



MISION PERMANENTE DEL PERU ANTE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS
(check against delivery)

*Statement by
Ambassador Oswaldo de Rivero
Permanent Representative of Peru to the United Nations
at the General Assembly
on the Question of equitable representation on and increase in the
membership of the Security Council and related matters;
Follow-up to the outcome of the Millennium Summit*

New York, 20 July 2006

Mr. President,

The modification of the composition of the Security Council, after 11 years paralyzed, took an impulse during the first semester of the year 2005, as never seen before. Even the Secretary-General was involved and in his Report "In Larger Freedom" he proposed to take a decision about the Council composition before the Summit of September, in spite that this decision would not be consensual. Nevertheless, that the consultations continue, the final result is that we have not reformed anything.

Why was not the Council modified?. Simply because it is an issue that affects the distribution of global power. The truth is, Mr. President, if we review the history, that the global power has only been modified as a result of great geopolitical cataclysms, wars, over-extension of empires and economic and technological decadence. The great powers are not elected, they originate from the history.

This lack of *realpolitik* in the approach for the reform of the Security Council has been probably the main cause of the sterile practice of its reform. The raw reality is that the United Nations can only work and reform itself over a basis of a realistic estimation of power.

Any reform of the Security Council must be initiated with a minimum consensus among the current permanent members and to extend democratically with broad consultations among all Member States. That is the right political methodology.

We have to begin, at least, with a minimal formula that has no possibilities of veto. If we are realistic we can not pretend that new permanent powers in the Security Council could be elected by the General Assembly without a minimal previous agreement among the current permanent members of the Security Council. Not doing so is to go away from the political realism that is needed in a reform process that impacts in the current world power distribution.

Saying that, Mr. President, I would like to firmly establish that Peru supports the reform of the Council. However, my delegation criticizes the non-realistic methodology used, but supports the expansion of the Security Council through a wide consensus and, in this regard, we support Brazil, among others, as a possible permanent member.

Mr. President,

A better way to reform the Security Council functioning is to make it effective facing crimes against humanity. Nothing discredit more the Security Council and the United Nations that the inertia facing ethnic cleansings, massive violations of human rights and genocides, as in the Darfur case. The Security Council could have more permanent and non-permanents members, could be more representative, but if the Council does not function facing crimes against humanity, its reform will not be useful.

Mr. President,

To improve the functioning of the Council facing crimes against humanity, the five permanent members of the Security Council must reach to a gentlemen agreement of not using their veto, when the Secretary-General of the United Nations or Regional Organizations request the action of the Council to prevent or avoid crimes against humanity, massive violations of human rights, genocides and ethnic cleansings. The idea is that the permanent members of the Council should cooperate to save thousands of human lives.

Mr. President,

The Council must not continue firefighting facing civil conflicts, but also it must do a profound analysis of the structural, economic and social facts that originate conflicts. In effect, all developed countries collapsed by civil wars and which cases are in the agenda of the Security Council have a common characteristic. All of them have Non-Viable National Economies; that is, in all these countries the GNP almost does not grow or grows less than the population, especially the urban one, which grows in most of them at the incredible rate of 3% per year. In this way, the personal incomes diminish. All these countries have almost the 70% of their population living with 2 dollars a day and they export very low technology products, which do not have a competitive advantage in the global economy. Besides, they do not have alimentary security, there are millions of people with hunger. More than the 60% of the population is under malnutrition.

This economic non-viability exacerbate the social exclusion and the latter, in its turn, the cultural, ethnic and religious rivalries, turning them into infernal wars of national depredation, where the most execrable crimes against humanity are perpetrated. If the Council does not consider the non-viability of the national economies, it can not prevent or solve civil conflicts because it would be leaving behind the most important structural variable of the actual global violence.

A recent study of the World Bank shows that many of the national reconstruction processes collapse the first five years. The truth is, as mentioned by the High Commissioner for Refugees, the international community, up to now, could not manage in an efficient way the transition processes towards peace and neither the post-conflict processes because due importance is not granted to the large economic and social problems.

My delegation coincides with the appreciation of the World Bank and of the High Commissioner for Refugees. Several times, we have insisted before the Security Council that for doing efficient the transition process towards peace and post-conflict reconstruction, it is necessary to confront the economy non-viability of the country to be pacified and reconstructed.

For that reason, it is important that the peacekeeping operations of the Security Council be accompanied by serious economic policies addressed to give economic viability and, with that, political and social stability. If not, there is a risk to fall again in the conflict.

In the Security Council, we have always given more importance to the political problem than to the economic-social problem. Above all, we have given importance to elections and to the national security reform, creating new armed and police forces.

Many of the governments that arise from elections are very fragile democracies, settled over the national economic non-viability; governments that can not offer the basic public services and that, sooner or later, they politically collapse. Also, for the same reasons, the future armed and police forces created, end doing social claims, axial threatening these fragile democracies.

An approach of the national reconstruction in the Security Council, that gives more importance to circumstantial political problems and the modernization of security apparatus facing the modernization of the economy and the social services, not only will not success, but later it could unstable the weak democratic governments that have emerged with the Council help.

For that reason, it is absolutely necessary that a reform of the Security Council do that its activity be oriented to aware and mobilize the international community and the international financial organisms on the persistence of this non-viable national economies, for, in this way, to prevent civil conflicts and, beside, do not fail in the cases of post-conflict national reconstruction.

Thank you.