaceful manner and in accordance with the will of the Syrian people. We condemn the loss of life in Syria and call for maximum restraint on the part of all parties to the conflict. We demand an immediate end to all violence in Syria.

On the humanitarian front, we call on the Syrian authorities to facilitate access for humanitarian agencies, including the United Nations, in accordance with the relevant international human rights and humanitarian law.

We urge the Syrian authorities to initiate an open, transparent and all-inclusive political process with their people to address their grievances, in order to guarantee their fundamental political rights and freedoms, including their right to freedom of assembly and freedom of speech. We also encourage the opposition to participate in this political process with a view to ensuring peace and stability in Syria.

A holistic political solution must be found, one that will respect democracy, political reform, justice and human rights, as well as the socio-economic development needs of the people of Syria, in order to ensure long-term peace and stability. This solution must also preserve the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Syria.

Syria is integral to a wider resolution of the Middle East conflict. Its stability is linked to that of its neighbours. Any action on the part of the international community on Syria, therefore, including action by the Security Council, should be cognizant of the regional implications. We have seen recently that Security Council resolutions have been abused, and that their implementation has gone far beyond the mandate of what was intended.

With the regard to the draft resolution (S/2011/612) before us, South Africa was concerned about the sponsors' intention to impose punitive measures that would have pre-judged the resolution's implementation. We believe that these were designed as a prelude to further actions. We are concerned that this draft resolution not be part of a hidden agenda

aimed at once again instituting regime change, which has been an objective clearly stated by some. We are thus concerned about the fact that the sponsors of this draft resolution rejected language that clearly excluded the possibility of military intervention in the resolution of the Syrian crisis. We maintain that the Security Council should proceed with caution on Syria lest we exacerbate an already volatile situation.

It is for these reasons that my delegation abstained on the draft resolution before us.

**Mrs. Viotti (Brazil):** I wish to congratulate you, Madame President, on assuming the presidency of the Council, and to pledge our full support to you. I would also like to express our appreciation to Ambassador Nawaf Salam of Lebanon and his team for their excellent conduct of our work in September.

Brazil stands in solidarity with the aspirations expressed by the populations of many Arab countries for greater political participation, economic opportunities, freedom and dignity. We have consistently called on the countries concerned to address such aspirations through dialogue and meaningful reforms, and to refrain from the use of force against peaceful demonstrators. Brazil has unequivocally condemned human rights violations wherever they occur.

The situation in Syria is of great concern to us. Brazil has voiced this concern publicly and in our conversations with the Syrian authorities, individually and alongside our India-Brazil-South-Africa (IBSA) partners. We have called for violence to cease and humanitarian access to be granted.

Brazil has supported the establishment by the Human Rights Council of a commission of inquiry, which will be chaired by a Brazilian national. We hope that the Syrian authorities will cooperate with the commission. We take note of the initiatives announced by the Syrian Government, including measures aimed at reforming the political system and the release of political prisoners. Such initiatives, however, cannot attain their goal if violence continues.

We appreciate the efforts made by the sponsors of this draft resolution (S/2011/612) to take different views into account, but we would have wished that further efforts had been made to muster broader support before it was put to the vote. Because of Syria's centrality to stability in the region, it is all the

more important that the Council be able to act with caution, and preferably with a single voice. We are convinced that more time would have allowed for differences to be bridged and for legitimate concerns to be accommodated. We regret that this was not the case.

Brazil firmly believes that meaningful and inclusive national dialogue, leading to effective political reform, is the only way out of the current crisis in Syria. We encourage the League of Arab States to continue to play a constructive role through its diplomatic efforts. Both collectively and individually, Brazil will continue to advocate for a political engagement that can effectively bear fruit and pave the way for a peaceful solution to the crisis in Syria.

**The President:** I will now give the floor to the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic.

**Mr. Ja'afari** (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset I wish to congratulate you, Madam, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We also extend our congratulations and appreciation to our fellow Ambassador of Lebanon for his able and successful conduct of the Council's tasks during the past month.

The unprecedented, aggressive language used by certain ambassadors against my country and against its political leadership has facilitated my task today, for their discourse underscored what we and other friendly ambassadors have said, namely, that my country is being targeted by its enemies on the basis of principle, and not on any humanitarian reasons whatsoever. That aggressive discourse has revealed the prejudice against my country, Syria, and against its political leadership that exists in certain Western capitals. The prejudice is due to our independent political position, which does not conform to the agendas of those capitals.

On 3 October, an armed terrorist group assassinated both Saria Hassoun, the son of Grand Mufti Ahmad Badreddin Hassoun, and Dr. Mohammad al-Omar, a history professor at the University of Aleppo. A few days ago, on 29 September, to be exact, another armed terrorist group assassinated Aws Abdel Karim Khalil, a nuclear engineer and dean of the University of Homs. Two days earlier, on 27 September, a third armed terrorist group assassinated Nael al-Dakhil, dean of the Chemistry Faculty at the University of Homs, as well as Dr. Mohammad Ali Akeel, dean of the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Homs. On

25 September, a fourth armed terrorist group assassinated Dr. Hassan Eid, Director of Cardiology at the National Hospital in Homs.

All of those crimes were committed in the same week. Unfortunately, they were added to the 800 army, police and security personnel and a similar number of our civilian citizens who were killed. We are deeply saddened by that.

The armed terrorist groups inaugurated a new era of terrorism, targeting Syria's State institutions, the army and universities, by assassinating our scientific, medical, academic and spiritual leaders. Despite the terrible haemorrhaging of the entire homeland of my country, Syria, of which I am proud, there are certain States that are leading the international campaign to intervene in Syria under the pretext of human rights and the protection of civilians. Those countries continue to reject the existence of the armed terrorist groups in Syria, for reasons that are known to all.

Moreover, those States continue to protect and sponsor the leaders of those terrorist groups, whom they host in their capitals. They continue to convene for them one conference after another, where they refuse to engage in dialogue with my Government. Notably, those States are infamous for their black notebook in the field of protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms.

I do not think anyone would chose to ignore the massacres and human rights violations that were committed in Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Cambodia, Algeria and many other African countries and in Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as in Libya, and in the prisons of Abu Ghraib, Guantanamo and the secret prisons in Europe, to mention just a few.

We have stated previously that Syria is beleaguered by a two-pronged problem. The first prong is that the country truly requires economic, political and social reforms. Such reforms are necessary and the masses have called for them. That is what we are working to achieve. The second prong is the misuse of the demands and needs of the masses for purposes that are diametrically opposed to the desires of the Syrian people. This includes misuse of those rightful demands as a ladder to facilitate external opposition, provoke sectarian unrest and insecurity, pave the way for external intervention and to call for that intervention.



All of those actions are categorically rejected by the Syrian people, including by the honest domestic opposition. In that connection, certain parties within the Security Council continue to promote the Council's involvement in Syria's domestic affairs and development, which is a tremendous disservice to the rule of law. It is also in the interest of the agendas of certain parties who oppose Syria on the basis of unfounded pretexts, including the pretext of maintaining international peace and security. That is not in the interest of Syria's security and stability. We are astounded by that irrational non-objective political trend that strives, in an absurd and frantic manner, to undermine stability, security and coexistence in the entire region generally, and in Syria in particular, by defaming Syria and its important political stature and role in the Arab region and the world.

Those parties have repeatedly abused the Council, using it as a cover-up for implementing their interventions in the domestic affairs of Member States. And even when those parties were faced with the desire of the other States on the Council to rise above those interventionist policies, we noted that the former resorted to unilateral actions outside the scope of international law to implement their political and military schemes. Hence, those parties — in violation of international law — exported NATO forces to many Member States of this international Organization, to undermine their political stability, plunder their riches and spread so-called creative anarchy in those countries.

However — and this is a paradox — those parties made aggressive use of the veto 50 times since 1948 against the Palestinians, in order to deprive them of their legitimate rights and to prevent the establishment of their State. A certain State used its veto power 50 times to protect Israel and it continues to threaten to use its veto power. That could be considered taking part in genocide, because that action is tantamount to turning a blind eye to and supporting the Israeli massacres in occupied Arab lands. That is without even mentioning the misuse of the events and developments in Syria to divert international public opinion away from the legitimate demands of Palestinians to have full membership in the United Nations.

The Syrian leadership responded quickly and immediately to the legitimate demands of the Syrian population. President Bashar Al-Assad announced a comprehensive package of reforms, which our

Government is implementing by enacting a wide spectrum of rules and legislation enhancing the democratic process and expanding the participation of our citizens in political and economic processes, in complete independence of the external evaluations and positions that have no place in our domestic affairs. Reforms in Syria have become tangible realities on the ground that can not be ignored. They are ongoing, despite the attempts by people outside our country to curtail those reforms by various means.

No State can claim that it is more desirous to guarantee the safety and security of its citizens than Syria. Since the unfortunate and painful events in our country, we have strived to guarantee the security and safety of each citizen. We have also endeavoured to continue to provide basic services, food and medicine without delay, despite the hasty imposition of economic sanctions, imposed unilaterally and illegally, outside of international consensus, against my country. As we strive to stand against the forces of Israeli and Western hegemony directed against our country, those measures were intended to put pressure on the Syrian population and their livelihoods and to push it to replace its political regime. Such activities are a violation of a people's right to self-determination and to choose its political system without outside pressure. That is why claiming a motive in the so-called humanitarian situation is only a pretext to intervene in our domestic affairs in a way that is harmful to our leaders and our country, in the interest of external political agendas that have nothing to do with the desire to promote humanitarian goals in Syria.

Syria received delegations from the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and the International Committee of the Red Cross, presided over by the Chairman of the Committee, who met personally with our President, Bashar Al-Assad. They and other international political, religious and media delegations saw for themselves the provocation, incitement and propaganda from certain circles aimed at distorting the facts.

Certain Council members have tried of late to intervene in our domestic affairs under the pretext of the protection of civilians. We only wonder here where they have been and why they have not protected civilians in Palestine, the occupied Syrian Golan, Southern Lebanon, Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya, when the citizens of those countries were beleaguered by crimes against humanity and war crimes. It is

interesting that the representative of France, on 14 July of this year, extended thanks to Israel for its military action against Syria in 2007. Could that not be considered an encouragement and promotion of aggression? Is that not against all rules and norms of the international community and all ethical principles that reject the use of force as a solution?

The international legal framework governing international relations is based on the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of States. It has been enshrined in myriad international instruments, chief among them the United Nations Charter, Article 2, paragraph 7. Therefore, the calls from certain circles to topple the legitimate Government of Syria are an irresponsible incitement aimed at undermining Syrian stability. It is a glaring violation of the Charter of the United Nations and is harmful to the interests of Governments. Encouraging the radical demands of the opposition in Syria to topple the Government by force of arms, violence and terrorism amounts to a coup supported by outside Powers and can certainly not be considered as reform.

Is not the political declaration by certain leaders and foreign ministers of countries on the Council that the Syrian President has lost his legitimacy, and that therefore he should step down, a blatant breach of international law and the Charter of the United Nations? Is that not a blatant interference in the internal affairs of Syria and is it not subject to questioning? Is that not tantamount to hindrance of national reforms by inciting the Syrian people on the streets against the legitimate Syrian leadership? Those are questions that we leave to members to answer.

We hope that the United Nations and its Member States will assist Syria in addressing the terrorist and extremist acts and attempts to destabilize it. Hastily defined positions should not be used to disguise political pressure in order to encourage armed extremist groups. Here, we wish to affirm that the intervention of the Security Council in Syrian internal affairs further aggravates the situation and sends a message to extremists and terrorists that their acts of deliberate sabotage and violence — towards which no country can be lenient — are encouraged and supported by the Security Council.

Syria, like other States Members of the Organization, including those represented on the

Council, have problems that require reform. If there is anyone here who has no problems and does not need reform, they can cast a stone at us. While the greedy schemes of our enemies inside and outside the Council may succeed elsewhere at the expense of the stability, security and safety of other countries, I can underscore that Syria will stand resolute against any plot that targets its sovereignty, national security, independence and stability, as well as its independent political decisions.

We therefore reject the manoeuvres of the sponsors of the draft resolution that has just failed to be adopted. Such political and media manoeuvres target my country and its stature in the international arena. The power of prestige is more important than power itself. The sponsors have lost the power of prestige, and now they have resorted to power, since they have lost the trust of the majority of States Members of the Organization.

Through such conduct, they undermine international legitimacy and seek to lead the entire world into a new colonial era and military adventures in various places that are bound and doomed to fail. Those very States led the whole world into two world wars that claimed millions of lives on our planet. With their colonial behaviour, their enslavement and their attitude, they caused the untold suffering of hundreds of millions in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In closing, I wish to extend thanks, gratitude and appreciation to the friendly States that rejected the misuse and abuse of the Council as a tool to harm my country's interests, political independence, security and stability. If we are optimistic about the Council, it is because we continue to hear the voice of the wise echoing in the Chamber, calling for a hand to be extended to Syria to address its difficulties, to encourage the Syrian Government to push ahead with the desired reforms, and to call on the external opposition to enter into a comprehensive national dialogue in order to build a Syria for all our citizens without exception.

**The President:** There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

*The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.*





# Security Council

Sixty-seventh year

*Provisional*

**6711**<sup>th</sup> meeting

Saturday, 4 February 2012, 10 a.m.  
New York

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<i>President:</i>	Mr. Menan . . . . .	(Togo)
<i>Members:</i>	Azerbaijan . . . . .	Mr. Musayev
	China . . . . .	Mr. Li Baodong
	Colombia . . . . .	Mr. Osorio
	France . . . . .	Mr. Araud
	Germany . . . . .	Mr. Wittig
	Guatemala . . . . .	Mr. Rosenthal
	India . . . . .	Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri
	Morocco . . . . .	Mr. Loulichki
	Pakistan . . . . .	Mr. Haroon
	Portugal . . . . .	Mr. Moraes Cabral
	Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Churkin
	South Africa . . . . .	Mr. Sangqu
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . . . . .	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America . . . . .	Ms. Rice

## Agenda

The situation in the Middle East

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This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

*The meeting was called to order at 11.50 a.m.*

### **Expression of thanks to the outgoing President**

**The President** (*spoke in French*): As this is the first meeting of the Council for the month of February 2012, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Baso Sangqu, Permanent Representative of South Africa, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of January 2012. I am sure I speak for all members of the Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Sangqu and his delegation for the great diplomatic skill with which they conducted the Council's business last month.

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **The situation in the Middle East**

**The President** (*spoke in French*): Under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Bahrain, Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Libya, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates and the Syrian Arab Republic to participate in this meeting.

It is so decided.

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

Members of the Council have before them document S/2012/77, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Bahrain, Colombia, Egypt, France, Germany, Jordan, Kuwait, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Portugal, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

*A vote was taken by a show of hands.*

*In favour:*

Azerbaijan, Colombia, France, Germany, Guatemala, India, Morocco, Pakistan, Portugal, South Africa, Togo, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

*Against:*

China, Russian Federation

**The President** (*spoke in French*): There were 13 votes in favour and two against. The draft resolution has not been adopted, owing to the negative vote of two permanent members of the Council.

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

**Mr. Loulichki** (Morocco) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, Sir, allow me to offer Morocco's congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month. Similarly, our great appreciation goes to Ambassador Baso Sangqu and his delegation for their presidency of the Council last month.

I wish to express my delegation's great regret and disappointment over the Council's failure to adopt the draft resolution (S/2012/77) we submitted three days ago, as well as our sincere hope that the Council's failure will not serve as a pretext for further dangerous backsliding in the humanitarian situation in brotherly Syria and increased innocent civilian casualties.

It should be recalled that in their recent presentations to the Council (see S/PV.6710), Sheikh Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabr Al-Thani, Chairman of the current session of the Ministerial Council of the League of Arab States, and Mr. Nabil Elaraby, Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, made a clear and urgent request for the Council's support of the regional organization's bold, decisive and comprehensive initiative based on dialogue, mutual understanding and national reconciliation, aimed at achieving a peaceful solution for a situation that has only continued to worsen with time.

In assuming its responsibility as the Arab member of the Security Council and in close cooperation with other States members and non-members of the Council, in particular many of the Arab countries, Morocco, almost a year after the start of the crisis in brotherly Syria, continues to work to achieve consensus in order to enable the Council to speak with a single voice.

Morocco highly appreciates the initiative of all the Council members that joined us in sponsoring the draft resolution. I refer to the Council's unanimous response to the proposals made by one of its members. We duly appreciate the spirit of consensus and

flexibility reflected in the draft resolution, of which members are well aware.

Through our efforts, we have endeavoured to live up to the firm principles demanding an immediate and complete end to all hostilities and acts of violence, and to encourage political dialogue in order to enable the Syrian people to establish its national political institutions, preserve Syria's territorial integrity and social, pluralistic unity and, equally important, to forestall any external military intervention. Now that the Council has failed to reach a decision to support the Arab initiative, the road map remains the only tool as an exemplary framework for implementation by the League of Arab States.

We are terribly pained by the horrendous events unfolding before us. We ask God to bless all the victims without exception, and we call for the bloodshed to end and for all factions of the Syrian people to establish a democratic State and open a single, unified society enjoying understanding and harmony. We hope that the Security Council will not have to address the situation yet again, although it seems to be deteriorating. We hope that now that the Council has been unable to reach decision, all those who have leverage with the parties will spare no effort to ensure that no further innocent victims are claimed and that the violence and counter-violence will come to an end.

**Mr. Araud** (France) (*spoke in French*): It is with great sadness and concern that I note the exercise today of a double veto against a draft resolution on Syria that had been supported by all other members of the Council. This is a sad day for the Council; it is a sad day for the Syrians; and it is sad day for all the friends of democracy.

Above and beyond the thousands of dead, wounded, tortured and imprisoned since the repression began almost a year ago, history has compounded our shame because today is the anniversary of the Hama massacre and falls only one day after another massacre in Homs. The father killed on a mass scale; the son has followed in his footsteps. Horror would seem to be hereditary in Damascus.

We have been discussing Syria for 10 months, and all we have managed to adopt is a mere presidential statement on 3 August 2011 (S/PRST/2011/16) because of the exercise of the veto,

exercised in October by the same members, of a text that was as moderate as today's.

What has happened over these past 10 months? More than 6,000 Syrians have fallen victim to repression, and the situation could well be worse than we know. Ten days ago, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights Pillay told us that she was no longer able to count the victims of repression. The Secretary-General has called tirelessly on the Council to act to stop the crimes against humanity being committed in Syria. And the Council has remained silent.

The Human Rights Council has thrice noted the overwhelming responsibility of the Syrian regime, and the Security Council has remained silent.

Some 133 members of the General Assembly have solemnly condemned these criminal acts and called for an immediate end to them. And the Council has remained silent.

Only three days ago in this very Chamber (see S/PV.6710), the League of Arab States called on the Council to support its action in the face of the Syrian regime's refusal to listen and the implications of that refusal for the entire region. The Secretary-General of the Arab League and the Prime Minister of Qatar called here for a solution that is the only credible road to a peaceful settlement of the Syrian crisis. A draft resolution that was submitted by Morocco, broadly co-sponsored within and outside the Council, and deemed by most to be consensual, offered the Council's support for regional efforts — nothing more, nothing less — and yet the Council will remain silent.

We cannot and must not overlook the harrowing conclusion that two permanent members of the Council have systematically obstructed all its action. They do so in the full knowledge of the tragic consequences of their decisions for the Syrian people. And in so doing, they are making themselves complicit in the policy of repression being implemented by the Damascus regime. Whatever they may claim, they have de facto taken the side of the Al-Assad regime against the Syrian people.

I know the arguments that will be made by those who today opposed the Council's action. I have already heard them say that only a few more days would have sufficed for us to reach an agreement. How can one speak of a few more days when hundreds of Syrians

are dying every day? We could wait no longer, especially as the draft resolution represents the broadest possible consensus of the international community in support of the efforts of regional actors to find a peaceful solution to the crisis.

For the past 10 months, we have been accused of seeking regime change and preparing for military intervention. That is patently false. We have fully answered those concerns. In this Chamber three days ago, our Ministers confirmed that there was no question of imposing a political regime on Syria. On that point and on the issue of armed intervention, the draft resolution was crystal clear. How much time have we squandered responding to these debating points? The procrastination, scheming and hesitancy are not commensurate with the tragedy being experienced by the Syrian people.

History will judge harshly those countries that have prevented the Council from offering its support to the courageous efforts of the Arab League to implement its plan. In so doing, they have without scruple aligned themselves with a regime slaughters its own people. In so doing, they have judged that their presence in the Middle East now depends on the future of the Al-Assad. That presence and that regime will endure the same fate.

As I said, today is sad day. But we will not stop here. We have no right to abandon the Syrian people to its tragic fate. I tell the Syrians that France will continue to work in all forums and with all partners that share its values towards the objective that should have united us here today — an end to the Syrian nightmare. We will continue to work with the Arab League, whose plan remains on the table even though it has not been endorsed by the Council. We will continue to support the peaceful Syrian opposition that is rallying around the Syrian National Council. We will continue to up the pressure by imposing further sanctions of the European Union.

I save my final word for the Syrian people, who with untold courage have kept their eyes on the prize of future freedom for the past 10 months. From this Chamber, I offer them France's full support and resolve relentlessly to pursue our action. We weathered a first double veto and returned to the Council; today, we have weathered a second on the part of the same countries. However, for the sake of the principles that guide the Council and the work of the United Nations,

and for the sake of our responsibility as a permanent members, that will not stop us.

**Mr. Wittig** (Germany): Germany and the overwhelming majority of Council members supported the draft resolution that was submitted by Morocco on behalf of the Arab States. However, two permanent members of the Council chose to exercise their veto. That is to say that, after more than 11 months of brutal violence and repression by the Syrian Government; after more than 5,500 deaths; after the killing of almost 400 children; and after far too many peaceful protesters have been detained, tortured, raped and abused, today the Security Council again failed to assume its responsibilities and to live up to its mandate to maintain international peace and security.

In short, the people of Syria and the region have been let down again, and that is a crying shame — even more so in the light of the recent massacres in Homs; even more so in the light of one the bloodiest days of the Arab Spring; and even more so on the tragic thirtieth anniversary of the Hama massacre. And that is the real scandal.

Germany's position is very clear. The Council should urge Al-Assad to stop the killing. His regime has to put an immediate end to the violence. It has to stop the massive, gross and systematic violation of human rights. That was the first major element of the draft resolution before us (S/2012/77).

Many of the demands expressed in the draft resolution were actually accepted by the Syrian Government on 19 December 2011. The Syrian Government agreed to the cessation of violence, to the release of all political prisoners, to the withdrawal of its armed forces, and to the unhindered freedom of movement of observers and journalists. According to the League of Arab States, however, none of those commitments was fully met by the Syrian Government.

Last Tuesday, this Council heard a remarkable plea by the League of Arab States (see S/PV.6710). The Arab States urged the Council not to let the Syrian people down; they urged the members of the Council to support them in resolving the crisis in Syria. That was the second major element of our draft resolution — to answer the call from Arab States and large parts of the international community to fully support the initiative of the League of Arab States, which is aimed at finding a political, Syrian-led solution to the crisis. That was the call of the draft resolution.

The draft resolution did not foresee an arms embargo or a sanctions regime, as we had wished for; nor did it mandate a commission of inquiry into human rights violations, as we had advocated. We regret that it did not, but we negotiated in a spirit of compromise, and we were ready to make substantial concessions. The draft also did not call for regime change, as some maintained. What it did, however, was to support a political framework set out by the League of Arab States. That framework is intended to facilitate a Syrian-led political transition to a democratic and plural political system, because that is what it is all about — to have the Syrian people itself decide on its own political future. That is the way for peace and security to best be achieved, in Syria and beyond. And that is what the majority here in the Council agrees upon. We regret that two Council members disagreed.

The violence in Syria has to stop. A political dialogue has to begin under the auspices of the League of Arab States. There is a political way out of this crisis. We are afraid, however, that today's decision will spur further violence and make it harder to reach a political solution. Nevertheless, Germany will continue to work with all partners in the region to support the League of Arab States.

As much as we regret today's decision, let me reassure members of the Council that Germany remains ready to work with all of them to overcome our division and to bridge the gaps. We owe that not only to the Syrian people, but also to the mandate of this Council, which is the maintenance of peace and security.

**Ms. Rice** (United States of America): The United States is disgusted that a couple of members of this Council continue to prevent us from fulfilling our sole purpose here, which is to address an ever-deepening crisis in Syria and a growing threat to regional peace and security. For months, this Council has been held hostage by a couple of members. Those members stand behind empty arguments and individual interests, while delaying and seeking to strip bare any text that would pressure Al-Assad to change his actions. That intransigence is even more shameful when we consider that at least one of those members continues to deliver weapons to Al-Assad.

The United States has long said that it is past time for the Council to assume its responsibilities and to impose tough, targeted sanctions and an arms embargo

on the Al-Assad regime, as many individual countries have already done. But today's draft resolution (S/2012/77) did not even do that. The text simply supported an Arab League plan that Al-Assad himself already agreed to uphold and the subsequent Arab League decision towards a peaceful resolution of the crisis. The sponsors of the draft resolution truly went the last mile to try to reach consensus on a draft that already more than accommodates the concerns of a few Council members about the use of force and sanctions. Subsequent attempts today to introduce wrecking amendments at the eleventh hour, only to further delay Council action, are unforgivable.

Since yesterday, the Syrian Government has waged and intensified an especially horrific campaign in Homs to murder hundreds, including women and children, with artillery, tanks and other indiscriminate violence. Syrian forces continue to prevent hundreds of innocent and injured civilians from seeking medical help. The international community must protect the Syrian people from that abhorrent brutality. But a couple of members of this Council remain steadfast in their willingness to sell out the Syrian people and to shield a craven tyrant.

The United States, by contrast, stands fully and irrevocably with the long-suffering people of Syria.

Since those same two Council members vetoed the last draft resolution on Syria, we have heard reports from the High Commissioner for Human Rights that the regime may be committing crimes against humanity. We also heard from Arab League Secretary-General Elaraby and from Qatari Prime Minister Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabr Al-Thani, who noted that the Assad regime has "failed to make any serious effort to cooperate" (*see S/PV.6710, p.4*) with the Arab League and that Assad's "killing machine continues effectively unabated" (*ibid., p.5*).

Since those two members last vetoed a draft resolution on Syria, an estimated 3,000 more civilians have been killed, with another almost 250 killed just yesterday. Many thousands more have been held captive and tortured by Al-Assad and his Shabia gangs. Since those two members last vetoed a resolution, however, and despite the absence of Security Council action, we have seen more and more Syrians speak out in peaceful demonstrations against the regime.

Once again, the courageous people of Syria can clearly see who on this Council supports their yearning



for liberty and universal rights and who does not. And during this season of change, the people of the Middle East can now see clearly which nations have chosen to ignore their calls for democracy and instead to prop up desperate dictators. Those who oppose the draft resolution have denied this last chance to end Al-Assad's brutality through peaceful means under Arab League auspices. Any further bloodshed will be on their hands.

The Governments that once again stymied Council action today need to reverse course and to heed the voices of the Syrian people — for their own sake, for the sake of Syria, for the sake of the Middle East, and for the sake of this Council.

**Mr. Moraes Cabral** (Portugal): This is indeed a sad day for the Security Council. Once again, it was unable to act to send a forceful and united message to the Syrian authorities to stop killing and torturing their people, even though in the recent hours hundreds more have been killed.

How long will this Council allow the Syrian killing machine to continue to push the country into a bloody sectarian conflict? How many more dead and maimed will it take to finally force this Council into action? It is indeed regrettable and particularly worrying that the Security Council was unable to unanimously support the decision of the League of Arab States of 22 January to facilitate a political transition to a democratic, pluralistic political system in which all Syrians are equal, regardless of their affiliations or ethnicity or beliefs, and are de facto citizens of their country.

A Syrian-led political transition based on a serious political dialogue between the Syrian Government and the whole spectrum of the Syrian opposition: that is exactly what those who did not support this resolution today had been demanding.

The Security Council was unable to respond to the plea of the League of Arab States that it support the Arab world's attempt to end the killing and reach a peaceful political solution to the Syrian crisis — two goals that are, I believe, shared by all on this Council. Yet again the Council has failed to meet its responsibilities towards the Syrian people and to fulfil its role as the primary body entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security. Not only is this extremely disappointing; it is simply unacceptable.

As was made perfectly clear in this Council last Tuesday, the situation in Syria is untenable and is rapidly spiraling towards civil war. Clear and unanimous support by this Council for the efforts of the Arab League is essential if we are to counter such a dangerous development. It was made abundantly clear in this Chamber that this draft resolution was not about regime change, nor did it seek to impose changes on Syria from outside, much less to allow for the use of force or impose sanctions. The sole objective of this resolution was to put an immediate end to the violence and enable a Syrian-owned political dialogue that would allow the Syrian people to determine their own future peacefully.

As my minister stated here earlier this week (see S/PV.6710), we fully support the efforts of the League of Arab States regarding Syria, including its decision of 22 January 2012 and the political road map therein. They represent the only viable way to solve this crisis peacefully, through political means.

Portugal remains fully committed to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Syria. We urge all parties in Syria to immediately halt all violence and engage in a serious political dialogue under the auspices of the League of Arab States. Portugal will continue to work actively with the Arab League towards the fulfilment of these objectives.

**Sir Mark Lyall Grant** (United Kingdom): The United Kingdom is appalled by the decision of Russia and China to veto an otherwise consensus resolution, submitted by Morocco, the United Kingdom, the United States, France, Germany, Portugal, Colombia, Togo, Libya, Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, Tunisia, Oman and Turkey.

It has been 10 months since the Syrian people bravely demanded their universal rights, and 10 months since the Syrian regime responded by violently repressing and killing its own people.

Six months ago the Council adopted a presidential statement (S/PRST/2011/16) condemning the widespread violations of human rights and the use of force against civilians by the Syrian authorities. It called for an immediate end to violence and compliance with obligations under international law, and for the Syrian Government to implement its stated commitments to reform. On that day, the death toll in

Syria stood at approximately one thousand. But the Syrian regime only continued its brutal repression.

Four months ago, two Council members vetoed an attempt to send a clear message to the Syrian regime to end the bloodshed. That day, the death toll stood at three thousand, and the Syrian regime only continued its brutal repression.

The death toll today stands at around six thousand. The Syrian regime has ferociously escalated its already brutal repression in the last 24 hours, subjecting the citizens of Homs to artillery and heavy weaponry. The death toll will be high. Those who blocked Council action today must ask themselves how many more deaths they are prepared to tolerate before they support even modest and measured action.

Last Tuesday, this Council and the world heard from His Excellency Sheikh Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabr Al-Thani of Qatar and from the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States (see S/PV.6710). They came with a simple request for Security Council support for the Arab League's plan to facilitate a political transition and bring about a peaceful resolution to the crisis. The original Moroccan draft resolution did just that. From the outset it had support from the vast majority of Council members and had the backing of the Arab League.

Yet some Council members argued that the draft resolution imposed regime change. It said no such thing. But in an attempt to reach consensus, we provided further assurances in the text. The same minority argued that the text could somehow be used to authorize military intervention. It did no such thing. It was a Chapter VI resolution. But in an attempt to reach consensus, we provided further assurances in the text. The same minority argued that very modest language expressing concern about weapons was somehow tantamount to an arms embargo. It was not. But we took it out. They said that mere mention of Arab League sanctions was tantamount to United Nations sanctions. It was not. But we took it out in an effort to reach consensus.

The facts speak for themselves. There is nothing in this text that should have triggered a veto. We removed every possible excuse. The reality is that Russia and China have today made a choice to turn their backs on the Arab world and the support tyranny rather than the legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people. They have failed in their responsibility as

permanent members of the Security Council, and they have done so on the most shameful of days of the Syrian killing machine's three hundred days of oppression.

The United Kingdom will continue to support the Arab League's efforts to bring about a peaceful transition in Syria. We shall continue to support the brave Syrian people in their demands for change. The regime must cease the violence. There must now be a transition to a new political dispensation. Should the regime continue on its current bloody trajectory, we will once again bring the issue back to this Council, in consultation with our colleagues in the Arab League.

**Mr. Osorio** (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): On behalf of Colombia, I wish to state my disappointment and regret at the outcome of the vote, which denies the member countries of the League of Arab States, and this Organization itself, the support that has been requested of us for a plan intended to bring an end to the tragedy being experienced in Syria and to defend the lives and rights of the people of that country.

Since the beginning of the violent repression by the Syrian Government of the civilian population more than ten months ago, we have made many attempts, many appeals to find a solution to the crisis. The response has been a continuous escalation of the brutal use of force and the violation of all the human rights of the people of that country.

Throughout this process we have engaged in ongoing dialogue with the Arab countries. We always took into account their guidance and requests to permit and facilitate Arab League action before the Council took a decision. This was done until their efforts were no longer responded to, and they specifically requested, last week, that this Council support their political transition plan in order to achieve peace and establish a democratic regime in Syria.

Colombia supported and voted in favour of the draft resolution submitted by Morocco in response to the request formally presented to the Council by the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States (see S/PV.6710), convinced that the Syrian people must be rescued from the terrible tragedy that they are suffering today.

**Mr. Rosenthal** (Guatemala) (*spoke in Spanish*): Our position on the situation in Syria was fully

explained by our Minister for Foreign Affairs last Tuesday in the Chamber (see S/PV.6710).

Our prime objective is to help to put an end to the spiral of violence afflicting the Syrian population and to find a political solution to the crisis experienced by that country. We believe that the League of Arab States has adopted an initiative that meets both goals (see S/2012/71, annex). We therefore voted in favour of the draft resolution just put before us (S/2012/77).

We regret that our vote was in vain owing to the very particular voting system that governs our decision-making process. That adds to the ranks of those affected by this matter — not only the victims of the violence, whom, I underscore, are our prime concern, but also the effectiveness of the Security Council in adequately responding to the challenges facing it.

In conclusion, our delegation deeply regrets that we have failed to meet the request made of us by the League of Arab States. We urge its member countries to persevere in its initiatives, including that of 22 January.

**Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri (India):** I want to start by congratulating you, Sir, on assuming the presidency of the Security Council for the month of February. My delegation and I look forward to working with you to make your presidency truly successful. In an earlier incarnation, I had the opportunity to have visited your beautiful country. I would also like to take this opportunity to complement South Africa, Ambassador Baso Sangqu and his team for their wise and able stewardship of the Council in January.

The Syrian Arab Republic has historically played an important role in the Middle East. Prolonged instability and unrest in Syria have implications for peace and stability in the wider region. India is concerned about the present situation in Syria, which has resulted in the deaths of thousands of civilians and security forces personnel over the past 10 months. Therefore, since the beginning of the protest, we have called for a peaceful and inclusive political process to address the grievances of all sections of Syrian society.

We strongly condemn all violence, irrespective of the perpetrators. We also condemn all violations of human rights. India holds the rights of expression and peaceful assembly among the fundamental values that should be respected, while ensuring the stability and

security of society. India has conveyed that message to the Syrian leadership, both bilaterally and with our partners Brazil and South Africa. We have impressed upon the Syrian side to abjure violence and pay heed to the aspirations of the people of Syria. That message was also contained in the presidential statement issued by the Council in August 2011 under India's presidency (S/PRST/2011/16).

We are firmly of the view that a political process for the resolution of the present crisis should be led by the Syrians themselves. We believe that the main role of the international community, including the Council, is to facilitate engagement of the Syrian people with all sections of Syrian society for an inclusive political process that takes into account the legitimate aspirations of all Syrians, while ensuring respect for the country's sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

We note that the draft resolution enjoins the Government to protect its population, indicating that it should have the capacity to do so. The League of Arab States is an important regional organization and should play its required and historic role in promoting political dialogue among the Syrian parties.

In that context, we welcome the deployment of the League's observer mission across several areas of the country, which had a calming effect on the level of violence and provided a more accurate picture of developments. We hope that the mission can return soon.

Our support for today's draft resolution is in accordance with our support for the efforts of the Arab League for a peaceful resolution of the crisis through a Syrian-led inclusive political process. We note that the draft resolution expressly rules out any measures under Article 42 of the Charter and calls for a serious political dialogue between the Syrian Government and the whole spectrum of the opposition under the auspices of the League of Arab States.

We believe that the leadership of Syria is a matter for the Syrian people to decide. It would be necessary for all opposition forces in Syria to peacefully engage in constructive dialogue with the authorities. We hope that that would create a new environment for peace and facilitate a political process. That political dialogue should build upon the political reforms already announced by the Syrian leadership, with the necessary changes for them to find acceptance among all sections of Syrian society.

**Mr. Churkin** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): The bloodshed and violence in Syria must be immediately ended. To that end, the Russian Federation has undertaken active diplomatic efforts in contacts with the Syrians, Syria's Arab neighbours and other members of the international community. Today, it was announced in Moscow that, on instructions from President Medvedev of the Russian Federation, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation Lavrov and the Director of the Foreign Intelligence Service of the Russian Federation, Mr. Fradkov, are to visit Damascus on 7 February for a meeting with President Al-Assad of the Syrian Arab Republic.

In the Security Council, we have actively tried to reach a decision for an objective solution that would truly help to put a prompt end to violence and start a political process in Syria. The decision of the Security Council should be just that, but from the very beginning of the Syrian crisis some influential members of the international community, including some sitting at this table, have undermined any possibility of a political settlement, calling for regime change, encouraging the opposition towards power, indulging in provocation and nurturing the armed struggle.

The work of the Security Council was not taken to its conclusion. The draft resolution put to the vote (S/2012/77) did not adequately reflect the true state of affairs in Syria and sent a biased signal to the Syrian sides. The sponsors of the draft resolution did not take into account our proposed amendments to the draft resolution to the effect that the Syrian opposition must distance itself from extremist groups that are committing acts of violence, and calling on States and all those with any relevant opportunity to use their influence to stop those groups committing acts of violence. Nor has account been taken of our proposals that along with the withdrawal of the Syrian armed forces from the cities, there should be an end to attacks by armed groups on State institutions and neighbourhoods. Nor has there been support for the proposal to show more flexibility for the intermediary efforts of the League of Arab States, which would increase the chances for the success of an inclusive Syrian political process.

Under these conditions, the Russian delegation voted against the draft resolution submitted. We greatly regret such an outcome of our joint work in the Security Council. We believe that intensive efforts by

the international community will be continued, with a view to an immediate end to the violence and a successful beginning and conclusion of an inclusive Syrian political process and to withdrawal of that country from a profound crisis.

Russia, for its part, will continue to work precisely in that direction.

**Mr. Li Baodong** (China)(*spoke in Chinese*): The Security Council has just voted on the draft resolution on Syria (S/2012/77), and China voted against it.

China has, all along, followed closely the developments in Syria. We call on all parties in Syria to stop the violence and in particular to avoid casualties among innocent civilians, to restore order in the country as soon as possible and to respect the request of the Syrian people for reform and for the safeguarding of their own interests. This is in the fundamental interest of Syria and its people. We support the good-offices efforts of the Arab League to resolve the Syrian crisis so as to promote an early launch of an inclusive political process led by the Syrian people and in which all parties extensively participate, to peacefully resolve differences and disputes through dialogue and negotiations, and to restore stability in Syria.

The international community should provide constructive assistance to help achieve these goals. At the same time, the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Syria should be fully respected. The actions of the Security Council on the Syrian issue should comply with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and help ease the tensions, help promote political dialogue and diffuse disputes, and help maintain peace and stability in the Middle East region, rather than complicate the issue.

Under these principles, China participated actively in the consultations on the draft resolution and supported the efforts of the Arab League to facilitate a political settlement of the Syrian issue and to maintain stability in the region. Like many Council members, China maintains that under the current circumstances, to put undue emphasis on pressuring the Syrian Government for a prejudged result of the dialogue or to impose any solution will not help resolve the Syrian issue. Instead, that may further complicate the situation.

China supports the amendments proposed by the Russian Federation and has noted that the Russian Foreign Minister will visit Syria next week. The request by some Council members for continued consultations on the draft resolution is reasonable. It is regrettable that these reasonable concerns were not taken into account. To put through a vote when parties are still seriously divided over the issue does not help maintain the unity and authority of the Security Council nor help to properly resolve the issue. In this context, China voted against the draft resolution.

Syria is an important country in the Middle East. Peace and stability in Syria serve the common interests of the Syrian people and the international community. China will continue to work with the international community and to play a positive and constructive role in the proper settlement of the Syrian issue.

**Mr. Haroon** (Pakistan): Many congratulations, Mr. President, on assuming the post of Council President, and with such an important world issue at the very start of your tenure.

The problem in Syria has assumed dimensions that are not only regrettable but condemnable. We have to understand that while we have made civilization, we have also condoned expressions like “collateral damage”, and so many others, which it is not my intention to name here today. But I believe that we accept too much too easily. It reminds me of when, two thousand years ago, Pontius Pilate washed his hands and said, “I have nothing to do with this.” Two thousand years later, we still see that humanity suffers from that particular viewpoint.

Pakistan had some serious concerns, mainly against killings, the massacre of innocents. But also, on a point of principle of the Charter, we were not happy about any infringement on the sovereignty or integrity of Syria.

There was a very spirited attempt, as related by Sir Mark just now as well, to take care of issues and concerns, and we are thankful for that. I believe that it became important to be able to end killings by asking both sides — in fact, forcing both sides — to acknowledge that it is unacceptable, and based on the strong moral point that the Arab League draft introduced into this.

There was a question of amnesty. I also believe it was an accepted fact that everyone has to get involved

to stop it. Do not forget that nothing succeeds anywhere in the world against a government without external help. That is a point of history that cannot be ignored.

It is easy for those of us who today voted in the majority to sit back and say, “Well, we have done our bit.” No, we have not. We cannot wash our hands of this. We must continue and seek — as the Russians and the Chinese have stated that they will continue to seek — the way forward. I believe that the best vehicle is the Arab League plan and the very substantial moves that have been accepted over the last few days.

I believe that the offer of no regime change, of plurality, and the promotion of democracy are important aspects of this situation. We have stood by that. I believe that even today our system has indeed let us down. We have been very clear, without taking political benefit out of it, that this aspect of the veto is always a heart-wrencher. It cuts both ways, benefitting one side at one moment and the other at another moment. Either everyone should have the veto, and then see how the world gets on, or perhaps we should all consider not using it whatsoever.

I also think we have arrived at a situation that demands we persevere in our efforts to strengthen the relationships among us. Today our decision mattered a great deal to our Arab brethren, who have been so important to us. We had to stand with them on principle because they wanted our support pretty unanimously. I raised a question a couple of days earlier, noting that I did not then see present either Tunisia, Egypt or others that are such strong proponents on this issue; and I am glad to see their presence today. That is a great plus, in my mind.

I would like to close with a few words of reminder that all this was done with good intentions on all sides. I am not going to beat anyone with a stick. I believe consensus was achieved, though there were some drop-outs from it, and I believe we can still work towards that consensus. There is a visit to Syria scheduled in the next few days. I am sure that some more points may arise.

This matter should not be allowed to die. The draft resolution should remain an active matter before this Council, and we should address it again as soon as possible, with the help even of those that decided today not to vote for it. By keeping the matter active, we would give hope to those who are expecting action

from us. Having made these few remarks, I urge the Council to keep its engagement on this matter alive.

**Mr. Sangqu** (South Africa): Let me start by congratulating you, Sir, and Togo on your assumption of the Council presidency for the month of February. Please be assured of South Africa's full support.

The world is watching with great concern as the crisis in Syria unfolds and degenerates by the day, claiming civilian lives and injuring and displacing many people, including children. As we have said before, we remain deeply concerned about the deteriorating political, security, socio-economic and humanitarian situation in Syria. It continues to deteriorate despite calls from the international community on the Syrian Government and the armed opposition to stop the violence and settle their differences in a peaceful manner. We condemn the violent loss of life in Syria and call for maximum of restraint from all parties to the conflict. We urge the parties to stop the violence immediately and commit themselves to finding a peaceful, political solution through a Syrian-led and owned, transparent and all-inclusive political process that will fulfil the legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people.

The political process will guarantee, among other things, the people's fundamental political rights and freedoms and restore their dignity through the delivery of democracy, political reform, justice, human rights and socio-economic development. We believe that such a solution will indeed ensure long-term peace and stability. We regret the slow progress in the implementation of the reforms already announced, and encourage the Syrian Government to implement these reforms expeditiously. We urge the opposition to commit to fully participating in the implementation of these reforms.

South Africa believes that the efforts of the League of Arab States, as the organization with knowledge of and proximity to the situation in Syria, should be supported and given the necessary political space to find a solution to the Syrian crisis. South Africa supports the efforts of the League of Arab States to facilitate the Syrian-led political process, as stated in the draft resolution. It is important that the Syrian people be allowed to decide their own fate, including their future leadership.

Fundamentally, no foreign or external parties should interfere in Syria as its people engage in the

critical decision-making process on the future of their country. Any solution must preserve the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Syria. We are also satisfied that the final draft resolution (S/2012/77) was not aimed at imposing regime change on Syria, which would be against the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

We sincerely hope that the Syrian Government and the opposition will continue to cooperate with the League of Arab States in its efforts to assist them to reach a peaceful political solution. We further call on the international community to render support to this process and refrain from actions and statements that may polarize the parties and delay, or even paralyse, the League of Arab States process.

The current political environment in the Middle East, a region whose geopolitics cannot afford to have a weak or conflict-ridden Syria, warrants us to act responsibly in the interest of regional and international peace and security. South Africa voted in favour of the draft resolution today because we believe that it has the potential to help facilitate a Syrian-led political process and dialogue between the Syrian parties, and to bring long-term peace and stability to the country, in accordance with the aspirations of the Syrian people.

**Mr. Musayev** (Azerbaijan): Azerbaijan is deeply concerned at the continuing crisis and widespread violence in Syria that have resulted in the death of many people. Despite the repeated calls of the international community, the situation in Syria continues to deteriorate, causing scores of deaths and injuries. Azerbaijan has from the very beginning supported the efforts of the League of Arab States, and is looking forward to their continuation with a view to ending the violence, overcoming the crisis and finding a solution by peaceful means and through dialogue.

The only solution to the crisis in Syria is through an inclusive and Syrian-led political process with the aim of effectively addressing the legitimate aspirations and concerns of Syria's people, without external interference. This understanding is clearly expressed in the draft resolution (S/2012/77). It is crucial that obligations with respect to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Syria and all other States of the region be fully observed and respected. It is important that the draft resolution emphasizes that the current political crisis in Syria must be resolved peacefully, and notes that nothing

authorizes measures under Article 42 of the United Nations Charter.

Azerbaijan supported the draft resolution on the aforementioned understanding and with the hope that its adoption would contribute to ongoing efforts aimed at encouraging dialogue, overcoming the crisis and putting an end to human suffering.

**The President** (*spoke in French*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Togo.

Togo had hoped that the situation that has prevailed in Syria for almost a year would allow the Security Council to send a strong message to the leaders and opposition in that country to end the violence and embark on a process of political negotiation that is inclusive and transparent. It was for that reason that Togo voted in favour of the draft resolution submitted by Morocco, and was a sponsor of the text. Unfortunately, the Council was not able to send this message to the Syrian political class, and my country deplors this state of affairs. Our Council, which has the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, has failed once again to bring peace and security to Syria by speaking with a single voice.

Despite that failure, the Council should be able to continue to seek ways and means to bring peace to Syria. The Syrian people should not continue to suffer, cry and bury their dead as our Council remains impassive. The Security Council must act. Togo continues to believe that it is not too late for it to resolutely commit itself on the path of the necessary action that must be taken.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

I now give the floor to the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic.

**Mr. Ja'afari** (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): I congratulate your friendly country, Togo, and you yourself, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We wish you all success in that sensitive stewardship. I would also like to congratulate my colleague Ambassador Sangqu of South Africa on presiding over the Council for the past month.

I think that drawing inspiration from history in this Chamber is an extremely important exercise. Invoking examples from the cultures and literatures of peoples and nations is a critical experience. As I say this, I recall the literary masterpiece by the German author Johann Wolfgang von Goethe entitled *Faust*. It is a work that speaks in symbolic terms of the risks inherent in a person's — even a very wise one — selling his soul to Satan. That symbolic story summarizes the idea with which I would like to begin my statement, which is that a human being should not sell his or her soul to Satan in exchange for illusory gains that could destroy that person's hopes for freedom further down the road.

My delegation has examined the text of the draft resolution put before the Council. Given our firm belief in the pan-Arab principle, we had hoped that the examination of the question of Syria would have remained, first, exclusively within the Syrian household, and then in the larger supporting Arab household structure.

However, the rush by some parties to invite international intervention — and we know in advance what their objectives are in dealing with Arab issues, which are first and foremost the question of Palestine and the Israeli occupation of Arab territories — is a cause for concern. It is indeed a cause for sadness, deep sadness for the regrettable state of affairs in which we now find ourselves.

At this point, I would like to quote in English a sentence spoken some 22 years ago by former United States Attorney General Ramsey Clark:

(*spoke in English*)

“The United Nations, which was created to prevent the scourge of war, has become an instrument of war.”

(*spoke in Arabic*)

My delegation has followed with great appreciation the efforts by the advocates in the Council for human rights and the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, especially the inadmissibility of intervention in the internal affairs of countries, of waging wars against countries to gain exclusive control of their geographic location and their lucrative natural resources, and of resolving the economic problems of the Western Powers at the expense of the peoples of developing nations. To those States that safeguard international peace and security, we express our deep

gratitude and appreciation, and the annals of history will record the noble positions they take.

Is it not strange that over a period of 45 years — from its creation in 1945 to 1988 — the Security Council adopted only 690 resolutions, whereas in the following 20 years it adopted three times that number? That indicates that the current world is less secure, less just and less fair and that the provisions of the United Nations Charter are seriously threatened.

In this context, I would like to stress that the Syrian Arab Republic, a founding member of this world Organization, has been targeted by some Powers for punishment because of its commitment to international legal norms, especially on the issue of defending the human rights of peoples. Today, Syria is being sacrificed in a crisis manufactured by parties that do not want the best for Syria and its people. That is evident from their support — in funding, arms and favourable media coverage — for armed terrorist groups that kill, abduct and intimidate Syrian citizens and destroy and sabotage infrastructure, including power generation equipment, oil and gas pipelines, Ministry of Justice buildings and railroads.

Is there a sensible person who would believe that any government would commit massacres in any city on a day when the Security Council is scheduled to hold a meeting to examine the situation in that country? Would any entity put itself in such a position?

The most convincing proof of the criminal nature of those armed groups lies in the acts committed this very morning, which killed innocent people and destroyed homes as well as the buildings housing Syrian embassies in many capitals, all of that without any condemnation by the Secretary-General or the Council. The goal is to send a misleading message aimed at influencing the Council by swaying its decision-makers with respect to the draft resolution.

The best proof of our good intentions in our dealings with the League of Arab States is reflected in the contents of the report of the observers of the League of Arab States (see S/2012/71, annex, enclosure 4). What is very strange is that Council members did not examine that report in due time, for reasons known to all of them. The report confirms that Syria has fulfilled its obligations under the protocol.

Here, and for the fourth time at least, let me stress that if the killing had ceased, if those who pay

lip service to democracy had ceased to implement their designs against Syria, if those States that provide generous funds — billions of dollars — and the most modern weapons and means of communication to the armed groups, hosting them in their capitals in order to facilitate their criminal acts against the Syrian people and their property, if they had ceased to do so, Syria would have fulfilled the League of Arab States plan of action and the relevant protocol under that plan.

Certain Arab Gulf States have dragged the League of Arab States to the Security Council, with a view to leveraging the Council's power against Syria and to internationalizing a purely Arab issue, contrary to the provisions of the Charter of the League of Arab States. That is in spite of the fact that since the beginning of the crisis, all of the Arab politicians in the League of Arab States have been competing among themselves to stress that they are not seeking the internationalization of the crisis in Syria.

The report of the observer mission that I mentioned earlier stresses that Syria has fulfilled its obligations despite the acts of violence. Let me quote here from the report:

“The mission noted that the Government strived to help it succeed in its task and remove any barriers that might stand in its way. The Government also facilitated meetings with all parties. No restrictions were placed on the movement of the mission and its ability to interview Syrian citizens, both those who opposed the Government and those loyal to it.” (S/2012/71, annex, enclosure 4, para. 73)

About two and a half months ago, the Qatari Al-Jazeera satellite channel broadcast from Doha a political programme hosted by a well-known journalist. The two guests on that programme were the current President of Tunisia — who was not the President at that time — and a Syrian political activist. During that programme, its host said, addressing the current Tunisian President, “Do not ask me about my sources, but I have received information from the highest levels in Doha to the effect that the Syrian regime will change on 22 January” — that is, the very day on which the League of Arab States met in Cairo and took the decision to come before the Security Council.

It is indeed strange that the calls for reform, respect for human rights and the right to peaceful demonstration apply to Syria only, not to any other



State in the region, especially those that sponsored the draft resolution submitted against Syria. Some of the Arab States that sponsored the draft are the very same ones that prevented the Arab League from endorsing the integrated initiative submitted by Syria to the League of Arab States on bolstering the process of democracy, reform and human rights in all Arab States. That initiative included a demand for the issuing of a decision by the Council of the Arab League that would put forward a comprehensive Arab vision aimed at promoting democracy and reform in all Arab countries and fulfilling the aspirations of the masses in the areas of freedom; human rights; a multiparty system; freedom of information; fair and transparent elections; freedom of expression; the right of assembly and peaceful demonstration; and respect for the rights of minorities, alien residents and expatriate workers on their territory.

Is it rational that among the sponsors of the draft are States that prevent women from attending a soccer match? And those States are calling on Syria to be democratic?

Peaceful demonstration is a basic right guaranteed under Syrian law. The right to demand reform is the right of every Syrian citizen, and no one can deny that. But what no law can prevent and no State can accept is terrorism, chaos and the sabotaging of public and private property — the destabilization of a country. Every peaceful demonstrator, every person who calls for genuine reform aimed at safeguarding the Syrian homeland from major schemes and all those who seek dialogue as a way to resolve the crisis are not only welcome partners but key components of any effort to end the crisis in Syria as well as an integral part of reform and development in Syria.

The draft resolution which the Council failed to adopt today emphasizes the importance of the dialogue that has been mentioned here. We are in favour of such a dialogue and wish to see it continue and succeed. But those who wish to be parties to such a dialogue have refused to engage in dialogue openly, and the Security Council and the League of Arab States are fully aware of that. Also aware of that fact are those countries that have sought, and continue to seek, to host such a dialogue. This comes at a time when my country has agreed, in the Council, to undertake immediately a national, comprehensive dialogue that is inclusive of all parties, but under the auspices of the homeland. However, the other side, which has stonewalled the

undertaking of such a dialogue as a result of encouragement by some who wish to adopt dominating positions, has rejected dialogue and continues, even as we speak, to reject it.

It is our hope that the parties still supporting the opposition and armed groups — and those parties spoke about themselves, as some of my colleagues indicated in their statements — will sincerely advise their friends to foster a national dialogue, abandon all intentions to destroy Syria and to abandon all attempts to authorize outside military intervention. Indeed, they must join the ranks that will build Syria as it endeavours to renew itself.

Syria will enjoy security and stability as it always has. Syria will continue to be the homeland of tolerance and openness. Syria will remain the homeland of all Syrians, irrespective of their affiliations and political positions. There will be no majority and no minority. All of that will be developed on the ground in an initiative involving national ownership by the Syrian themselves and without external intervention. Syrians do not need to wait for lessons on democracy and human rights from Powers that deal with those lofty humanitarian concepts as if they were commodities to be traded speculatively on a stock exchange.

My colleague, the representative of the United States of America, said that she was disgusted at the use of the right of veto by two permanent members of the Security Council. I am not evaluating what she said. I respect her point of view. Nonetheless, I would like to ask her if her disgust also applies to the 60 vetoes that have been cast in this Chamber to prevent the establishment of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the region, the fair resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the settlement of the question of Palestine.

The statements made by some colleagues betray the true and genuinely hostile intentions of their countries towards the country, people and Government of Syria. All along, the tone of their statements has been undiplomatic, and their description of the Syrian Government as a regime is inconsistent with the principles of international law. They used inappropriate language to refer to the President of the State of Syria. It is only natural for us to say that the use of those words in this Chamber by some colleagues betrays their direct involvement in attempts to fan the flames

of violence, escalation and bloodshed in Syria and among Syrians. We do not accept any of that.

I do not wish to speak at length, but I would like to conclude my remarks by raising an important matter. Today, a journalist working for Al-Jazeera's English channel in London said on record that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Qatar had instructed the channel to increase and intensify its coverage just hours before the convening of this meeting. I leave it to Council members to draw their own conclusions from the

political instructions given to that self-proclaimed news channel to falsely step up the pressure on the Security Council by claiming that massacres are being carried out in Syria.

**The President** (*spoke in French*): There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded this stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

*The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.*





# Security Council

Sixty-seventh year

*Provisional*

## 6810<sup>th</sup> meeting

Thursday, 19 July 2012, 10.25 a.m.

New York

<i>President:</i>	Mr. Osorio . . . . .	(Colombia)
<i>Members:</i>	Azerbaijan . . . . .	Mr. Mehdiyev
	China . . . . .	Mr. Li Baodong
	France . . . . .	Mr. Araud
	Germany . . . . .	Mr. Wittig
	Guatemala . . . . .	Mr. Rosenthal
	India . . . . .	Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri
	Morocco . . . . .	Mr. Loulichki
	Pakistan . . . . .	Mr. Tarar
	Portugal . . . . .	Mr. Moraes Cabral
	Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Churkin
	South Africa . . . . .	Mr. Mashabane
	Togo . . . . .	Mr. Menan
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . . . . .	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America . . . . .	Ms. Rice

### Agenda

The situation in the Middle East

Report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of Security Council resolution 2043 (2012) (S/2012/523)

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*The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.*

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **The situation in the Middle East**

#### **Report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of Security Council resolution 2043 (2012) (S/2012/523)**

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): Under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to participate in this meeting.

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

Members have before them document S/2012/538, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France, Germany, Portugal, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

Members also have before them document S/2012/547/Rev.2, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the Russian Federation.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2012/523, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of Security Council resolution 2043 (2012).

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolutions before it. If I hear no objection, in accordance with rule 32 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Council, which states that “[p]rincipal motions and draft resolutions shall have precedence in the order of their submission”, I shall put the draft resolution contained in document S/2012/538 to the vote first.

I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

#### *In favour:*

Azerbaijan, Colombia, France, Germany, Guatemala, India, Morocco, Portugal, Togo, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America

#### *Against:*

China, Russian Federation

#### *Abstentions:*

Pakistan, South Africa

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): There were 11 votes in favour, 2 votes against and 2 abstentions. The draft resolution has not been adopted, owing to the negative vote of a permanent member of the Council.

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting on the draft resolution contained in document S/2012/538.

**Sir Mark Lyall Grant** (United Kingdom): The United Kingdom is appalled by the decision of Russia and China to veto the draft resolution (S/2012/538) aimed at bringing an end to the bloodshed in Syria and at creating the conditions for a meaningful political process. This is the third time that Russia and China have blocked the efforts of the Council to address the crisis in Syria.

More than 14,000 innocent Syrians have been killed since Russia and China first vetoed our efforts to stem the violence in October 2011 (see S/PV.6627). Since then, the regime has intensified its use of heavy weapons in population centres, including the use of artillery and helicopter gunships. More than 100 civilians are being killed every day. The events in Damascus over the past 48 hours demonstrate the need for urgent and decisive action by the Security Council to stop the downward spiral into chaos, which will claim many more innocent lives and affect the stability of the region. Meanwhile, the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS) has been rendered inoperable due to the dangerous security situation.

Against that backdrop, we proposed eight days ago a draft resolution aimed at changing the situation on the ground for the better. Its logic was simple and clear — to use the collective weight of the Council to provide greater support to the work of the Joint Special Envoy of the United Nations and the League of Arab States and his efforts to secure implementation of his six-point plan. In so doing, we were aiming to create the prospect of a reduction in violence by all sides and the conditions for the political process agreed by the ministerial Action Group for Syria in Geneva on 30 June, and to promote a conducive environment in which the United Nations Mission could resume its operations. We put the draft resolution under Chapter VII of the Charter as a clear signal to all parties that their commitments were binding.

Both the Secretary-General and Mr. Annan had repeatedly requested that the Council stipulate serious consequences for non-compliance with the six-point plan and resolutions 2042 (2012) and 2043 (2012). That is precisely what we did in proposing draft resolution S/2012/538. It is an approach supported by the Arab League and all key regional actors. It focuses on the removal of heavy weapons as a first step, because we had been repeatedly told by the Envoy and the Secretary-General that it was the first and most urgent problem that must be tackled and the one most likely to alter the dynamic on the ground.

Yet throughout the negotiation process, Russia and China chose not to support the course of action proposed by the Envoy. They claimed their agreement to a transition plan in Geneva as a great step forward, but when it came to turning words into action, taking the decisions required to implement the two resolutions that they have supported and securing an improvement on the ground that might eventually lead to progress against the transition plan, they chose to refuse engagement.

They argued that a Chapter VII draft resolution was somehow designed to seek military action through the back door. Those arguments are irrational. The Council has adopted many Chapter VII resolutions, most recently on the Sudan and South Sudan. Today's draft resolution, like that one, was set under Article 41. It was not under Article 42 of the Charter and could not therefore be construed as a precursor to military intervention.

We offered flexibility on Russia and China's concerns and gave them more time. But still, they refused to engage. Instead, they advocated more of the same approach that has consistently failed to have an effect. Instead of the pressure that Mr. Annan had requested, they advocated relying on Al-Assad's empty promises — the same promises that had been made and broken with predictable consistency since November last year. Instead of trying to generate the conditions in which the United Nations Mission could become effective, they argued for its extension in a manner that willfully ignored the fact that it was currently unable to operate.

By exercising their veto today, Russia and China have failed in their responsibilities as permanent members of the Security Council to help resolve the crisis in Syria. They have failed to provide the Joint

Envoy and the Secretary-General with the support they have asked for. They have failed the people of Syria. They have, for the third time, blocked an attempt by the majority of the Council and supported by most of the international community to try a new approach. The effect of their actions will be to protect a brutal regime. They have chosen to put their national interests ahead of the lives of millions of Syrians.

The consequences of their decision are obvious — further bloodshed and the likelihood of a descent into all-out civil war. For our part, we shall continue to work with the Envoy, the Secretary-General and responsible members of the international community to achieve the political transition that is the only way forward for Syria. It is deeply regrettable that the Council has been unable today to play the role for which it was established and is duty-bound to fulfil.

**Mr. Araud** (France) (*spoke in French*): I had hoped not to have to go through this ghastly list. By 4 October 2011, repression in Syria had already claimed 3,000 lives and Russia and China vetoed the Council's action for the first time (see S/PV.6627). By 4 February, 6,000 Syrians had been cut down by the regime, and Russia and China exercised their second veto on the Council's action (see S/PV.6711). Today, 19 July, we now count 17,000 men, women and children dead. We mourn their memory alongside the Syrian people, and Russia and China have just exercised their veto of the Council's action for the third time.

We have done all in our power since the double veto in February to ensure that the international community could finally agree on a coordinated approach that would respond to the legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people to democracy, the rule of law and respect for fundamental human rights.

We have attempted to rally the international community around the mission of Joint Special Envoy Kofi Annan. On the basis of those proposals, resolutions 2042 (2012) and 2043 (2012) were adopted. An observer mission was deployed on the ground. A transition plan was agreed in Geneva on 30 June (S/2012/523, annex), in which we, alongside Russia and China, recognized the right of the Syrian people to a democratic future, with credible, legitimate leaders chosen by the Syrian people themselves.

It is now clear that Russia merely wants to win time for the Syrian regime to crush the opposition. For 17 months now, and with 17,000 dead, Russia and China



have advocated soft pressure and diplomatic contact and have assigned responsibility for implementation of the process to the parties alone. Contacts with President Al-Assad are systematically deemed to be encouraging. The only matter deemed urgent has been the need to wait. And it would appear that one is always too harsh with bloodthirsty dictators.

But let us look at the facts. The provisions adopted by the Council have been systematically violated by the Syrian regime, which has not even started to implement the first of its commitments. Since 21 March, the Council has demanded that the Syrian authorities cease the use of heavy weapons and withdraw their troops from the cities. In that time, the civilian population has been crushed by heavy artillery and attacks by combat helicopters. In his report of 6 July (S/2012/523), the Secretary-General can only note the intensification of these attacks on the civilian population. Between bombardments, the regime sends its terrifying militias to cut throats, kidnap, rape and generate inter-communal fear among the civilian population.

In response, the Secretary-General and the Joint Special Envoy have called on the Security Council to ensure that its decisions are implemented. That message was echoed by the Secretary General of the League of Arab States here, a month ago, and by the 107 States that met in Paris within the framework of the Group of Friends of Syria on 6 July.

That simple message has just come up against the rejection of both Russia and China. Our draft resolution (S/2012/538) included only a mere threat of sanctions. It gave the regime 10 days to finally abide by its commitments. Ten days is a long time when a single decision would be enough to immediately halt the use of heavy weapons in civilian neighbourhoods. It is too long, as each day brings 100 new deaths. It was then up to the Council itself to decide whether or not its decisions had been implemented. It was up to the Council to choose the sanctions it deemed necessary to apply. The Council thus remained master of the subsequent steps.

It will be said that the veto is the result of disagreement on the way to achieve a common objective. That is wrong. Russia and China have today exercised a veto to all of the laborious work undertaken by the Council in recent months to find a peaceful solution to the crisis. We cannot simply call for political transition ad infinitum. We must establish a credible momentum

for transition. To refuse to grant Mr. Kofi Annan the tools to exert pressure that he has requested in order to implement the road map that we entrusted him with in New York and in Geneva is to undermine his mission itself. We must not shirk our responsibilities.

The third veto on Syria means that, for Russia and China, there will be no consequences for the Syrian regime's disregard of its commitments. The crimes will go unpunished; their perpetrators will continue to proceed with their disgusting plans; the people's legitimate aspirations can be disregarded; and the victims are insignificant in number. History will prove them wrong; history will judge them. It is already doing so right now in Damascus.

We have gone as far as the veto in full awareness of the situation. We cannot be complicit in a strategy that combines a mockery of diplomatic action with de facto paralysis. To do that would have been to give short shrift to our responsibility as a permanent member of the Council, short shrift to the credibility of this Chamber, which cannot serve as a fig leaf for impunity, and short shrift to the Syrian people.

I now turn to those men and women in Syria who, in the face of unheard-of suffering, continue to carry the torch of their ideal of liberty. France pays homage to them. I will say again what I said on 4 February: no, once again, the double veto will not stop us. We will continue to support the Syrian opposition on its road to a democratic transition in Syria. In every forum, France is resolved to work unceasingly with those who share its values — and the meeting in Paris showed that there were many of them — so that the violence perpetrated on the Syrian people can be ended, their legitimate aspirations are realized fairly and swiftly, and the perpetrators of crimes, and their accomplices, are brought to justice.

This double veto leaves the Security Council helpless against the violence of the Syrian regime, but France will not leave the Syrian people to face the crimes to which they are victim alone.

**Mr. Wittig (Germany):** When the people of Syria peacefully took to the streets more than a year ago, their legitimate demands for freedom and participation were met with deadly force. Instead of initiating meaningful political dialogue, the regime of President Al-Assad responded with increased repression.

From the start, we have warned against this spiral of violence. We had strong concerns about the mayhem it might bring to the whole region. We called on President Al-Assad to embark on a process of credible political reform. The Arab League, with the overwhelming support of the international community, laid out a plan for a peaceful political process. But President Al-Assad did not listen.

Together with our partners, we worked to have the Security Council act to stop the violence and human rights abuses at a time when such action could have prevented worse from happening. It is well known to all how those attempts were rendered futile. Today, more than 15,000 deaths later, Damascus is at war with the Syrian people. What started as a peaceful protest movement has in some parts evolved into armed opposition. That, too, could have been avoided.

But with every day that the Al-Assad regime escalated its violent repression, with every new shelling, with every new massacre it became more difficult for those Syrian voices that promoted peaceful change to convince those who had lost hope for a political solution. According to the International Committee of the Red Cross, the situation in Syria is now one of civil war. Let me be clear: responsibility for that lies fully with President Al-Assad and his regime.

Al-Assad has failed to protect the Syrian people. He has broken all commitments, made first to his people, then to the Arab League and later to Joint Special Envoy Kofi Annan. Mr. Annan personally told President Al-Assad that he had to send bold signals; but what he sent instead were tanks, mortars and helicopter gunships.

The Security Council has a responsibility to help the Syrian people find a peaceful solution. Kofi Annan's six-point plan, endorsed by the Council, was meant to de-escalate the crisis, bring down the level of violence and start a meaningful political process. As a first step, the Syrian Government had to stop using heavy weapons and withdraw both heavy weapons and troops from population centres. Remember, it was Al-Assad himself who made that commitment. We supported those decisions, and we supported sending observers to Syria, despite the severe risks and reservations. But the hopes we had placed in those resolutions (2042 (2012) and 2043 (2012)) were soon shattered. As Kofi Annan himself has said, none of the elements of the six-point plan have been implemented. Instead of silencing the

heavy weapons, the Al-Assad regime unleashed its tanks and attack helicopters. Al-Assad used the heavy weapons that he had pledged not to use anymore.

The Council cannot continue business as usual. The Joint Envoy, Mr. Annan himself, has been clear about what he expects from Damascus and from the Security Council. First, he told President Al-Assad to immediately stop using heavy weapons in populated areas. Secondly, he has repeatedly stressed that the responsibility to act lies first with Damascus. And thirdly, he has repeatedly called on the Council to insist on the implementation of its decisions and to send a strong signal that there will be consequences for non-compliance.

Our draft resolution (S/2012/538) would have done what Mr. Annan himself has asked us to do. By endorsing the Annan plan and the Geneva communiqué (S/2012/523, annex) under Chapter VII of the Charter, we would have obliged both sides — I repeat, both sides — to immediately implement the draft resolution's provisions. The draft resolution would have threatened Damascus with sanctions aimed at stopping the indiscriminate shelling of populated areas. Such shelling violates international humanitarian law and Security Council resolutions and hinders any chance of a political process. Ending it would have finally opened up space for the observer mission to again play a meaningful role.

In conclusion, let me make a further point clear. Our goal has been to achieve unity in the Council. We have conducted our negotiations in that spirit, a spirit that was not reciprocated by all Council members. The draft resolution would not have set the stage for military intervention, as some have falsely claimed. It would not have undermined Joint Special Envoy Annan and the observer mission; quite the contrary, it would have supported him and the observers on the ground. And while it would not have been a silver bullet for bringing about peace in Syria, it would have provided a realistic chance — maybe the last chance — for finally breaking the vicious circle of violence.

Today was an opportunity lost. History will show us the price that the people in Syria and beyond will have to pay. As for my delegation, I can say that together with our partners, we have tried our utmost. In the end, this was and is our moral responsibility. While the days of President Al-Assad are numbered, people in Syria are going through times of unspeakable hardship.

I want to assure the Syrian people that Germany will continue to support all those who cherish peace, freedom and democracy. One day there will be a new Syria. We call on all those within the Syrian regime to seriously consider their future options, because one thing is certain: there will be change.

**Mr. Tarar** (Pakistan): These are trying and most unfortunate circumstances for Syria and its people. The increasing violence, killings and violations of human rights in Syria, which are being attributed to both sides but of which innocent civilians are the main victims, are totally unacceptable and must be condemned. Our position in the Security Council has been motivated primarily by the desire to end the violence and alleviate the suffering of the Syrian people, as well as to address their legitimate aspirations. That is also the desire of the wider international community. And there was agreement that the best way to address this increasingly complex and volatile situation was through a political process led and owned by the Syrians. Militarization could only take us away from a peaceful solution and cause even greater suffering for the Syrian people, as is evident from recent developments.

After an initial period of division and stalemate, what brought the entire Council together was the mission of the Joint Special Envoy, Kofi Annan, and his six-point plan. The Council subsequently agreed unanimously to deploy the United Nations Supervision Mission in the Syrian Arab Republic (UNSMIS), the value of which has been acknowledged by all despite the circumstances under which it has had to work. The Secretary-General has accordingly recommended the continuation of UNSMIS. As the situation on the ground got worse we saw other avenues explored, such as the 30 June Action Group for Syria meeting in Geneva, the outcome of which (S/2012/523, annex) Pakistan also agreed to support in good faith, even though we, like many others, were not part of that process. The objective was again to continue support for the Envoy's plan and the efforts for a political settlement.

Pakistan believes that the success of the Council's collective and stated objective to achieve a peaceful solution in Syria hinged on a united approach, as has also been consistently emphasized by the Special Envoy. This was a time for the Council to remain united and to build on the Geneva outcome, which provided openings for the much-needed political track. It was also an opportunity for all sides, especially the most influential quarters, to throw their genuine and full

weight behind the Special Envoy's efforts by engaging and working with the parties.

It is unfortunate that, despite the clear objective of supporting Mr. Annan's efforts and despite the gravity of the situation, the Council's unity was undermined by the divergence of views on how to move forward. As a result, the Council has ended up not moving at all. This is a serious setback that could have been avoided had the divisive issues of Chapter VII and coercive measures been set aside.

From the outset, Pakistan expressed its reservations about a coercive approach, which in our view could further escalate tensions and be counterproductive and unhelpful in the pursuit of a pacific settlement of the situation. A constructive spirit of flexibility was necessary to bring all Council members on the same page and to ensure that the Syrian crisis was resolved with minimum damage to the country and without extra-territorial repercussions. Regrettably, that spirit was not upheld in the run-up to the draft resolution (S/2012/538) that has just been put to a vote. Our repeated calls for a united, consensus approach by the Council were not heeded. We were therefore left with no choice but to dissociate ourselves from the divisive scenario that the Council has been led into, and thus to abstain in the voting on the draft resolution.

As we have said before, this is not and must not be a blame game, as any success or failure of the Council will always be collective. The environment of uncertainty resulting from today's actions is extremely dangerous and explosive. We therefore need to pick up the pieces and quickly get our act together for the sake of peace and of the Syrian people. We urge both sides to eschew violence and to facilitate a Syrian-led political process. Primary responsibility in this regard lies with the Syrian Government. The forthcoming month of Ramadan should be a reason for all sides to declare a truce and engage in dialogue. That has become all the more evident due to the condemnable suicide attack targeting the Syrian leadership yesterday.

We believe that a continued UNSMIS presence on the ground is crucial to facilitating and supporting peace efforts. We are of the view that linking its mandate extension to Chapter VII and coercive measures was not the right course of action. We would therefore like to propose, as an interim measure, a draft resolution for a technical rollover of UNSMIS for a short period, pending Council agreement on the vital issues for a way forward.



**Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri (India):** Let me begin by conveying our sincere condolences to the Government and people of Syria on the terrorist attack in Damascus yesterday, which caused the death of a number of high officials, including the Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister Daoud Rajha. We strongly condemn that mindless and cowardly act of terrorism.

India remains gravely concerned at the events unfolding in Syria, which have resulted in the death of several thousand civilians and security force personnel. From the beginning of the crisis, we have called for the cessation of violence in all its forms and by all sides. We condemn all violence irrespective of who its perpetrators are. We voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 66/253, authorizing the appointment of an envoy to engage with the Syrian parties and foreign actors for the resolution of the crisis. We have consistently supported the mission of Joint Special Envoy Kofi Annan. We also supported resolutions 2042 (2012) and 2043 (2012) in the expectation that the United Nations Supervision Mission in the Syrian Arab Republic (UNSMIS) would be able to oversee the implementation of Mr. Annan's six-point plan and facilitate the cessation of violence and the commencement of a Syrian-led political process to address the grievances of the Syrian people and meet their legitimate aspirations.

Unfortunately, all parties have failed to comply with their obligations under the six-point plan. Instead of a political process, the parties have continued to pursue a military approach that continues to cause death and destruction in the country. There is an urgent need for the Syrian parties to recommit themselves to the complete cessation of violence and a comprehensive implementation of the six-point plan.

Syria has been, both historically and in contemporary times, an important country in the Middle East. Its role in the Middle East peace process and in ensuring the stability of the wider region cannot be overemphasized. Prolonged instability and unrest in Syria therefore have ramifications for the entire region and beyond. Given the complexity of the ground realities in Syria, we believe that it is necessary to retain the presence of UNSMIS, to bear impartial witness to events, and to assist the Syrian parties at all levels in their search for a solution to the crisis without further bloodshed. An UNSMIS presence is also necessary to facilitate the implementation of the six-point plan and the Action Group for Syria's final communiqué (S/2012/523, annex), which are the only viable processes

for the engagement of the international community in the resolution of the Syrian crisis. We have therefore supported action by the international community that addresses the Syrian crisis in a balanced and impartial manner.

We voted in favour of draft resolution S/2012/538 today to facilitate united action by the Security Council in support of the efforts of the Joint Special Envoy. It may be noted that the draft resolution supported the extension of the UNSMIS mandate and the implementation of the six-point plan and the Action Group's final communiqué in their entirety.

In our view, it would have been preferable for the Council members to show flexibility so that a united message could be conveyed to all sides in the Syrian crisis, instead of pursuing domestic interests. It is therefore regrettable that the Council has not been able to adopt a resolution today and send the joint message that was sought by Joint Special Envoy Kofi Annan. In spite of the vote today, we urge all Council members to reconsider their approach and ensure that the UNSMIS mandate is extended and the mission of Kofi Annan supported, so that the Syrian crisis can be resolved without any further bloodshed. We remain committed to engaging with fellow Council members to that end.

**Mr. Moraes Cabral (Portugal):** Portugal is deeply disappointed that the Security Council was not able to remain united in support of the six-point plan and the efforts of the Joint Special Envoy. The purpose of the draft resolution S/2012/538, which we co-sponsored, was to reinforce the Council's commitment to the Annan plan in a manner that could ensure its immediate and effective implementation and to stop the violence and the systematic violations of human rights taking place in Syria.

We very much regret that, despite the flexibility demonstrated by the sponsors, the Council failed to heed the reiterated calls of the Secretary-General and the Joint Special Envoy for united, sustained and effective pressure in order to implement its decisions and send a message to all that there will be serious consequences for continued non-compliance. We have indeed tried our utmost to preserve the unity of the Council.

On 21 April the Council mandated the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS) to monitor a ceasefire and support implementation of the six-point plan. UNSMIS was devised as a means to an end, namely, the creation, through the full

implementation of the six-point plan, of a conducive environment for the political process and the Syrian-led transition to democracy in conformity with the legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people.

Since then, the situation on the ground has only worsened, and the level of violence has increased daily to unfathomable levels. Eighteen months into this persistent conflict, the country continues to slip into civil war and chaos, destabilizing neighbouring countries and threatening the integrity of Syria itself, with grave risks for regional peace and security.

Three months after the adoption of resolution 2043 (2012), the six-point plan has yet to be implemented. Civilians continue to bear the brunt of the armed conflict. The Syrian armed forces persist in their indiscriminate use of tanks, heavy artillery and helicopters to systematically shell populated areas in blatant violation of the Council's resolutions. UNSMIS operations remain suspended owing to the security conditions on the ground.

Events in Damascus over the past days have dramatically underlined the urgent need for concerted action by the Security Council to enforce Joint Special Envoy Annan's plan. The draft resolution (see S/2012/538) vetoed by the Russian Federation and China sought precisely that, namely by placing the six-point plan and the political conditions set out by the Action Group in Geneva on 30 June 2012, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. It also sought to ensure an immediate end to all violence and to promote a permissive environment on the ground, without which a reconfigured UNSMIS will not be able to undertake its mandated task effectively and safely.

Contrary to what some have argued, the imposition of sanctions in the eventuality of continued noncompliance would not be automatic. It would require another Security Council resolution. Moreover, by restricting eventual coercive action to measures under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, the text clearly excluded any possibility of a military intervention.

Portugal firmly believes that to be effective, to be credible and to fulfil its responsibilities, the Council must exert united, sustained and effective pressure on all sides, and on the Syrian authorities in particular, in light of their primary responsibility under the six-point plan to put an end to the violence. We very much regret that, once again, this was not possible, with all the

dire consequences that failure entails. Nevertheless, Portugal remains ready to continue engaging with all members of the Council to provide meaningful and effective support to the efforts of the Joint Special Envoy Annan.

Finally, Mr. President, allow me a special word of appreciation for Major-General Robert Mood, Chief of UNSMIS, and his able leadership, as well as for all the personnel of UNSMIS. We thank them greatly for their courage, commitment and professionalism in such challenging and perilous circumstances.

**Mr. Churkin** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): The vote that just took place should not have taken place at all. The sponsors of the draft resolution just rejected (S/2012/538) were well aware that it simply stood no chance of being adopted. The Russian delegation had very clearly and consistently explained that we simply cannot accept a document, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, that would open the way for the pressure of sanctions and later for external military involvement in Syrian domestic affairs.

The Western members of the Security Council denied such intentions, but for some reason refused to exclude military intervention. Their calculations to use the Security Council of the United Nations to further their plans of imposing their own designs on sovereign States will not prevail. Instead of levelling crude insinuations against the policy of the Russian Federation, which for the whole period of the conflict in Syria has never slackened in its efforts to find a political solution to the situation and provide key support for the mission of the United Nations-Arab League Joint Special Envoy, Mr. Kofi Annan, the Western members of the Council, which today made unacceptable statements, could have done something, anything, to promote dialogue between the Syrian parties and prevent the further militarization of the Syrian crisis, rather than fan the flames of extremists, including terrorist groups.

These Pharisees have been pushing their own geopolitical intentions, which have nothing in common with the legitimate interests of the Syrian people. This has led to an escalation of the conflict — one that has reached such tragic proportions. Instead of contributing to enhancing the efforts of the international community to settle the crisis in Syria, as provided for in the Geneva document of 30 June 2012 (S/2021/523, annex),

the sponsors of the draft resolution that just failed have attempted to fan the flames of confrontation in the Security Council. The draft just voted on was biased. The threats of sanctions were levelled exclusively at the Government of Syria. That runs counter to the spirit of the Geneva document and does not reflect the realities in the country today. Their approach is especially ambiguous given what took place yesterday in Damascus. I am referring to the grave terrorist attack.

The Western members of the Council have refused to work on the text of the draft resolution (S/2012/547, Rev.2) submitted by the Russian delegation. Its thrust is to bring the members of the Security Council together to further back the Kofi Annan peace plan and to extend the mandate of the Supervision Mission in Syria.

We believe that continued confrontation in the Security Council is useless and counter-productive, and for that reason, we will not submit our draft resolution to a vote. In the present conditions, we would consider it right for the Security Council to adopt a brief de-politicized resolution on a technical extension of the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria mandate for a specific period of time. It would be useful to preserve the useful potential of the Mission, even if it is limited in its time. It is important to continue to have the international community back the Special Envoys so they can continue their work on settling the crisis in Syria.

As far as the political basis for the Special Envoy's work is concerned, that is covered by the outcome document of the Geneva conference (S/2012/523, annex), which all responsible members of the international community, as well as the Syrian parties, should be guided by.

**Mr. Rosenthal** (Guatemala) (*spoke in Spanish*): Guatemala voted in favour of the draft resolution (S/2012/538) that the Council just failed to adopt. In our judgement, that resolution was the best opportunity and perhaps the only remaining opportunity to put an end to the mindless violence that affects the Syrian Arab Republic and to initiate a political transition led by the Syrians themselves and corresponding to long repressed popular demands.

As is known, the by-no-means trivial issue that impeded a consensus today is based on the resistance that some members have had to invoke Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, which covers the possibility of applying coercive measures in the event

of non-compliance with the Council's decisions. That same Article 41 expressly excludes punitive measures, such as the use of armed force. It is one of the measures of preventive diplomacy at the disposal of the Security Council as it seeks to exercise its role in maintaining international peace. We believe that the potential application of sanctions on the grounds of non-compliance was the least we could do, given the sequence of broken commitments on the part of the Government of Syria in recent months.

We deplore the fact that the draft resolution was not approved. We regret the outcome, in the first place, because of the people of Syria, whose children suffer on a daily basis the horrors of the spiral of violence, which began with peaceful protests by citizens against their Government, but has now spawned an armed conflict where barbaric acts can be attributed to both sides. The main thing is to put a stop to the violence, no matter where it comes from, and the key to taking the first step is in the hands of the Government.

Secondly, we regret that the work of Joint Special Envoy Kofi Annan has been seriously compromised. Even the final communiqué of the so-called Action Group for Syria (S/2012/523, annex), adopted just three weeks ago partly as a result of Mr. Annan's creativity, has ended up being a dead letter.

Thirdly, we regret this action because of its impact on the Council and, in more general terms, on the United Nations, whose prestige has suffered a new blow. Our inability to adopt a unified position is a serious setback on this unique occasion, with all that it implies in the real world.

The larger moral of the scene we have just witnessed is not that the Security Council is impotent, because the Council has demonstrated time and again that it can act decisively and firmly to achieve tangible results. The important point here is that we were unable to forge a consensus to fulfil the responsibility entrusted to us by the Charter, which is a major collective failure for us all.

The ultimate irony is that what the draft resolution sought to prevent — an expansion of the wave of violence — will have the perverse effect of achieving the exact opposite. For that reason, what we have just witnessed saddens and disappoints us immensely.

In conclusion, our delegation profoundly regrets that we have not been able to respond to the calls of the League of Arab States, the Joint Special Envoy,



the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Secretary General of the Arab League. We call on all members of the international community to persevere with new initiatives to find a solution that responds to the interests of the Syrian people and especially to avoid the spread of this conflict to the neighbouring countries.

**Ms. Rice** (United States of America): This is the third time in 10 months that two members, Russia and China, have prevented the Security Council from responding credibly to the Syrian conflict. The first two vetoes they cast were very destructive. This veto is even more dangerous and deplorable.

The draft resolution (S/2012/538) just vetoed demanded that all parties cease violence. It invoked Chapter VII of the Charter to make more binding on the parties their obligation to implement the six-point plan of the Joint Special Envoy and effect the political transition plan agreed by the Action Group for Syria in Geneva on 30 June. It also threatened the only party with heavy weapons, the Syrian regime, with sanctions if it continued to use those weapons brutally against its own cities and citizens. But it would not even impose sanctions at this stage, and despite the paranoid, if not disingenuous, claims of some to the contrary, it would in no way authorize or even pave the way for foreign military intervention. What the draft resolution would have done was to provide the political support to the United Nations Supervision Mission in the Syrian Arab Republic (UNSMIS) that might have given it a fighting chance to accomplish its mandate. It is a shame that the Council was unwilling to do so.

There should be no doubt about this. The only way that unarmed United Nations observers could ever deter violence is if their reports of the Syrian regime's persistent violations of the Annan plan and of their own commitments led the Security Council to impose swift and meaningful consequences for non-compliance, as requested — indeed, demanded — by our Joint Special Envoy. As the United States explained when voting for the establishment of UNSMIS three months ago (see S/PV.6756), we were and remain deeply skeptical of the Syrian regime's intentions, and thus of the efficacy of the observer Mission.

Week after week, the Secretary-General, the Joint Special Envoy, the Head of UNSMIS, General Mood, and others have told the Council that the Al-Assad regime continued to fire heavy weapons in population centres, in contravention of resolutions 2042 (2012) and 2043

(2012). Week after week, they told us that the Syrian Government continued to detain and torture citizens and to maintain a horrific posture of intimidation and harassment. They reported recently that the Syrian regime had escalated its crackdown, employing tanks and helicopter gunships. They reported on various occasions that the Syrian-backed shabiha militia were terrorizing entire communities, including by sexually assaulting women and children.

The escalation of the regime's attacks against its own people is even more troubling because of its large stockpiles of chemical weapons. We have made it clear that those weapons must remain secure and that the regime will be held accountable for their use because, as the situation deteriorates, the potential that this regime could consider using chemical weapons against its own people should be a concern for us all.

On 13 July, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon wrote a letter reiterating his call on Council members to

“insist on the implementation of the Council's resolutions and to exercise their common responsibilities by taking necessary collective action under the United Nations Charter”.

Yet the United Nations Mission's reports of persistent and flagrant violations and the appeals of the Secretary-General the Joint Special Envoy have been met only with intensified violence and Security Council inaction.

The blame for that unacceptable situation does not lie with Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, Joint Special Envoy Annan or the United Nations monitors. Unarmed United Nations military observers and civilian staff have performed their tasks bravely under very dangerous conditions, and we thank them and the troop-contributing countries profoundly for their dedicated service.

Rather the fault lies squarely with the heinous Al-Assad regime and those Member States that refuse to join the international community and their fellow Council members in taking firm action against the regime. Their position is at odds with the majority of the Council that voted in favour of the draft resolution today. It is at odds with the League of Arab States. It is at odds with over 100 countries in the Group of Friends of the Syrian People that called for decisive action under Chapter VII to stop the killing and start a process of transition to post-Al-Assad Syria. And it is at odds with the wishes and aspirations of the vast majority of

the Syrian people, who deserve so much better from the Security Council.

We have missed yet another critical opportunity to work together. We, and especially the people of Syria, cannot afford to miss any more. Yesterday's dramatic attack in Damascus was indicative of how the situation in Syria will continue to deteriorate in the face of the Council's inaction. The perpetuation of the status quo is in no way static. It is in fact a recipe for intensified conflict, increased terrorism and a proxy war that could engulf the region. It is simply not credible to argue that the mere continuation of an unarmed observer mission in the midst of these threats and spiraling violence can or will fundamentally change anything. Everyone in this Chamber knows that.

The United States has not and will not pin its policy on an unarmed observer mission that is deployed in the midst of such widespread violence and that cannot even count on the most minimal support of the Security Council. Instead, we will intensify our work with a diverse range of partners outside the Security Council to bring pressure to bear on the Al-Assad regime and to deliver assistance to those in need.

The Security Council has failed utterly in the most important task on its agenda this year. This is another dark day in Turtle Bay. One can only hope that one day, before too many thousands more die, Russia and China will stop protecting Al-Assad and allow the Council to play its proper role at the centre of the international response to the crisis in Syria.

**Mr. Mashabane** (South Africa): South Africa strongly condemns the continuing violence and the huge loss of life in Syria. It is now 16 months since the crisis began, and there is no end in sight. Instead, the security and humanitarian situations have become worse. The deteriorating situation in Syria highlights the urgency for all sides to stop armed violence in all its forms, implement the six-point plan presented by Joint Special Envoy Kofi Annan, and move rapidly towards a political dialogue and a peaceful, democratic, Syrian-led transition.

The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies has just classified the situation in Syria as meeting the conditions of an internal armed conflict. The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights has made a similar statement. This means that the situation has reached the threshold of a

civil war, in which all parties have responsibilities and obligations under international humanitarian law.

The highest priority should be to stop the killing and end the suffering of civilians. The suicide bombing in Damascus yesterday, which killed the Syrian Defence Minister and others, coupled with frequent horrific massacres in various parts of the country, clearly indicates that there is more than one party to the conflict. This volatile situation has also become fertile ground for terrorist groups. Acts of violence committed by any party are unacceptable and a clear violation of their commitments under the six-point plan, and should be condemned. Reports of the continued use of heavy weapons by the Syrian security forces are also of serious concern to us.

South Africa strongly supports the efforts of Joint Special Envoy Kofi Annan and believes that his plan is the only credible mechanism that could deliver a positive and realistic outcome. Coupled with the Annan plan is the final communiqué of the Action Group for Syria (S/2012/523, annex), adopted in Geneva on 30 June. It constitutes a significant proposal on the way forward in Syria and has been supported by all permanent members of the Security Council. We should not fail to support Mr. Annan, as his efforts may be the only branch to which to cling before the seismic currents of a bloody civil war push Syria over the brink into a state of total collapse.

South Africa is disappointed that, because of the divisions among the members of the Council, the Council has been prevented from executing its responsibilities. Differences within the Council should be addressed in a spirit of compromise and mutual respect, and with the Council's broader responsibility in mind. All members of the Council have consistently expressed their support for the Kofi Annan plan, the Geneva action plan communiqué and the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS).

Yet the common cause that we affirmed when we adopted resolutions 2042 (2012) and 2043 (2012) three months ago has not seemed to prevail. We should have shown the utmost maturity in strategically executing these crucial tasks, taking into account the realities of the situation on the ground. Instead, we allowed narrow interests to destroy our unity of purpose.

We agree with the Joint Special Envoy that the Council must insist that these decisions be implemented, that a strong message should be sent to

all parties involved, and that there will be consequences for their non-compliance with its decisions. We fail to see, however, how the text that was submitted today by the sponsors would end the violence or contribute to the implementation of the six-point plan. Instead, the text, in an unbalanced manner, threatens sanctions against the Government of Syria without realistically allowing any action to be taken against the opposition, which would be permitted to defy the six-point plan without consequence. In similar situations where the international community, including the Security Council, has preferred one side over the other, such bias has resulted in the polarization of the conflict. This is especially true for such fractious societies as Syria's.

The failure of the Council today to reach a balanced agreement threatens the Kofi Annan plan and undermines the possibility of finding a peaceful political solution to the Syrian crisis. Our failure to renew the mandate of UNSMIS — the only functional tool for verifying and corroborating information on the ground and supporting the Annan plan, as recommended by the Secretary-General — is disappointing. While we are concerned about the safety of the observers, South Africa continues to believe that UNSMIS has been a critical part of our effort to find a solution to the Syrian crisis, and should therefore continue its work in one form or the other when conditions on the ground so permit. South Africa is therefore deeply disappointed that the future of UNSMIS is under threat because of the divisions in the Council.

It is for these reasons that South Africa abstained in the voting on draft resolution S/2012/538. South Africa stands ready to work with all members of the Council to achieve a strong, balanced outcome in support of Kofi Annan's efforts and a renewal of the UNSMIS mandate.

In conclusion, for the time being South Africa supports the proposal for a possible technical rollover of UNSMIS for a very short term.

**Mr. Loulichki** (Morocco) (*spoke in Arabic*): Morocco voted in favour of draft resolution S/2012/538 because it was in line with the recent resolutions of the League of Arab States and our perception of the situation in Syria, which shows quite clearly that no mechanism adopted by the Council to address the crisis has had the hoped-for result and that the parties in Syria have not complied with the plan, including the complete cessation of violence, to which they committed themselves. The number of victims continues to grow, and the violence has reached an unprecedented level.

We voted in favour of the draft resolution because it endorsed the final communiqué of the Action Group for Syria adopted in Geneva last month, which laid out the main principles for ensuring a successful political transition in Syria. In our views, the ideas contained therein are in line with the political transition advocated by the Arab League. We also voted in favour because we support the efforts of the Joint Special Envoy and seek a genuine cessation of violence.

Given the fact that the Council was unable to adopt a strong resolution, all that we can do is to voice our disappointment over such a result, whose only loser is the brotherly Syrian people and the region to which it belongs. Up until the final moment, including during last week's intensive negotiations, we remained hopeful that we would achieve consensus among all Council members around a common vision of the plan to be adopted to effectively address a crisis that has continued to intensify in Syria and that has now lasted more than 16 months. We had hoped that the Council would remain united after adopting resolutions 2042 (2012) and 2043 (2012), which laid the foundations for pragmatic action to tackle all aspects of the crisis in Syria. Morocco is convinced that the Council's unified action remains a decisive factor in ensuring the international community's successful achievement of a timely solution to the crisis in Syria.

From the very outset, the League of Arab States has worked with the Council to find a peaceful solution to the crisis in Syria. It is convinced that the parties alone will not be able to end the violence or to pursue dialogue. The violence and the number of Syrian victims have reached a level that prevents the parties from tackling the Syrian crisis through existing mechanisms.

For that reason, the Arab League has urged the Security Council to take strict measures that would enable the Council to work within the framework of Chapter VII of the Charter in order to put an end to the growing violence in Syria, ensure that all members shoulder their responsibilities, and create a climate conducive to dialogue.

In his discussion with members of the Security Council, the Secretary General of the League of Arab States emphasized that the scope of the measures in no way included military intervention. On that basis and in view of its responsibilities within the framework of the League of Arab States, Morocco has worked with other members of the Council to elaborate a strategic vision aimed at a peaceful solution to the crisis in Syria.



by re-establishing existing mechanisms, including the six-point plan that served as our main reference for such a solution. It included, of course, the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS).

The Council and countries that contributed to UNSMIS were aware of the fact that the dispatch of observers to Syria was somewhat different from other missions. But Morocco chose to support the international effort to find a peaceful solution to the crisis, including after the acceptance of the six-point plan by all parties, whose first demand was the complete cessation of violence and the relaunching of the political process to enable the Syrian people to achieve their legitimate aspirations.

To conclude, I wish to reiterate our firm conviction of the need to continue our common, joint work on restoring unity in the Council. What unites its members is their Charter responsibility and its imperative to prevail over differences of opinion.

We are heartbroken over the suffering of the people in sisterly Syria. A credible solution that restores hope and faith to the people of Syria is necessary to ensure their understanding that the crisis will end and that their aspirations will be fulfilled with the support of the Council.

**Mr. Li Baodong** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): China is deeply concerned over the increasingly challenging situation in Syria. We oppose terrorism and violence in all their forms and strongly condemn the recent killing of civilians and the bomb attack in Damascus on 18 July.

The top priority of the international community now is to fully support and cooperate with Joint Special Envoy Annan's mediation, and to promote the implementation of the final communiqué of the Action Group for Syria (S/2012/523, annex), adopted at its meeting of Foreign Ministers held in Geneva, the relevant Security Council resolutions and Mr. Annan's six-point plan. The international community should urge an immediate ceasefire and cessation of all violence and establish the necessary conditions to resolve the crisis.

To that end, the United Nations Supervision Mission in the Syrian Arab Republic (UNSMIS) has played an important and exceptional role. China therefore supports the extension of the UNSMIS mandate and endorses Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's proposal to adjust its tasks accordingly. China calls on the Security Council to send a clear signal in support of Mr. Annan's mediation and promotion of a political settlement

to the Syrian crisis. We have vigorously pushed for consensus among Security Council members through consultations. However, draft resolution S/2012/538 submitted by the United Kingdom, the United States and France completely contradicts such aims.

First, the draft resolution is seriously flawed, and its unbalanced content seeks to put pressure on only one party. Experience has shown that such a practice would not help resolve the Syrian issue, but would only derail the matter from the political track. It would not only further aggravate the turmoil, but also cause it to spread to other countries of the region, undermine regional peace and stability, and ultimately harm the interests of the people of Syria and other regional countries.

Secondly, the draft resolution would seriously erode international trust and cooperation on the issue of Syria. Mr. Annan's mediation is an important and realistic way forward towards a political solution of the Syrian issue. It is an important tool. Not long ago, thanks to the efforts of all parties, the ministerial meeting of the Action Group for Syria, initiated by Joint Special Envoy Annan, adopted a final communiqué that forged consensus among the major parties and opened a new window of opportunity for an appropriate settlement of the Syrian crisis. At present, Mr. Annan's efforts to implement the outcome of that meeting are at a critical juncture. However, the draft resolution essentially undermined the consensus reached at the Geneva meeting and seriously disrupted the new round of mediation efforts undertaken by Joint Special Envoy Annan.

Thirdly, sovereign equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries are the basic norms governing inter-State relations enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. China has no self-interest in the Syrian issue. We have consistently maintained that the future and fate of Syria should be independently decided by the Syrian people, rather than imposed by outside forces. We believe that the Syrian issue must be resolved through political means and that military means would achieve nothing.

That is China's consistent position on international affairs. It is not targeted at any specific incident or moment. Our purpose is to safeguard the interests of the Syrian people and Arab countries, and the interests of all countries — small and medium-sized countries in particular — and to protect the role and authority of

the United Nations and the Security Council, as well as the basic standards that govern international relations.

Fourthly, the draft resolution jeopardizes the unity of the Security Council. The Council was unanimous in adopting resolutions 2042 (2012) and 2043 (2012), displaying a hard-won spirit of unity and cooperation. During consultations on today's draft resolution, the sponsoring countries failed to show any political will or cooperativeness, adopting a rigid and arrogant approach to the reasonable basic concerns of other concerned countries and refusing to make revisions. It is even more regrettable that, in circumstances where the parties were still seriously divided and there was still time for continued consultations, the sponsoring countries refused to heed the calls for further consultation made by China, some other Council members and Joint Special Envoy Annan — until an approach acceptable to all parties could be reached — and pressed for a vote on the draft resolution. China is strongly opposed to such practices.

For the aforementioned reasons, China could not accept today's draft resolution and voted against it. This morning, various countries made statements that confused right and wrong and made unfounded accusations against China. They are completely mistaken and are based on ulterior motives. China is firmly opposed to such behaviour. We have participated in all of the Council's consultations on resolutions concerning Syria in a positive, responsible and constructive manner, with a view to pushing for a ceasefire and a halt to all violence in Syria, as well as for implementation of the communiqué from the Geneva meeting (S/2021/523, annex), of resolutions 2042 (2012) and 2043 (2012) and of the Annan six-point plan.

China has been committed to reaching a consensus, worked hard for a smooth extension of the mandate of UNSMIS and supported Mr. Annan's mediation efforts. In contrast, a few countries have been eager to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, to fuel the flames and to sow discord in complete disregard of the possible consequences. From the very beginning, they have shown a negative attitude to Mr. Annan's mediation efforts and to the deployment of UNSMIS over the past few months, proclaiming the futility and failure of those efforts.

This time they have repeated their old trick of setting preconditions as obstacles to the extension of UNSMIS's mandate and have accompanied that with an invocation of Chapter VII of the Charter and the threat

of sanctions, in an attempt to change or even repudiate the hard-won consensus reached by the action group during the Geneva meeting. They have shown only arrogance, not sincerity, during the consultations. We cannot help questioning their willingness to see UNSMIS's mandate extended and a speedy settlement of the Syrian crisis through a Syrian-led political process. We urge those countries to reflect earnestly on their policy and behaviour and to return immediately to the right road.

At present, some time still remains before the mandate of UNSMIS expires. We hope that the sponsors will change their minds and call on them to do so, in a positive response to Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and Joint Special Envoy Kofi Annan's proposals, by supporting the extension of the UNSMIS mandate with a view to arriving at a political solution to the Syrian question and protecting the fundamental interests of the people of Syria and other countries in the region, as well as to safeguarding the credibility, authority and unity of the Security Council.

China supports Pakistan and South Africa's proposal to adopt a draft resolution on a technical roll-over of the UNSMIS mandate, and hopes that Security Council members can reach a consensus on that proposal as soon as possible.

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): I shall now speak in my capacity as Permanent Representative of Colombia.

In April of last year, during Colombia's previous presidency of the Security Council, we saw the first signs of a spiral of violent repression that has not ceased and has become more acute by the day. Thousands have died, disappeared, become refugees, been tortured or arbitrarily detained. The world stands appalled at the terrible human tragedy, unusual levels of violence and flagrant lack of respect for human rights that Syrians are enduring. It is deplorable that the Syrian Government has not taken the measures necessary to implement the Joint Special Envoy's plan and resolutions 2042 (2012) and 2043 (2012), and that the opposition has made no contribution to this either.

Colombia voted in favour of the draft resolution (S/2012/538) submitted by the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Portugal and the United States, because we believe that its text provides the necessary support and sends a clear message to all parties in Syria on the importance of complying with the commitments and



obligations in the six-point plan and the aforementioned resolutions, as well as with the agreements reached in Geneva within the framework of the Action Group for Syria (S/2021/523, annex). We deplore the fact that differences have prevailed on the many views on and ways of responding to the Syrian crisis, and that we have not been able to arrive at concrete proposals that could help achieve effective progress among the parties. It could have enabled us to find a political way out that met the legitimate aspirations of all sectors of Syrian society.

However uncertain Syria's future may seem, its people have taken the irreversible road of change. The negative results of today's vote are frustrating, but we must not abandon our efforts to arrive at a political solution to the crisis in Syria. Colombia will continue to contribute to efforts to end all forms of violence and violations of human rights, and to find ways to help the Syrian people establish the democratic institutions that will enable them to live together in brotherly peace.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

Upon the request of the sponsor of the draft resolution contained in document S/2012/547/Rev.2, the Council will not take action thereon.

I now give the floor to the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic.

**Mr. Ja'afari** (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): The people and Government of Syria had indeed expected that the Security Council, having reached the age of reason — that is, being 67 years old — would act positively and objectively to aid our country. Any such positive contribution would stem directly from the benefits of a rich culture and the long experience that the Council has acquired over decades in determining what must be done to help the people and Government of Syria. That can be achieved by respecting the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the principles of international law, and has nothing to do with projecting the national interest of any member onto the agenda of the Security Council, an agenda that is essentially focused on the maintenance of international peace and security.

Before every Security Council meeting on the situation in Syria, the concerns of the Syrian people increase and their tensions heighten. As we have long warned, this is due mainly to the suspicious timing of those meetings and the treacherous terrorist acts that

have affected many innocent Syrians, their institutions, their cadres and their human and material resources. Members no doubt remember that the attacks and massacres that have terrorized many people throughout Syria have coincided with Security Council debates on the situation in my country. Regrettably, all Syrians have just seen a recurrence of that phenomenon. Yesterday morning, terrorist devastation reached ministers and leaders of security institutions while they were meeting in the Syrian capital, Damascus. Equally regrettably, the Council has again failed to condemn that act. However, we do thank the Secretary-General and the Joint Special Envoy, Mr. Kofi Annan, for condemning that terrorist act.

If such a terrorist act can fail to incur the immediate, strong condemnation of the Security Council, that means that all the consensus the international community has built on combating terrorism has been mere talk. That failure sends the wrong message to terrorists all around the world, which is that they are beyond accountability. That failure also means that any talk of support for a peaceful political solution in Syria and an end to violence is mere sloganeering to gain time, delude international and Syrian public opinion, and avoid implementing the Kofi Annan plan.

Syria has officially welcomed the final communiqué of the 30 June meeting in Geneva (S/2012/523, annex), especially its basic points about commitment to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Syria, putting an end to violence and human rights violations, disarming armed groups, the need to avoid militarizing the situation, protecting civilians and launching a Syrian-led political process. All of that underscores that it is the Syrian people alone who can come to the table to make decisions about their future, in dialogue without foreign intervention.

Is there anyone in this Chamber who disagrees that that is a reasonable statement? If there is no opposition to the outcome of the Geneva meeting, based on the Annan plan of action, why can the Council not agree on a simple, purely procedural matter, which is the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Supervision Mission in the Syrian Arab Republic (UNSMIS), in keeping with the basic principles that I just listed and that have been agreed to by all who participated in the Geneva meeting?

Our endorsement of the outcome of that meeting was an example of our open approach to seeking a peaceful

solution to the crisis in Syria and in keeping with our positive response to the efforts of the Joint Special Envoy and UNSMIS. In this context, we note that, on his visit to Damascus, Mr. Annan held constructive and positive talks, as he himself has emphasized and reiterated. A number of mechanisms have been agreed for putting an end to violence, restoring peace and security throughout my country, and preparing conditions conducive to a comprehensive Syrian-led national dialogue among all Syrians, in accordance with the Annan plan.

It has become clear to all that the success of the Annan plan and of UNSMIS — which of course have the full support of the Syrian Government, which has more interest than any other in seeing the plan succeed — will require sincere international commitment and political will on the part of all parties, especially those that have influence on the armed opposition groups. What is needed is the political will to encourage dialogue, reject violence and militarization, stop arming and financing terrorist groups, and lift the illegitimate unilateral sanctions against the Syrian people.

I must draw attention to the fact that some countries are still bent on undermining any serious effort to solve the problem in Syria peacefully. That has been made very clear by their efforts to ensure that the Annan plan fails by twisting their interpretations of the communiqué and rushing to hold parallel meetings under the so-called Group of Friends of the Syrian people. In their objectives and purposes, those meetings run contrary to the Annan plan, which Syria and the international community accept, and to the outcome of the Geneva meeting.

Some parties with a direct interest in fanning the flames of the crisis in Syria make a habit of giving erroneous information and distorting the facts about Syria and the response of the Syrian Government to the crisis. They summarize the situation by drawing a misleading picture that seeks to advance the idea that there is a tyrannical regime killing its unarmed citizens, whereas the crisis in Syria is a complex, multidimensional problem with internal and external ramifications.

At the internal level, there are some who have peacefully called for reform and dialogue and expressed their legitimate concerns through a political process. The Government has not denied those concerns, but rather considers them a priority. On the other hand, there are those misguided others who have taken up arms and destroyed public and private property. They

have made mistakes, but the road for them to return to their senses is still open, as manifest in the amnesty declared for all who turn in their weapons. About 4,302 people have benefited from the amnesty through 17 July 2012. Some of these various people belonged to terrorist and non-terrorist groups that receive external support and carry out maimings and killings of civilians and military personnel. They have also committed the massacres that have been brought to the attention of the meetings of the Security Council devoted to the situation in Syria.

Those groups include elements from Al-Qaida, Arab and non-Arab jihadists and extremist terrorist groups. Some at the United Nations would be only too happy to call them third-party groups. The Syrian State, however, as a responsible Government that is supposed to protect its people like all other responsible Governments in the world, cannot accept their acts.

In that respect, the majority of the Syrian people, including sectors of the responsible nationalist opposition, rejects external intervention and rejects violence. They also reject arms and reject the blowing up of electricity plants. During this very hot summer, they rejected assassinations. They rejected the destruction of television stations and gas and oil pipelines as a means to attain the desired reforms in Syria.

Indeed, I am sure that some members of the Council that have decided to close their embassies in Damascus and to withdraw their ambassadors do not know that the armed groups have three times attacked electric power plants in Syria — the latest attack was on the day before yesterday.

There are some countries that from the start adopted a balanced and constructive position towards the Syrian problem and emphasized the need to solve the problem peacefully through dialogue and political means, basing their positions on the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

There are others, however, that seek to interfere in the Syrian situation in a flagrant manner. They beat the drums of war and made themselves part of the crisis by providing arms and funds, political and media support and logistical support to the armed groups in Syria that incite violence and terrorism. Imposing sanctions is illegitimate and harms the Syrian people. Such sanctions have negatively impacted their daily lives, ignoring all the principles of good-neighbourliness and the international norms and instruments that

criminalize such actions. Those States have severed their diplomatic relations with Syria, which has closed dialogue and all channels of direct communications. To those countries, we say, in the name of our people, that if they want to impose the law of the jungle on others and if they find that that is the logical course of action, then they should allow that course in their own countries as well.

Those who sympathize with the armed groups and the terrorists in Syria should host them in their own countries and provide them with what they want, namely, the freedom to carry weapons and destroy the social fabric and the structures of the State under the slogans of realizing democracy and calling for reforms.

What has been said repeatedly of late in the media about chemical weapons and Syria's intention to use them has no basis in fact whatsoever. The media is trying to plant some insidious intentions, and if those insinuations reflect anything at all, they reflect the intentions of some who would want to use chemical materials against our people in order to find a pretext to accuse the Syrian Government and garner the support of the Security Council and international public opinion against Syria.

All Syrians are concerned and seek to participate on the basis of reconciliation, joint action and tolerance in order to reconstruct what has been destroyed by the war and anarchy and to proceed to re-establishing the rule of law and reshaping peace and stability. They do not seek to invoke Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations or seek external military intervention, of which the Security Council's memory is full of examples. One need only look at the disasters that it has imposed on the peoples of States Members of the Organization against which such interventions were applied.

It is up to us Syrians, including the national opposition, to realize that those countries that claim to be eager to support the Syrian people and their interests are not in any way looking for a peaceful solution that would maintain the unity, stability and independence of the country and achieve the common aspirations of the Syrian peoples. Those so-called friends of Syria are targeting the Syrian State and people and the roles played by Syria at the Arab, Islamic and regional levels by using the political contradictions that have surfaced in the Syrian arena during the crisis.

Who can believe those who deceived the Arabs by imposing the Sykes-Picot Agreement and the Balfour Declaration on us, assassinated the first Syrian Minister of War and bombarded the Syrian Parliament in 1945. They opened a wound that is still bleeding in Palestine, invaded Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya and provided all forms of political, military and diplomatic support to Israel so that it could occupy the Syrian Golan and the Palestinian territories and what remains of the Lebanese territory. Anyone who believes that those people are today willing to provide Syria with anything that would serve its real interests is deluded.

Consequently, it is incumbent upon all of us to realize that the only solution must be a Syrian solution through a comprehensive and inclusive Syrian political process that satisfies the aspirations of the Syrian people in a national dialogue in which all participate under the umbrella of the homeland in order to establish a democratic, pluralistic country where all enjoy equality before the law, far from any political or ideological tendencies, a State where political and economic opportunities are available to each and everyone without discrimination, where there are democratic, transparent and free elections in which all compete, as is the case in other countries.

The Syrians alone are capable of defending their country and preserving its invincibility against any geopolitical interest that seeks to attack its existence and dignity. Let us heal our wounds. Let us recall our common history. Let us understand what is being plotted against us. Let us build our homeland, a country that is strong enough to withstand any heinous aggression.

I would like to conclude by quoting the wisdom of a Sufi philosopher who lived in Syria in the tenth century and who advised his students and followers:

“My children, the rational individual person must not lose his perspicacity when he participates in writing history. Those who have had a problem with the Devil should not seek to find a solution by consulting Satan.”

**The President** (*spoke in Spanish*): There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

*The meeting rose at 12.10 p.m.*