



Security Council

Fifty-ninth year

Provisional

5082nd meeting

Friday, 19 November 2004, 10.30 a.m.

Nairobi

<i>President:</i>	Mr. Danforth	(United States of America)
<i>Members:</i>	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Benin	Mr. Adechi
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	Chile	Mr. Muñoz
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mrs. Müller
	Pakistan	Mr. Akram
	Philippines	Mr. Baja
	Romania	Mr. Motoc
	Russian Federation	Mr. Denisov
	Spain	Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry

Agenda

Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan

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 C-154A.

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan

The President: The Security Council will now continue its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2004/903, which contains the text of a draft prepared in the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Algeria, Angola, Benin, Brazil, Chile, China, France, Germany, Pakistan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1574 (2004).

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

Ms. Müller (Germany): We welcome the initiative of the Council to hold a meeting on the Sudan here in the region, and we welcome also the fact that the Council, on this very special occasion, has adopted this resolution.

The main aim of our meeting in Nairobi, as well as that of this resolution, is to support the Sudanese peace talks taking place right here in the city. We want to encourage the parties to come to a conclusion and sign a comprehensive peace agreement as soon as possible, at least before the end of this year. I am glad to say that all Council members agree on this point.

The successful conclusion of the Naivasha peace talks between the Government of the Sudan and the SPLM would not only end one of Africa's oldest and bloodiest conflicts; it could also contribute to solving the other conflicts that continue to plague the Sudan and its people.

We are convinced, however, that these other conflicts, most prominently the one in Darfur, have to be addressed even as a great deal of attention is — rightly — focused on helping along the Naivasha talks. But if those other conflicts are not solved, there is no chance for a durable peace in the Sudan.

In our view, it is important, therefore, to remind both sides in the Darfur conflict of their responsibilities to respect the ceasefire and human rights. We need to remind them now — not in a few weeks, when another few thousand people might have been killed or died as a consequence of displacement in Darfur.

Developments in October have, unfortunately, demonstrated that, instead of improving, security and humanitarian problems in Darfur have deteriorated and put even more lives in danger. Civilians in Darfur continue to be attacked, killed or raped. Refugees have been forcefully relocated by the Sudanese parties.

We welcome the signing of the Abuja agreements. The international community will closely monitor the implementation of those agreements by the parties to the conflict.

In accordance with the resolution we have just adopted, Germany considers it imperative to stop human rights violations also in Darfur. All parties to the conflict have to implement their obligations. The rebel parties must respect the ceasefire agreement and immediately cease attacks against civilians and human rights organizations. The Sudanese Government has to fulfil the obligations it once again signed in Abuja, including those concerning the Janjaweed militia.

The Sudanese Government must also take decisive steps to end the state of impunity which is still prevailing in Darfur. Failure to do so would necessitate a firm response by the international community. Again, ending impunity is vital for peaceful development in Darfur. That is why the Commission of Inquiry is mandated to identify perpetrators of human rights violations, with a view to ensuring that those responsible are held accountable.

Germany considers the ongoing work of the Commission of Inquiry to be of the utmost importance and urges the Sudanese Government and all the parties to support the work of the Commission.

We know that all the conflicts in the Sudan are very complex. We know also that they have a lot in common, and therefore it is hard to imagine that there could be peace in one part of the country while in other parts of the Sudan human rights violations continue to occur. Consequently, we very much appreciate the fact that all Council members agreed to address both conflicts in the present resolution. That sends a clear message that the international community is prepared to assist all parties to the conflict in the Sudan to build a sustainable peace and a comprehensive political solution. It reminds them that progress achieved in one part of the Sudan would be lost if suffering in other parts were allowed to continue. In particular, this is a signal that the international community will not stand idle if human rights violations and atrocities in Darfur continue.

Mr. Baali (Algeria) (*spoke in French*): My delegation is particularly pleased that the Security Council has decided to return to Africa after so many years and that it decided to meet in this hospitable city of Nairobi, thereby showing the great importance it attaches to our continent and the respect and esteem it has for Kenya, which plays such an important part in settling so many conflicts in Africa, and also for all African leaders, who for many years now have been working with determination and dedication to promote African solutions to African problems.

We sincerely hope that this meeting in Africa on the problems of Africa will be beneficial for Africa and for the Security Council, which, after two days of very intensive talks and interaction, will go back to New York with a better idea of African realities and will therefore be able to tackle them with greater prudence and humility.

The fact that the Security Council has unanimously adopted a balanced and constructive text is a positive development that I believe we should all welcome. It is perhaps a sign that African wisdom has inspired the Security Council.

Algeria joined in the consensus because, in the resolution which we have just adopted, the Security Council showed great wisdom by advocating a process of positive dialogue and involvement with the parties

concerned, along with continuing firmness and vigilance in our approach. It has undertaken to use its authority and its credibility to ensure the advent of peace in the Sudan. We joined in the consensus also because in the resolution, the Security Council recognizes the primary role that the African Union has played in the process of the restoration of peace in the Sudan and expresses its full support for it. This is particularly true in view of the fact that in this resolution, the Security Council is sending a very strong message to all parties by saying that, by the end of the year, the parties have publicly committed themselves to a comprehensive peace agreement that will lead on to the reconstruction of the country.

Last but not least, this resolution shows a very clear and simple truth. Peace between the north and the south of Sudan will lead to a much better prospect for tackling the other problems that Sudan faces, like Darfur, where the ongoing conflict is of enormous concern to the whole of the international community, and quite rightly so, and, most of all, to Africa itself. Africa, through the African Union, has embarked, not without success, on a triple mission: the respect of the ceasefire, assurances to the civilian population and the need to bring the parties to a peaceful settlement of the problem as soon as possible.

We hope that this resolution will mean a break with the past and it will have the impact hoped for by the international community, which is to see the return of peace and stability throughout Sudan and to bring peace and harmony to all Sudanese.

Sir Emyr Jones Parry (United Kingdom): It's good news that the Security Council has unanimously supported this resolution, which addresses the search for a comprehensive peace throughout Sudan. We expect the parties now to honour the commitment they have just made, namely, to conclude by 31 December.

It is essential also that the resolution emphasize the need to end attacks and atrocities in Darfur, and remind the parties that the provisions of previous resolutions remained valid today. The British Government remains gravely concerned about the security situation in Darfur. The primary responsibility for the security of the citizens of Darfur rests with the Government of Sudan. But the rebels too have a direct responsibility for recent attacks, as we have repeatedly made clear. We expect both the Government and the rebels to fulfil their commitments within the

humanitarian and security protocols, and to put in place the mechanisms and timetables to end the attacks on innocent civilians in Darfur, and to bring about an immediate improvement in the security situation. No one should interpret this resolution as reducing their commitments and obligations, as set out in Security Council resolutions 1556 (2004) and 1564 (2004). We interpret this resolution as reiterating the Council's determination to ensure that all parties in Darfur fulfil their obligations. We remind them of the prospect of measures under Article 41 of the Charter for those who do not comply. We expect to see rapid improvement in the security and humanitarian situation in Darfur.

This is the third Security Council resolution adopted this year on Sudan. This is right, because the situation in Sudan has been and remains a threat to international security and stability in the region. The Council needs, therefore, to remain seized of this issue and to be ready to take tougher action if and when this is needed to enforce implementation of this agreement.

The United Kingdom has long supported the efforts of the Government of Sudan and the SPLM to reach a comprehensive peace agreement in the Naivasha process. We recognize that such an agreement is key to political progress in Darfur and key to changes in governance throughout Sudan. But there can be no lasting peace in Sudan without an end to the conflict and instability in Darfur, and indeed in other areas of the country. The resolution we've just adopted supports the Naivasha peace process and other negotiations and holds open the process of wider international support, once a comprehensive peace agreement is being implemented. But that prospect is conditional upon the good will and the cooperation of the parties. We expect them to conclude imminently the necessary agreements to end the conflict and to choose the path of cooperation and peace. Bilateral donors, the European Union, the African Union and others are ready to help. But if the parties do not choose this path, then it is they who will bear the consequences.

Mr. Denisov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): The unanimous adoption of this resolution by the Security Council, reflects support by the international community for the process of a peace settlement in southern Sudan, which has now entered a crucial stage. We welcome the steady movement towards a settlement, a prerequisite for which is preservation of the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the country. Progress in the Naivasha

negotiations after the demonstration of political will by both sides also depends, to a large extent, on support by the international community, primarily IGAD and its Partners Forum.

We hope that the Government of Sudan and the leadership of SPLM/A will speedily complete the negotiations, so that, as soon as possible, probably by the end of the year, they will be able to sign a comprehensive peace agreement. We believe that such an agreement will have a positive impact on the situation in the country as a whole, including Darfur.

The experience of the Naivasha negotiating process has been unique, and we believe it can be useful in the context of the Abuja negotiations on a Darfur settlement. It is important we make clear to the Sudanese that international support will be there for them in their efforts to consolidate a political settlement and rebuild the country after the signing of the comprehensive peace agreement. This resolution we have just adopted does indeed send exactly such a signal to the Sudanese. Now the parties must implement all of their commitments and the international community must allocate sufficient resources to support actual implementation of the future peace agreement.

Recent progress in the Abuja negotiations, primarily the signing of the protocols on humanitarian and security issues, are grounds for hoping and expecting that the Sudanese Government and the rebels will indeed demonstrate the necessary political will and continue the negotiations in a constructive spirit in order to achieve a lasting settlement in Darfur. An important part of stabilizing the situation in that part of Sudan is to be played by the recently expanded and deployed African Union Monitoring Mission, which must be appropriately supported and helped. Its presence will be particularly important in restoring a climate of trust between Khartoum and the rebels. We welcome the willingness of the Sudanese leadership to cooperate constructively with the African Union Mission, and we call on the other side to adopt a similar stance.

The Security Council must continue providing political assistance in the efforts to normalize the situation in Darfur and ensure implementation of agreements between Sudan and the United Nations. It is necessary to redouble the efforts to establish security

in the region and to ensure the unhindered access of humanitarian assistance.

All parties must scrupulously abide by their commitments and comply with the norms of international humanitarian law.

Mr. Wang Guangya (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): Today is a praiseworthy and memorable day in the history of the Security Council. More than 30 years have elapsed, and now all the members of the Security Council have once again travelled thousands of miles and have come to the continent of Africa to hold meetings devoted to the question of the Sudan, a question that has aroused concern in all parties. The event itself is a reflection of the Security Council's support for, emphasis on and contribution to African issues.

The challenges and threats facing humankind at the beginning of this new century have become more complex and are increasing daily. Only by joining together in cooperation will the international community be able to achieve collective security and peace. Without stability and tranquillity on the African continent, there will be no global peace and security.

African issues are also global issues. We all breathe the same air and share a common destiny. The resolution adopted earlier will certainly play a very important role in helping peace negotiations in the Sudan. The north-south conflict in the Sudan has lasted for four decades. It is the longest-running internal conflict on the African continent. It has resulted in more than 2 million deaths and done great harm to the Sudanese people in both the north and the south, as well as to peace and development in the Horn of Africa. The tragedy must be brought to a speedy end. The prompt and effective resolution of this question is in the fundamental and long-term interests of all the Sudanese people. It would also be conducive to maintaining stability and development in the Horn of Africa.

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development and concerned countries, as well as the Sudanese Government and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement in the southern part of the Sudan, have worked tirelessly throughout that process. The north-south peace talks have made significant progress, resulting in the adoption of six protocols and one declaration. Today, an important memorandum of understanding was signed. The peace negotiations have

now reached the final, critical stage, and there is hope for success.

The Chinese delegation, like others, sincerely hopes and trusts that the parties will take this historic opportunity, redouble their efforts and demonstrate strong political will and flexibility with a view to signing the comprehensive peace agreement by the end of the year.

That would not only provide a perfect conclusion to the process of achieving a proper settlement of the long-running question of the southern Sudan, but it would also be conducive to the resolution of the question of Darfur. At the same time, it would set an example of success on the African continent and would encourage all parties to bring conflict to an end through political negotiation. Its great impact and profound positive influence would transcend the north-south process in the Sudan.

It should be emphasized that the signing of the comprehensive peace agreement will be only the first step in the north-south process. Comprehensive and timely implementation of the agreement will be more important, more arduous and more complicated task. That will require both parties, from the north and the south, to continue faithfully to implement their commitments and to comply with the agreement. But it will also need the vigorous assistance of the international community.

China hopes that, once the agreement has been signed and the implementation begins, the United Nations will deploy a peace operation and the international community will immediately begin a package of programmes to assist the Sudan in economic rehabilitation and development. Any procrastination or delay could have a negative impact on the Sudanese effort to achieve national reconciliation. The international community should also assume its important responsibilities and obligations in promoting and achieving Sudanese reconciliation, as well as in maintaining stability and development in Africa. The commitments of the international community should be turned into concrete and down-to-earth action; they must not vanish into thin air.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that China is ready to work with the international community to make every effort to help the Sudan to

become, at an early date, a country of peace, unity, stability and prosperity.

Mr. Baja (Philippines): Once again, the Council is unified in sending a message, through resolution 1574 (2004). The message is special, substantive and significant. The message is special because the Security Council crossed oceans and passed through time zones to highlight its seriousness of purpose in addressing the situation in the Sudan. Resolution 1574 (2004) was conceived in New York and delivered in Nairobi. The Permanent Representative of Great Britain, Sir Emyr Jones Parry, proved to be an excellent midwife. The message is substantive, because resolution 1574 (2004) sets out what must be done by all parties concerned to bring peace to a sovereign, united and independent Sudan. The message is significant since, by holding a historic meeting in Nairobi, the Council has shown that Africa matters and that it cares about the largest country in Africa.

Resolution 1574 (2004) is a gift to the Sudan. As members declare in operative paragraph 1, there is strong support for the efforts of the Government of the Sudan and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement to reach a comprehensive peace agreement. It is a gift that keeps on giving, as the succeeding paragraphs outline what will follow upon the conclusion of a comprehensive peace agreement. The choice is clearly in the hands of the Sudan.

As with any resolution or agreement, the value of resolution 1574 (2004) will depend on full and transparent implementation. It will be effective and will benefit the Sudanese only to the extent that the parties allow. The challenge now is for all the parties to redeem the pledges and commitments made yesterday, and those signed this morning. Such redemption could start by the building of trust and confidence among the parties themselves and the establishment of what Mr. Garang yesterday called a momentum for peace in all of the Sudan, including with regard to the humanitarian crisis in Darfur.

When the story of resolution 1574 (2004) is told, it will be a tale of the labours of Security Council members to help the people of the Sudan to promote national reconciliation and to build a peaceful, stable and united Sudan.

Resolution 1574 (2004) also shows that the Security Council can, and will, act to discharge its primary responsibility and mandate. In this resolution,

it commits itself to monitor compliance by the parties with their obligations and to take appropriate action against any party failing to fulfil its commitments.

We commend the United States presidency for its initiative in pushing for this historic meeting in Nairobi and for its vigorous leadership in pushing for resolution 1574 (2004), of which I believe every Council member is pleased to be a part.

Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): In the view of my delegation, resolution 1574 (2004), which the Security Council has adopted unanimously, is both timely and appropriate, given the current circumstances in the Sudan. It is a well balanced text, and cohesively addresses itself both to the Naivasha negotiations in the framework of the north-south peace process and to the Abuja negotiations on the Darfur conflict. The delegation of Spain particularly welcomes the fact that this time the Security Council has been able to speak with a single voice on an issue that, as we know, touches upon sensitive matters. That is undoubtedly a demonstration of the fact that the Council's commitment to the African continent — and in this case to the Sudan — is often sufficiently strong to bring together different approaches to the subject with a view to maximum efficiency in our efforts.

The resolution essentially focuses on the Naivasha peace process and includes strong Council support for the efforts of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) as the mediator in the negotiating process. That is a new indication of the advantages of a regional approach to conflict resolution.

We are pleased that the parties — the Government of the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM) — have today signed a solemn declaration on the conclusion of the IGAD peace process, which commits them to signing a comprehensive peace agreement before 31 December 2004. The resolution we have adopted expresses the Council's determined support for the efforts that should soon lead to an overall final agreement. It also pledges the backing of the Council and of the entire international community for the implementation of the agreement by the parties and for the re-establishment of a peaceful, unified and prosperous nation in the Sudan.

The resolution also addresses the conflict in Darfur with the necessary thoroughness, which is a

matter that continues to be of great concern for us. We agree with the Secretary-General that the signing of a comprehensive peace agreement between the north and the south will certainly have positive effects on the resolution of other ongoing conflicts in the Sudan, in particular that in Darfur. We also hope that it will make it possible to prevent the emergence of new tensions in the country. The resolution should prompt us to continue to urge the parties — both the Government of the Sudan and the rebel groups — to comply with the commitments called for in resolutions 1556 (2004) and 1564 (2004) and to reach and fully and effectively implement comprehensive agreements as soon as possible in the Abuja negotiations being carried out under the auspices of the African Union.

The situation in Darfur continues to be tragic. According to reports received by Security Council, it has even deteriorated in recent weeks. The international community continues to await a more responsible response by the parties involved, first from the Government of the Sudan but also from the rebel groups. Violations of the ceasefire agreement, attacks against the civilian population, new violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, attempts to forcibly return internally displaced persons and the widespread climate of impunity must be ended without any excuse or precondition. All those practices are unacceptable and demonstrate that there is very little will on the part of all those involved to truly resolve the problem. If necessary, the Council must be prepared to take additional measures to oblige the parties to honour their commitments if they do not do so willingly. The resolution we have just adopted also reflects that message with sufficient clarity.

The holding of this extraordinary meeting of the Security Council in Nairobi, on the initiative of the United States presidency of the Council, is a new, tangible demonstration of the interest that not only the Sudan but also the entire African continent have aroused in the Council. This meeting has provided us with a unique opportunity to inject final and very necessary momentum into the Naivasha peace process, the signing of a comprehensive peace agreement and the beginning of national reconciliation in the Sudan. We trust that the hopes that have emerged from the decisions reached today will not be in vain. We owe that, above all, to the peoples of the Sudan and to the region as a whole.

Mr. Motoc (Romania): Romania voted in favour of resolution 1574 (2004), which was just adopted unanimously at this extraordinary meeting of the Security Council in Nairobi. The resolution conforms to the policies and views that the Council has adhered to with regard to the question of the Sudan, including resolutions 1556 (2004) and 1564 (2004), both of which Romania co-sponsored. It also includes a balanced approach and a convincing message. Most important, resolution 1574 (2004) adequately reflects the very aim of our presence in the capital of the great country of Kenya, namely, to encourage all parties concerned to expeditiously conclude a comprehensive peace agreement in the context of the Naivasha talks and to proceed promptly to its implementation.

Some time ago, we witnessed the signing of the memorandum of understanding binding the Government of the Sudan and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM) to work together in that direction. That agreement is included in the resolution, with the memorandum of understanding being annexed to the Council's text. We have also endorsed the decision that the six protocols already agreed form the core of a future comprehensive peace agreement.

This is no small undertaking. I suppose we could say that with the adoption of this important resolution, we are committed in a very special way — as the Security Council and, indeed, as the international community — to the finalization of the north-south peace process in the Sudan. We are similarly committed to the overall stabilization of the Sudan and to utilizing the window of opportunity that is opening up for this important and resourceful African country after decades of internal strife.

We are joined in that reciprocal commitment by all those who invested politically and diplomatically in bringing the process to the current encouraging stage: the United Nations and the Secretary-General, the Special Representative for the Sudan, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the African Union, neighbouring countries, the European Union and many nations in Europe, the Americas and Asia. Romania has played its part in that collective effort. We have long-standing ties with the Sudan and its people and therefore have a special stake in securing the bright future that the country and its people rightfully deserve. Foreign Minister Mircea Geoana paid a momentous visit to the Sudan on 31 July

2004, during Romania's presidency of the Security Council.

My delegation commends the vision and resolve of the United States presidency of the Security Council that has brought us here to Nairobi to illustrate that the conclusion of the Naivasha talks is a key to overall peace in a united Sudan. We were honoured to embark upon this truly extraordinary event involving a series of Council meetings in Nairobi. We all came here with hope and determination, resolved to help bring about a better future for the people of the Sudan. It was high time for a process that was almost completed some time ago to actually reach its intended end. It was also high time to encourage the parties to close the door on the decades-long conflict between them. That is, after all, why the Council came here. We all felt this was an opportunity that could not be passed by.

That vision and resolve have appeared to pay off. We heard First Vice-President Taha and Mr. Garang speak about the obstacles that must still be overcome before a comprehensive peace agreement is signed before the end of the year. But we also recall distinctly that the two leaders considered those obstacles easy to overcome. In their comments we also heard them entertaining at some length the prospects for implementing the comprehensive peace agreement beginning in early next year. I have the distinct feeling that we will now all embark seriously, meaningfully and in good faith on a path that should bring about the long-awaited dividends.

First, we look forward to the positive impact that the prospect of the imminent conclusion of the comprehensive peace agreement can be expected to have with regard to achieving progress on Darfur. In the first instance, the final stages of talks on the comprehensive peace agreement should bring about closer interaction with the Abuja process. We remain highly concerned about the latest, worrying developments in Darfur, and we have clearly stated this in the resolution just adopted. The kind of human suffering that is going on there should not be allowed in the international context of the twenty-first century. We support the work done so far by the International Commission of Inquiry and look forward to receiving its findings at the appropriate time.

Secondly, securing an agreement through the Naivasha process will generate positive momentum for peace, much-needed in a region torn by several

conflicts, many — if not all — of which are interconnected. The conclusion of the comprehensive peace agreement will also send a powerful message that a new, enhanced matrix of cooperation in conflict resolution, involving our world Organization, regionally owned peacemaking and peacekeeping forces and supportive action by regional organizations from other continents, works well for Africa as well, providing added value to the provisions of Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. Romania is very keen to take stock of such positive practices, as the reform track on which the United Nations has embarked includes a reflection on how to better use the potential of regional organizations within global efforts to safeguard peace and security.

Thirdly, once the comprehensive peace agreement is in place, a United Nations peace operation could promptly step in to assist in its implementation. I take this opportunity to commend the valuable work already undertaken in that regard by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations of the United Nations Secretariat. We support the concept they have produced and will continue to look into the best ways to tailor it to the challenges of the moment.

Fourthly, securing the comprehensive peace agreement and redressing the situation in the Darfur region is also key for securing an assistance package offered by bilateral and multilateral donors. This features in resolution 1574 (2004). We welcome, in particular, the readiness of the Norwegian Government to organize an international donors conference for the Sudan upon conclusion of the peace agreement. We call on the entire donor community to assist the Government and the people of the Sudan in their efforts for the reconstruction of the country. We look forward, in this context, to hearing from the representative of the Netherlands, who will be speaking on behalf of the European Union, which has been instrumental in providing openings to the crisis in the Sudan throughout the crisis.

The Council went to great lengths in taking a series of rather unprecedented steps to foster a solution to the protracted north-south conflict in the Sudan. I am persuaded that we did the right thing and that it was worth it. The parties must now address the major challenges still lying ahead. The road will not be easy, but there is now a map for the process, and the parties are not alone. I also trust we will not be disappointed in our expectations. While I would hesitate already to

call our experience in Nairobi historic, I truly hope this qualification will impose itself, as we make progress in chartering overall peace in the Sudan, starting from Nairobi.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Pakistan, I would like to congratulate you on your initiative to hold this special Security Council meeting in Africa to give impetus to the Naivasha peace process, a process that is crucial for ending the long-running conflict in south Sudan and heralding a new, peaceful, democratic, prosperous and united Sudan. This timely initiative has yielded an important early harvest. We thank you, Mr. President, and the hospitable Government and people of Kenya for this.

It is auspicious that the parties to the north-south talks have committed themselves, in the declaration signed today, to conclude a comprehensive peace agreement by 31 December 2004. In the Council's meetings yesterday, it was evident from the statements by Vice-President Taha and Mr. John Garang that the two sides have the political will and vision to finalize this comprehensive peace accord. It is also auspicious that the Security Council has witnessed the signing of the declaration and its enclosed commitments, commitments that have been welcomed in resolution 1574 (2004), just unanimously adopted by the Council.

The resolution reflects the comprehensive and balanced approach required to bring long-term peace and stability to the Sudan. It upholds unequivocally the principles of sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity with respect to the Sudan. It welcomes the six protocols referred to in the Nairobi Declaration as constituting the core peace agreement. It seeks the inclusion of all the parties in a comprehensive peace, which will encompass Darfur and all other areas of the Sudan. The Council has also declared its commitment to assist the Sudan upon the conclusion of the comprehensive peace agreement.

Pakistan, together with other members, remains concerned about the situation in Darfur. Despite the Security Council's attention, the situation appears to have deteriorated again. We must closely analyse the reasons for this. Although accords on humanitarian and security issues were recently accepted by the parties in Abuja, there have been increased cease-fire violations in Darfur and, reportedly, most of these violations were initiated by the rebel groups, provoking reactions by

others. New insurgent movements have appeared. Command and control over various militias is unclear, and thus the danger of chaos looms. In this context, it is essential that the international community give the right messages, not only to the Government of the Sudan, but especially to the rebel movements, which have made demands that are, in some cases, unrealistic and inflexible.

The approach taken by the Security Council, by the Secretary-General and by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Pronk, is, we believe, realistic and balanced. This approach includes the following: first, enlarging an effective African Union presence with international help; secondly, pressing for compliance by the parties; thirdly, ensuring humanitarian assistance; and fourthly, working for balanced political solutions. The resolution we have just adopted reflects such a balanced and pragmatic approach, one that Pakistan has consistently counselled and which is, based on cooperation and not coercion, since coercion, we have learned, can be counterproductive.

Pakistan enjoys close and fraternal relations with the Sudan, which are the result of our common heritage. Pakistan was closely involved, through the United Nations, in the Sudan's emergence from colonial occupation as a sovereign and independent State. We therefore have a significant interest in ensuring the unity and territorial integrity of this largest State of Africa, a State with rich diversity and great potential. We hope that prosperity will come to the Sudan, a Sudan at peace with itself and with its neighbours. History awaits the Sudan. The consensus reached in Nairobi is surely a sign that the people of the Sudan, from the north, from the south, east and west, are ready to grasp the promise and potential that history offers them today.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): Brazil took part in the consensus leading to the adoption of resolution 1574 (2004) this morning.

I wish to congratulate you, Mr. President, and your delegation on the initiative of convening this important — even historic — meeting in Nairobi. We highly value the fact that for the past two days the Security Council has been considering issues of great relevance for Africa, in particular those relating to the Sudan and Somalia. The Brazilian delegation is particularly pleased to visit the sisterly country of

Kenya. The fundamental purpose of the Council's being here in Nairobi is to make its contribution, under the United Nations Charter, to the peace process in the Sudan and to a comprehensive political settlement of the Sudanese situation.

I take this opportunity to pay tribute to President Kibaki and his counterparts in the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) process for their remarkable diplomatic work and for their reaffirmation of African ownership of and responsibility for any initiatives aimed at enhancing the prospects for stability and sustainable peace on the continent.

We have heard many authoritative presentations on and assessments of the current situation in the Sudan. The improvement of humanitarian and security conditions, the end of hostilities, stability and a fair and durable political settlement for the whole country are stated objectives of all the parties despite their differences. The Government of the Sudan, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM) and, of course, the national mediators have reaffirmed their good faith and their political commitment to the prompt implementation of the agreements being reached.

Taking that into account, and mindful of, the resolution just adopted, my delegation believes that — as others have already stated — peace is within reach. We strongly encourage all parties to conclude the negotiations, both in Nairobi and in Abuja, in a timely fashion. No matter how complex the situation in the Sudan, the current generation of Sudanese leaders has the opportunity to come to terms with history and with cultural and religious diversity, as well as to deal with suffering and long-delayed economic development. A vision for the future of the Sudan should include the ideals of multiculturalism, multi-ethnicity and tolerance, as well as shared power and shared natural resources.

My delegation wishes to stress the importance of efforts by neighbouring countries aimed at a sustainable peace in the Sudan. It is encouraging that the countries in the region remain firm in their commitment to assist a peaceful and united Sudan that is capable of leading its own destiny in an environment of friendly and neighbourly relations.

The resolution just adopted is based on the common understanding that the conclusion of the north-south negotiations is crucial and that few items

still remain to be agreed upon. My delegation congratulates the parties on their decision today to sign the declaration on the conclusion of IGAD negotiations on peace in the Sudan, which reflects their commitment to reach a final agreement before the end of this year. Once signed, the agreement must be promptly implemented. In their efforts to do so, the parties should benefit from the support of the international community, which is already committed to broad participation in the donor conference to be organized by Norway. My delegation will leave Nairobi with a stronger belief that the transitional Government to be established not only will be committed to solving other conflicts in the country, but also will be better equipped to find long-lasting and fair solutions to them.

As our resolution shows, here in Nairobi our attention — while focused on the north-south negotiations — was also drawn to the humanitarian situation in Darfur. We trust that the future talks in Abuja will be strongly and positively influenced by the agreements reached in Nairobi under the auspices of the IGAD peace process. It is the view of my delegation and of many others that in the absence of a political solution to the issues of autonomy and power-sharing, among others, the already dire humanitarian conditions in Darfur will further deteriorate, as has actually happened in recent weeks. Whatever the longer-term prospects may be, continuing humanitarian assistance to the population of Darfur will be required.

In conclusion, my delegation reaffirms the need for increased international support for the African Union in Darfur. We remain sure that the Secretary-General — to whom we express our profound recognition for his tireless work — will continue to keep the Council closely informed about the assistance to be provided. Given the historic burdens of the Sudan and its recent past, it seems clear by now that there is no military solution to the awesome challenges the country faces. The Council is able to play a beneficial role and there is room for manoeuvring in our quest for peace, as the Council is committed to the sovereignty, unity, independence and territorial integrity of the Sudan within the framework of the principles of good-neighbourliness, non-interference and regional cooperation, as stated in resolution 1574 (2004).

Mr. Adechi (Benin) (*spoke in French*): Benin voted in favour of resolution 1574 (2004) because we wanted to welcome the broad consensus achieved by

the parties and because we are convinced that the situation prevailing in the Sudan requires urgent action.

The holding of this Security Council meeting in Nairobi attests to the concern of the international community and to the will of the Council to enter into a constructive dialogue with the parties to the conflict so that they can understand the gravity of the situation. That is why we welcome the frankness and openness of spirit that have characterized the very edifying and encouraging discussions that we have had with the parties and with the high-ranking representatives of African bodies that are seeking to facilitate the ongoing negotiations. We very much appreciated the lofty sense of responsibility demonstrated by one and all during our discussions. That enabled the Council to deliberate in an atmosphere of complete tranquillity.

The Council, by resolution 1574 (2004), committed all the parties to do their utmost to achieve the desired result: nothing more or less than the conclusion, at an early date and within the framework of the Naivasha process, of a comprehensive peace agreement that will provide the keys to a lasting settlement of open or latent multidimensional conflicts and the formula to eliminate the real risk of escalation that has been facing the Sudan.

My delegation welcomes the signing of the memorandum of understanding whereby the parties themselves pledge, as witnessed by the international community, to make every effort to finalize the negotiations on all pending issues and to conclude the comprehensive peace agreement by 31 December 2004 at the latest. We are convinced that the comprehensive agreement will create a new dynamic of peace, have a positive impact in all the regions of the country and cause all the people of the Sudan to see their future in a new light. In that regard, we believe that the parties should create new opportunities as soon as possible that will enable us to make the peace process as inclusive as possible.

We welcome the current strengthening of the African Union mission in Darfur. The African Union can make a difference in preventing the grave human rights violations caused by the conflict, but it can fully carry out its mission only if it is fully supported by the United Nations and Member States. The resolution recognizes that imperative need. In that context, Benin associates itself with the appeal to the parties to put an immediate end to the violence against the civilian

population and to fully respect international humanitarian law in order to facilitate full access to humanitarian assistance and the security of personnel entrusted with providing such assistance. We stress there is a need to ensure full safety for such personnel.

We urge the international community promptly to mobilize the resources needed to help finance programmes initiated by the Government of the Sudan to build peace and sustainable development, so that all the people of the Sudan can once again enjoy the wonders of peace, prosperity and social progress.

Mr. Muñoz (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): Thank you, Mr. President, for having brought us to these meetings here in Nairobi. This is a historic day, and we trust that there will be an historic peace agreement. The Security Council is meeting in Africa to assist in solving, together with Africans and the regional organizations, this long-standing crisis in Sudan.

We are gratified by the unanimous adoption of today's resolution on Sudan. It is a well-balanced resolution that gives strong support to the Naivasha peace process, which is being mediated by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, without ignoring the Council's long-standing concern about the grave humanitarian situation in the Darfur region. The Government of the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army have been urged to conclude a comprehensive peace agreement by the end of this year, and the Council has committed itself, once the parties have met their commitments, to provide the support necessary to ensure that the Sudan will be a united, prosperous and peaceful country. The resolution clearly states that the resolution of the Darfur conflict in Darfur would create conditions conducive to the delivery of such assistance.

A comprehensive peace agreement in the context of the Naivasha process would give momentum to a political settlement of the Darfur crisis. That would send the clear and resounding message that there is an alternative to violence and that peace can be achieved by means of political negotiations. In that connection, today's resolution emphasizes the importance of making real progress in the peace talks facilitated by the African Union in Abuja between the Government of the Sudan and the Sudanese Liberation Army and the Justice and Equality Movement. My delegation feels that it is clear that the Council should act on various fronts with regard to the Sudan to help in

finding a lasting solution to the country's problems. There is an obvious interrelationship and interdependence between the Naivasha peace process and the humanitarian tragedy in Darfur.

Our intention today is to promote a final agreement in the peace negotiations facilitated by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development. We are pleased to note the commitment made by the parties in the Declaration annexed to the resolution, to implement by 31 December the protocols and annexes negotiated within the Naivasha peace process and to resolve outstanding issues.

We congratulate the parties on having entered into this solemn commitment today. The united voice of the Security Council in support of the parties' commitment has been expressed in today's resolution, and that will become increasingly relevant. Our commitment to a final conclusion of the Naivasha process must lead to a political settlement in Darfur. Darfur is not simply a bargaining chip in the effort to reach north-south peace. In our view, we do not endanger the conclusion of a north-south agreement by insisting that both parties meet their commitments on Darfur relating to the ceasefire, to respect for human rights, to putting an end to impunity and to ending violence against civilians, and that they fulfil the mandates set out in Security Council resolutions. To the contrary, we recall the interconnection between the two situations; and, in the final analysis, that is politically smart. Now is the time to encourage a commitment to peace between the north and the south in the Sudan. We know that this will bring many benefits in dealing with the other challenges in the Sudan.

The results the Security Council achieved today send a clear signal of support for preventive diplomacy, for a multidimensional approach to solving problems and for regional solutions to promote comprehensive peace and security — in this case, the resolution of African problems essentially by the Africans themselves.

Mr. De La Sablière (France) (*spoke in French*): On your initiative, Mr. President, the Security Council has come to Nairobi to discuss peace in the Sudan with the principal participants in the Naivasha process. The exceptional nature of this meeting attests to how strongly the international community desires the return of peace to the Sudan.

The signing of a final peace agreement for the south is essential for stability throughout the region, as Intergovernmental Authority on Development mediators were well aware when they offered their support to the parties. France salutes their efforts and particularly those made over the past few years by General Sumbeiywo on behalf of the Kenyan Government.

The signing of a final peace agreement between the Khartoum Government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) is, in the view of all those we heard yesterday and today, within our grasp. We have come here to say to Vice-President Taha and to Mr. Garang that it is now up to them to move swiftly towards the conclusion of their negotiations.

The Sudanese have been waiting eagerly for this peace for the two years and more since the Machakos ceasefire agreement was signed. We cannot forget, and cannot repeat too often, that it is the ordinary people who have paid the heavy price of war and that what happened in the south of Sudan is a real humanitarian tragedy. We should not prolong the suffering of the people by letting the situation of uncertainty drag on: everyone agrees that that is what makes for a fragile state of affairs.

The negotiators are responsible to their compatriots to conclude a peace agreement without further delay. It goes beyond this concern, to the stability of the entire country. Further procrastination on south Sudan could have negative consequences elsewhere.

We are bound to welcome the solemn commitment just made by Vice-President Taha and Mr. Garang, to settle those issues which still stand in the way of a comprehensive agreement by the end of the year. In that regard, we will not fail to monitor very closely the establishment of the new institutions.

Everyone agrees that peace in Sudan will not be complete without a political settlement for Darfur. The fact that the Security Council has come to Nairobi is a clear sign of our urgent concern — because of the appalling humanitarian tragedy that the conflict has caused, and also because of the threat it poses to international peace and security. The presence of 230,000 Sudanese refugees in Chad creates a serious humanitarian problem. Given the climate of violence and impunity which continues to reign in Darfur, this is another worrying factor contributing to instability.

The Government and the Darfur rebels must fulfil all of their obligations. The information we are receiving, which indicates that violence by all parties continues against civilians, is extremely worrying. The violence must cease immediately and fully. Impunity for the perpetrators must not be tolerated. The Government must, as it has committed itself to do, prosecute those responsible with no further delay.

The resolution we have just unanimously adopted shows that the Security Council, for its part, is ready to shoulder its responsibilities. The advance mission set up by the Secretary-General means that when the time comes we will be ready to implement a comprehensive peace agreement.

The Council renews its support for the remarkable efforts of the African Union to foster peace in Darfur, both by sending observers and troops into the field and through political mediation in Abuja. The Council would like to encourage the donor community to mobilize in order to support those efforts and to offer the aid necessary for the implementation of a comprehensive peace agreement.

But the Security Council also expects the parties, in their turn, to shoulder their responsibilities. They must be aware that they will be held to account with regard to compliance with their commitments and implementation of Council resolutions.

The Security Council today offers encouragement to all parties who are sincere in their desire to contribute to peace in the Sudan. Each of them, however, must be aware that the Council will not fail to be extremely exacting when it comes to making sure that they comply fully with their commitments.

Mr. Gaspar Martins (Angola): Mr. President, I wish to start by expressing my delegation's gratitude to President Kibaki and to the Government and the people of Kenya for their warm welcome and legendary hospitality. Since our arrival in this beautiful city of Nairobi, we have been made to feel at home. We also commend you, Sir, on your vision to include this extraordinary meeting of the Security Council on the Sudan during your month in the presidency. The end results we have achieved are a very good reward for the resolve and dedication you have demonstrated towards solving this crisis.

The holding of this meeting in the historic city of Nairobi constitutes a sign of recognition of the efforts

of the member States of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) to find a solution to the various conflicts affecting our continent, particularly in this subregion. The Government of Kenya has played a particular role in this process by acting within the spirit of pan-Africanism, a legacy of one of the most prominent and unforgettable sons of Africa, Jomo Kenyatta. Today it is almost impossible to write the recent history of many African countries and peoples — including my own, Angola — without referring to a Kenyan city or locality. We all agree on the historic importance of holding this meeting in Africa, especially for the country my delegation represents today, the Republic of Angola.

It must be recalled that 32 years ago, at the very first meeting of the Security Council in Africa, the Council addressed the question of apartheid in South Africa and the question concerning the situation in the territories under Portuguese administration — namely, Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe — as well as the questions of Zimbabwe and Namibia, then under occupation and colonial rule. Two years after that Council meeting, freedom became a reality in the former Portuguese colonies, while the question of apartheid in South Africa and Zimbabwe entered a decisive phase that led to their settlement.

We also hope that this meeting will be a turning point for the end of conflicts still affecting the African continent, particularly in the Sudan and in Somalia. Vice-President Taha referred yesterday to the Sudanese presidency of the Security Council in 1972. Guinea-Conakry and Somalia were at that time the other African members of the Council, while Angola was a country on the agenda and represented by a liberation movement, the MPLA. My delegation would therefore like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the people of the Sudan, Somalia and Guinea, and all those who, through the Organization for African Unity, the United Nations, or in their individual capacity, contributed to the liberation of Angola and all African countries from colonial domination.

Today, 32 years after that historic Council meeting, there are still unresolved conflicts prevailing on the continent, and in that respect the Security Council may offer an opportunity to meaningfully address them and provide solutions. Nairobi, in keeping with its tradition, will certainly remain the place to advance towards the end of the long conflict in

the Sudan. My delegation was particularly pleased yesterday to hear the word “brother” from Vice-President Taha and Chairman John Garang when referring to each other. This is indicative of the good atmosphere and openness that seem to prevail among the parties and are key factors for the successful implementation of the core peace agreements and protocols.

The signing today of the declaration on the conclusion of the IGAD negotiations on peace in the Sudan opens a new page of hope for all Sudanese people. It is important, however, that the same patience and seriousness so far demonstrated by the parties continue to prevail in order to face the challenges of implementation, bearing in mind that no peace can be achieved without mutual concessions and great sacrifice by all Sudanese men and women.

Angola highly values the international community’s efforts to pave a way for the implementation of the protocols. It welcomes the preparatory work being done by the United Nations to deploy an advance mission in the Sudan, as well as the readiness expressed by Norway to hold a donors conference to mobilize the necessary resources.

Regarding the Sudanese region of Darfur, the signs of regression in key aspects of the situation were discussed yesterday, and important proposals were made regarding the African Union force, development of the region and the impact of the Naivasha process on a resolution of the conflict. We should by all means avoid a scenario of having a poorly endowed expanded African force in Darfur and a well-equipped United Nations operation in south Sudan. This indicates the need for appropriate support to enable the African Union to play its leading role adequately.

Post-conflict peace-building in the Sudan and the deployment of a United Nations peace support mission to the country are some of the most challenging tasks of our time, due not only to the size of the Sudan but also to the complexity of the situation and the multiform character of the required response. My delegation fully shares the assessment of the Secretary-General that it is not possible to implement a comprehensive peace agreement without a joint, integrated strategy among the competent United Nations agencies and programmes. The approach proposed for the future peace support operation, according to which the work of the future mission must

be synchronized and coordinated with development efforts, is key to addressing the root causes of the conflict in the Sudan.

Finally, the delegation of Angola fully supports resolution 1574 (2004) just adopted by the Council at this historic session here in Nairobi, and we are honoured to be part of the consensus. We are confident that this resolution will enable the process to move forward. The Sudanese people should play the primary role for that to become a reality.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the United States.

First, I would like to thank the United Nations for hosting and organizing this historic meeting of the Security Council. I thank President Kibaki and the Government of Kenya for their support and hospitality, not just over the past two days but throughout the peace process. I want to acknowledge the important contributions of President Museveni, as Chairman of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, and the continuing heroic efforts of General Sumbeiywo. I thank all speakers that have contributed to this event.

I have stated that this is an historic meeting. Because it is only the fourth Council meeting outside New York since 1952, it is in some sense historic almost by definition. But the only real measure of the success of this occasion, the only measure of whether it proves to be a truly significant event, rests with the parties to the conflict in the Sudan.

Yes, we passed a resolution — the fourth one on the Sudan this year. And yes, the parties signed a memorandum of understanding. But some will say — some are already saying — “Oh, just another resolution”, and “Oh, the memorandum of understanding is just an agreement to agree to peace sometime down the road”. Some will say that this whole event is just a photo opportunity. Some will say that we have had two beautiful days in Nairobi, filled with grand words, but that the event was an illusion. In the meantime, people are dying in the Sudan, women and children are suffering, and the atrocities in Darfur continue.

We came here not for a ceremony, not for a photo opportunity but for results. The Secretary-General and his staff came here to emphasize the critical juncture that the parties have reached in the peace process. Ambassador De La Sablière accommodated this trip

around his own very important African mission. From a personal perspective, this is my eighth trip to Africa since 2001 on issues related to the Sudan. The entire Security Council flew here together, unified in its desire to see peace in all of the Sudan, now.

Vice-President Taha, Mr. Garang, I listened to your words to the Council, and I believe that you are in fact determined to conclude a comprehensive peace by 31 December, as you have promised the world you will do. It is up to you to prove the naysayers and the sceptics wrong and to move your country forward towards joining the family of nations. As this meeting attests, the attention of the world is upon you. The United Nations and all the nations of the world expect, and demand, that you deliver on your word. That means that there must be a peace agreement in place by 31 December. Implementation must begin on 1 January. General Sumbeiywo has agreed to come to New York early next year to brief the Council on the early stages of implementation.

The process of turning the Sudan into a prosperous nation at peace with itself and its neighbours must move forward immediately. The Sudan must become a nation that respects human rights and that replaces violence with political dialogue. That process must proceed with dispatch, without posturing, grandstanding or empty words.

I ask everyone present today to think what could be. Imagine the Sudan starting the first day of 2005 and evolving through the six-year interim period covered by the agreement. Picture a Government of national unity and reconciliation, with renewed political and economic ties to other nations and a stable Darfur. At that point, donor nations would provide the economic horsepower to drive development, and there would be a nationwide infrastructure of security, stability and justice.

That brings me to Darfur, where chaos and cruelty remain the order of the day. As political institutions are established nationwide and as security is established across the country, the process of bringing justice to the oppressed people of Darfur must continue. I want to be very clear: the violence and the atrocities being perpetrated in Darfur must end now. You have heard this message clearly from the Security Council; heed it. I cannot emphasize this point more strongly.

When the north-south agreement is in place, the flow of support for all of the Sudan will increase on the understanding that the parties are fulfilling their commitments, including those agreed in Abuja and N'Djamena. Peace support operations will also be carried out across the country, including in the west. Working alongside the parties, and with the continuing and vital leadership of the African Union and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, we can use the conclusion of the north-south peace process as a springboard to end the suffering in Darfur.

But this picture, this vision, this dream of peace hinges on the parties meeting their commitment to sign a peace agreement by 31 December 2004. We are very, very close to peace, but we have been close before. Vice-President Taha, Mr. Garang, do not let this opportunity slip away. Follow through with your promises. Prove that you are men of your word. And allow yourselves the tremendous satisfaction of knowing that you have taken the first steps to reversing the abuses and ending the suffering that have plagued your country for so long. Then, and only then, will the parties be able to look back on their commitments made here today in Nairobi as the turning of a new and great page in the once-troubled history of the Sudan.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

I invite the First Vice-President of the Sudan, Mr. Ali Osman Taha, to take the floor.

Mr. Taha (Sudan) (*spoke in Arabic*): Allow me, on behalf of the Government and the people of the Sudan, to renew our thanks to the Security Council, which left United Nations Headquarters to meet for two days in Africa to discuss African issues, in particular support for the peace process in the Sudan.

Let us hope that the resolution adopted today and the memorandum of understanding, whose signature the Council has witnessed, will, together, constitute a strong guarantee that will expedite the implementation of the remaining measures, so that the long and difficult process of attaining a comprehensive, sustainable peace will succeed by the end of the year.

Peace has long been a strategic option for the Government of the Sudan. For one and a half decades, we have knocked on all doors and have looked everywhere in search of peace. Now, thanks to the sincere determination manifested in the Naivasha peace

process, which led to the signature of the six protocols and the 5 June Nairobi Declaration, we are more determined than ever to see our people reap the fruits of that long process. Therefore, what has been achieved so far should be safeguarded, for it did not occur by accident. Nor has it been posturing or manoeuvring; it was accomplished through the work of bare arms, struggling to pull down the wall of war.

The Government of the Sudan has repeatedly emphasized, and continues to reaffirm that it is fully committed to the implementation of the protocols and to the agreement on a comprehensive peace treaty in consonance with the spirit and the letter of the resolution that the Council adopted today and with the message to the parties to fulfil their commitments.

It was only natural that the resolution should address the issue of Darfur, for peace is an integral and indivisible whole. Hence, we assure the Council once again that the conclusion of a comprehensive peace agreement with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) is the quickest way to settle the crisis in Darfur. The Naivasha protocols lay down a framework allowing the various regions of the Sudan the widest possible self-rule, within a federal framework. Moreover, balanced, comprehensive development is a top priority of the plan that I outlined yesterday.

We here renew our commitment to the provisions of resolution 1574 (2004). We believe that it embodies a positive message that gives impetus to the peace process in its entirety.

Yesterday and today, Council members have become acquainted with the facts and the details of the Sudan peace process. As my brother, Mr. John Garang, Chairman of the SPLM, and I both said yesterday, the international community has a very important role to play in supporting the implementation of the agreement, especially during the first years of the transitional period. We look forward to wider participation and increased contributions from the international community at the donors' conference to be held in Norway. Here, we hail Norway for its efforts and for the preparations it has carried out. We wish that conference every possible success.

In conclusion, I reiterate my gratitude to the President of the Republic of Kenya. We also thank you, Mr. President, for accompanying us in this peace process over the past three years. We extend our

gratitude to the members of the Security Council for this historic extraordinary session. Our thanks go also to the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and its secretariat, which has unflinchingly followed this difficult process over these long years; to the IGAD Partners Forum; to the African Union; to General Sumbeiywo, the envoy of the Kenyan President; and to all of the other partners, mediators and observers who have taken part in the process.

Mr. President, you said in your statement that these meetings should not end up as a photo opportunity filled with grand but empty words. We wish to assure you, Sir, that we are eager and fully committed to giving the people of the Sudan, Africa and the entire international community the gift of peace at the end of this year and the beginning of the next.

The President: I now give the floor to the Chairman of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army, Mr. John Garang, in accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

Mr. Garang: Let me begin, Mr. President, by expressing my appreciation for the initiative that you took to bring the Security Council to Kenya. Let me congratulate all the members of the Security Council for the achievements they have just accomplished: the signing of the memorandum of understanding between us and the Government of the Sudan, and the unanimous adoption of Security Council resolution 1574 (2004).

The Council's trip to Kenya, as is clear now, was not in vain. Achieving a comprehensive peace agreement for the Sudan by the end of the year will lead to greater peace for the Sudan, as many of us have emphasized. The memorandum of understanding and resolution 1574 (2004) anchor the Sudan peace process in the Security Council. I heard earlier that a Council member was its midwife, so now it is the Council's baby.

This resolution will create the momentum for peace in the Sudan — instead of momentum for war, various resistance groups springing up here and there in the Sudan, and, ultimately, national disintegration. That will be averted by moving towards peace and generating that momentum, so that, instead of splintering, we will have greater unity.

Resolution 1574 (2004) sends a message to the Sudanese people, who have suffered for so long — the people of southern Sudan, the people of the Nuba mountains, of the southern Blue Nile, of Abyei, of Darfur, of eastern Sudan and of the Sudan in general. Their long suffering is at last coming to an end, so that they can put the pieces of their lives back together and so that we can once again hear the happy singing of children on their way to school.

As concerns the resolution that the Council has just adopted, we, the parties, may not fully realize at this time that it represents a much stronger action than, say, sanctions on which the Council might not have achieved consensus. But there is a consensus on this, and I say that it is much more serious because it is a commitment by the parties to reach a political settlement by 31 December. That implies that, if the parties do not adhere to their commitments, there could be much more serious consequences than sanctions would entail. That is my meaning.

In that regard, I wish to express to the Council the full commitment of the SPLM to do its best not to disappoint the Council, the Sudanese people, the region or the world community. Peace in the Sudan is good for southern Sudan, it is good for the new Sudan, it is good for the Nuba mountains, it is good for the southern Blue Nile and Abyei, it is good for the Sudan as a whole, it is good for Darfur, it is good for the region, it is good for Africa, and it is good for the world community.

We will, as I say, do our best to fulfil our commitments. We also appeal to the Council to do its best also to fulfil its commitments. We will need a great deal of assistance, as the Sudan has been fractured for a long time. This is the twenty-second year of the war, and before that we were at war for 17 years. That is 39 years out of the 48 years of our independence. There must be very serious issues at stake for any community to subject itself to generations of war. We will do our best to sort out these difficulties and to put our country back together, so that we can join the community of nations in peace, development and prosperity.

We will need assistance in the implementation of the agreements that we have signed. We have signed the one that is in front of the Council, on security arrangements. The security arrangements encompass a broad range of issues: the building of the army;

demobilization, the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR); taking care of ex-combatants, so that they can go back to normal civilian life — a productive life that befits the sacrifices that they have made. We have signed an agreement on wealth-sharing, where, again, we will need considerable assistance, as we will in implementing the agreements on power-sharing, on the two areas of the Nuba Mountains and the Blue Nile, on Abyei, and on the issue of the right of self-determination at the end of the interim period.

These agreements are reflective of the diversity of the Sudan, which we try to accommodate in these agreements, because failure to manage diversity is what led to those generations of war and generations of suffering. In order for us to maintain the unity and territorial integrity of our country — a country that is characterized by diversity — we must implement the six protocols that we have signed, and those six protocols must lead to greater peace for our country, so that there is peace in Darfur, there is peace in eastern Sudan, there is peace all over our country.

Peace will be meaningless unless it leads to tangible benefits for individuals and society as a whole. The issue of the reconstruction and development of all areas of the Sudan, especially the war-affected areas of southern Sudan, the Nuba Mountains, the Blue Nile, Abyei, Darfur and other areas, is of paramount importance, and we will need — and we expect — the Council's assistance in that regard.

In that connection, I want to express my appreciation for the role played by Norway as it prepares for the donors conference. We appeal to you, who represent countries and regions, to generously contribute and to generously pledge at the donors conference. However, pledging is one thing, and releasing funds is another. I want you to pledge and also to release funds, otherwise, as Mr. Danforth said earlier, these would be empty promises. Those are your commitments — the commitments of the international community — to help the Sudan regroup and move towards reconstruction and development, so that the people of the Sudan, who have suffered for so long, can find tangible benefits in peace.

Peace, to me, is what it means to each individual. It is not what it means to the Security Council, or to the SPLM, or to the Government of the Sudan, but what it means to individuals as they put their lives back

together, and what tangible benefits they reap as a result of peace. We will do our best to act as catalysts for people to realize their aspirations.

I wish to impress on the Security Council and on its members, as representatives of their respective countries and regions, that the Sudan offers great opportunities. We have vast resources, including far-reaching ideas, that will be unlocked by the comprehensive peace agreement which we have just pledged to reach by the end of the year.

On behalf of the SPLM/SPLA and the people of the Sudan, we welcome the participation of the members of this world body, the Security Council, in this great Sudanese project, which involves a paradigm shift in politics, in the economy and in society, as we chart a course towards a new Sudan of peace, justice, stability and prosperity for all. That is the only way we can keep the Sudan glued together in all its diversity.

Again, Mr. President, I congratulate you. I congratulate the members of the Security Council, General Sumbeiywo and the IGAD envoys and leaders, the Troika, and the African Union and thank them for all the contributions they have made to get us this far. It has been a tortuous journey since we started in 2002 at Machakos, coming to Naivasha. We have been faced with hill after hill. Every time we conclude a peace agreement, we think we have reached the summit, but then we realize that there is another hill in front of us. We hope that, by signing a comprehensive peace agreement, we shall have surmounted the last hill, and we hope that the flat ground ahead of us will contain no minefields, so that we can proceed with the task of development for our people.

Again, we assure the Council of our commitment to the memorandum of understanding that we have just signed and of our appreciation of the resolution that the Council has adopted. As I have said, it is now our common baby, as a product of the Security Council.

Finally, I wish the best to all the Sudanese people. I wish them the gift of peace as we approach Christmas and the end of the year. I also wish the best to the people of the region. I appreciate the interventions of the President of Kenya and of President Museveni, both of whom took the time to address these important meetings.

The President: It is a very special privilege to welcome to the Security Council the Minister of

International Development of Norway. It is impossible to overstate how important Norway has been to the peace process. It has been central; it has played a leadership role. Ms. Johnson has been involved for years in this effort, always in a leadership capacity and always very, very constructively.

I now give the floor to Ms. Hilde Johnson, Minister of International Development of Norway, in accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

Ms. Johnson (Norway): Let me start by thanking you, Ambassador Danforth, for inviting me to address the Security Council here in Nairobi today. I am grateful for this opportunity to speak about the international donors' conference to be held in my country, and am honoured to be part of this highly important meeting. The fact that the Security Council is meeting in Nairobi sends a strong message: a message about the world's commitment to support a Sudan without war; a message about the world's expectations for a speedy conclusion of the Sudan peace talks sponsored by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD); a message that we must all do our part to bring about peace in a country where so many have suffered for so long.

The main responsibility for the Sudan's future development rests with the Sudanese leaders, but it is crucial that the international community stand ready to support the parties in rebuilding and developing the country once the foundation for a Sudan at peace has been laid.

Norway has offered to host an international donors' conference to address the next step: the reconstruction and development of a country devastated by decades of conflict. Preparations for the Oslo conference are well under way. We are only waiting for the parties to take the very last steps to peace.

The situation in Darfur reminds us again and again that those last steps must be taken very soon — now. Norway strongly condemns the continued killings and attacks on civilians taking place in Darfur, and we fully support the Security Council's call for rapid implementation of the humanitarian and security protocols. We welcome and support the efforts of the African Union in the Abuja negotiations and on the ground in Darfur, and we commend the parties for signing the significant agreement in Abuja recently.

But we share the view that the road to a political solution to the crisis in Darfur goes through the completion of the IGAD peace negotiations. A comprehensive peace agreement in the context of the IGAD talks will become the platform for peaceful solutions nationally, in Darfur and in other volatile regions. But the urgent and undivided attention of the Government of the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) is now needed to complete the process.

The Sudan is at a crossroads, where the country's leaders have to choose between the path to peace and stability and the path to fragmentation and fighting. That is why the memorandum of understanding just signed is promising. The successful outcome of the peace talks will mark the end of one long process and herald the start of another: the rebuilding and development of Sudan.

When the parties have laid the foundation for a peaceful environment throughout the country, when internally displaced persons are able to return, when people can go back to their daily lives without fear, when international assistance can safely access all areas of Sudan, that is the time when long-term international development support will be made available. That is the precondition for a successful donors' conference: an environment that can convince the international community that the best possible use will be made of donor resources, for the benefit of every Sudanese.

The international community will come well prepared to the table at a donors' conference. Plans for assistance to the Sudan after the war have been an integral part of the efforts to bring about a political solution. Throughout the IGAD effort, the international donor community, through the IGAD Partners Forum (IPF), has been engaged for the last four years in preparations for assistance, in parallel with its support for the peace process. The parties to the conflict have been involved in these preparations every step of the way and are fully aware of the rewards that are likely to result from the signing of a comprehensive peace deal.

The Oslo donors' conference will address the construction and development of the whole of Sudan. In fact, this could be our best prepared post-war donor process so far. In September, at the IPF meeting in Oslo, the Sudanese parties, including those from

Darfur, met with the donor community, including China, the African Union and the Arab League, to discuss preparations for assistance to a future Sudan. The meeting confirmed that the IPF will be the forum for donor coordination and widened the circle of support for assistance to the new Sudan.

Successful planning does not always translate into successful action. However, I believe that, if we stick to our plans, the Sudan has an excellent chance of success. The Sudan can be rebuilt, but only with massive national and international efforts. The new Government structure — the Sudanese — must deliver on their promises, and we as donors must deliver on ours: no empty promises, only delivery.

In the Sudan we are not starting from scratch. We are not starting from zero. We are starting from minus 39: 39 years of war and destruction. In the south, millions have been forced to flee their homes, infrastructure is destroyed and the basic structure of society is non-existent. In Darfur, the destruction is overwhelming. In most of the Sudan, poverty is at a level that will require years of international engagement. The Sudanese parties and the international community have an enormous task ahead. We cannot afford to repeat past mistakes from other post-conflict areas of the world.

We know from experience that peace is fragile. It needs attention, protection and nurturing. We also know that history overflows with examples of promising peace efforts gone awry, opportunities missed and mistakes made. In fact, more than half of all peace agreements fail and the parties slide back into war. Ironically enough, donors, in spite of the best intentions, have sometimes contributed to this. We have to learn from our mistakes.

These are some of the dangers: lack of coordination between donors, when national or organizational pride is allowed to take precedence over results on the ground; lack of country ownership, when the country's Government and population are relegated to being spectators unable to take the steering wheel in a process that should be theirs; and lack of long-term commitment from donors, when donors compete to assist for a short period after the peace is made — another photo opportunity — only to disappear when the next crisis demands attention.

In the Sudan, we will pay dearly if these mistakes are repeated. Because of the unique features of this

conflict, such mistakes will have more serious consequences here than in most other parts of the world. It is imperative that we as donors take note of lessons learned. If we fail, the consequences will be devastating, not only for the Sudanese people, but for the entire region. We may have only this one chance to do it right. The Sudanese leaders and the international community have an obligation to make it work. That is why we need a united international partner group, closely coordinated with the Sudanese parties and the post-war Sudan Government. That is also why we need close cooperation between the United Nations and the World Bank, and United Nations agencies that work in harmony. It is why we welcome the ongoing efforts of the United Nations and the World Bank to create joint multi-donor trust funds in close cooperation with the parties and key donors. It is why we are making plans for joint operations and joint donor offices, preparing for a level of coordination and cooperation never seen before.

In the Sudan, there is no room for solo players. Lack of coordination between donors not only leads to a waste of resources, but can also open the way for manipulation that reverses, rather than advances, the process.

We as donors cannot risk becoming pawns in a game that we cannot control. This is why we want to set a new and higher standard for our work in a future Sudan — a standard of coordination that can serve as a reference in other post-conflict areas.

The parties have agreed to a model of asymmetric federalism. That will ensure far-reaching autonomy for the southern region. However, the imbalance between north and south in social, political and economic development lies at the heart of the civil war, and must be addressed by the United Nations and other donors. The complexity of the peace agreement and the special arrangements for the interim period must be reflected in our joint efforts.

The United Nations work plan for next year must be owned by the Sudanese parties. It must form an integral part of our joint planning engagement. Sudanese ownership means ownership by both the new Government structure and the population. It means cooperation with the different levels of authority. Development assistance should play a strategic role, strengthening peace in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the agreement, rewarding progress and

ensuring stability. And we must have staying capacity. Donors must be committed to a long-term process, making sure that the Sudan remains a priority until not only peace, but also prosperity, has come within reach for the Sudanese people.

Even a peaceful Sudan cannot be rebuilt in a year or two. Decades of destruction may demand decades of construction — of buildings, institutions and people's lives. In order to do our part, we must agree on some ground rules for our assistance and cooperation. If we know that aid will be spent wisely, the donor community will provide the necessary funds. But to get the most out of every development dollar, we must cooperate and we must coordinate. Turf wars cost money; they may even cost us the peace.

I ask the Security Council to send a clear signal to the United Nations Sudan mission and all of the agencies, as well as to all other donors, multilateral as well as bilateral, to coordinate their efforts closely within the United Nations system, within the donor community and with the relevant Sudanese authorities, and not to lower their flags. This principle should be reflected in the Council's resolutions and in preparations for the forthcoming donors conference.

We must start by mobilizing resources for the enormous task of building a stable and secure Sudan — the biggest country in Africa. Our pledges will be based on solid documentation, such as that already provided by the Joint Assessment Mission. Separately, we must also reach a common understanding among key actors about how to handle Sudan's heavy debt burden. The solution must be broad in scope, and it must include non-Paris Club members. The Oslo conference must not be overshadowed by the debt issue, and should concentrate on new aid flows to underpin the peace. In parallel with the preparation for Oslo, therefore, a process to deal with the debt issue will be established.

We also need more donors. I am hopeful that future donor partnership in the Sudan will include new, non-traditional participants. We must urge all donors to pledge generously and — not least — to stick to their promises. Norway will be honoured to invite the Sudanese parties and the wider donor community to the first donor conference for the Sudan as soon as peace agreements have been signed and the humanitarian situation in Darfur is under control. At this meeting in Nairobi, the Security Council has emphasized its

commitment to the Sudan. The United Nations and the entire international community will be ready to assist the Sudan as soon as the Sudanese leaders have completed the negotiations. The Sudanese people and the rest of the world are waiting for the parties to demonstrate the leadership necessary to finish the job and to prepare for peace.

In view of the urgency of the situation, I would like to make a suggestion. In the spirit of goodwill demonstrated by both leaders yesterday and today, and in order to maintain the momentum, I wish to suggest that Ali Othman Taha and John Garang advance their schedules and meet five days before they had intended to so that they can start the job quickly. They need every minute. The people of the Sudan have suffered too much for too long. The lives of millions are at stake, and they can put an end to that situation now.

The President: In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I give the floor to Ambassador Samir Hosni, Director of African Administration and African-Arab Cooperation of the League of Arab States.

Mr. Hosni (*spoke in Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to make a statement on behalf of Mr. Amre Moussa, Secretary General of the League of Arab States, who is unable to participate in this important and historic meeting.

Given the great importance of this issue to our member States and to Arab security, the League of Arab States is resolved to promote peace and national reconciliation in the Sudan. This issue has long been on the agenda of the League, which is actively working to find a comprehensive peaceful solution to the situation in the Sudan. With regard to the issue of the southern Sudan, following the signing of the Machakos Protocol in July 2002 — which was welcomed by the League of Arab States at the time — the League has been focusing on a number of areas.

First, at the political level, we have been promoting the peace process and the negotiations between the Sudanese Government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), and urging them promptly to conclude and sign a comprehensive peace agreement. The Secretary General of the League of Arab States participated in the signing last June of the Nairobi peace declaration. He also visited the city of Rumbek in southern Sudan last year as a guest of the SPLM, and reaffirmed the commitment of the League

and its member States to the peace process, as well as its determination, together with that of its institutions, to actively participate in developing southern Sudan, particularly the war-affected areas, in order to make Sudanese unity an attractive, voluntary option.

Secondly, we have concentrated our efforts on the development of southern Sudan. Those efforts have led to significant pledges of financial support by member States — Arab funds that are awaiting the signing of the final comprehensive peace agreement. It gives me great pleasure to inform the Council that the monetary value of development projects now under way in southern Sudan amount to over \$200 million. These projects are focusing on rebuilding the infrastructure, particularly the road network connecting the north and the south, as well as on skill-development programmes in southern Sudan, in cooperation with Arab civil society organizations.

Thirdly, in order to promote peace, reconstruction and development efforts in all parts of the Sudan, the Arab Summit meeting held last May in Tunisia called upon Arab States and Arab financing funds to address the heavy debt burden of the Sudan. That burden has now reached over \$65 billion, 40 per cent of which is owed to Arab countries and funds.

Fourthly, the League of Arab States is working through one of its specialized agencies, the Inter-Arab Investment Guarantee Corporation, to finance an investment project guarantee fund in southern Sudan to expedite Arab efforts to develop that part of the country and to provide the necessary guarantees for secure investment.

Ending the long-standing conflict in southern Sudan is now more of a concrete reality than ever before, especially after today's signing of a memorandum of understanding between the Government of the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). We call upon the parties to sign a comprehensive peace agreement by the end of this year. We also reaffirm our readiness to provide the necessary support through our agencies to guarantee the full implementation of the expected agreement.

Fifthly, the time allotted to me here does not make it possible to enumerate the various political and humanitarian efforts being undertaken by the League of Arab States with regard to the crisis in Darfur. However, last August we discussed the situation in

Darfur at the ministerial level against the backdrop of the report prepared by a fact-finding mission of the League of Arab States to Darfur and eastern Chad. The Chairman of the Commission of the African Union and the Secretary-General's Special Representative for the Sudan, Mr. Jan Pronk, and the Foreign Minister of Nigeria, acting as the representative of President Obasanjo in his capacity as the Chairman of the African Union, all participated in the ceasefire monitoring group and in the protection forces sent to Darfur. In that context, we have also participated actively in mediation efforts between the Government of the Sudan, the SPLM and the Sudan Justice and Equality Movement. That led to this month's signing of the two protocols on security and humanitarian issues. We are also part of the joint mechanisms between the Sudanese Government and the United Nations that are carrying out the necessary assessment of the security and humanitarian situation in Darfur.

Sixthly, addressing the crisis in Darfur requires full compliance on the part of all parties with the ceasefire signed in N'Djamena last April, as well as with the two protocols on security and humanitarian issues signed recently at Abuja, in order to produce the necessary positive effects that will lead to an improvement in the humanitarian and security situation in Darfur. Dealing with that crisis also requires positive cooperation with the African Union mission in order to conclude the necessary agreements in the upcoming negotiations, which seek to pave the way to a final and comprehensive settlement of the issue. However, that will require full and strong financial, technical and logistical support for the African Union's efforts from the international community. The humanitarian situation in Darfur makes it incumbent upon all of us to provide the necessary support. The League of Arab States will spare no effort to provide all forms of support to the African Union, in particular in the humanitarian field. We would also like to convey our readiness to take part, through our member States and the various Arab financial and investment funds, in the reconstruction of what has been destroyed in Darfur.

In conclusion, I must also welcome the positive developments in the national reconciliation process in Somalia, in particular the establishment of a transitional Parliament, the election of Mr. Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmad as President and the appointment of various ministers. Those are all necessary steps towards realizing peace and stability in Somalia in a

way that preserves the unity, territorial integrity and independence of the country. We call upon all factions, stakeholders and segments of Somalia's population to work in good faith and cooperate positively with the President-elect and the upcoming Government so as to establish peace, security and prosperity and help regain the country's status in the international community. We call upon all Somali factions to behave responsibly, and to put the interests of their country first. We warn that, in the absence of commitment, the agreements will not be implemented.

Finally, I would like to thank all the members of the Council for their invaluable contributions.

The President: In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I now call on the representative of Japan.

Mr. Sato (Japan): Let me begin by thanking Secretary-General Kofi Annan for his statement to the Council yesterday on the situation in the Sudan. I would also like to thank the President for his creative and timely initiative to organize this important meeting.

In the past two years, in my capacity as Ambassador in charge of conflict and refugee-related issues in Africa, I have visited the Sudan five times. My most recent visit took place in September, when I went to Darfur and eastern Chad as a member of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) donor mission led by High Commissioner Ruud Lubbers. The refugees and internally displaced persons whom I met eagerly hope to return to their homes as soon as circumstances permit. However, what is crucial in that regard is not only to assist them in their return, but also to make their return sustainable and to create an environment in which they are, first and foremost, able to feed themselves. The peace process must be advanced in the Sudan as a whole. I would like to discuss three points in that connection.

First, Japan has been monitoring with great interest the developments in the negotiations taking place here in Nairobi aimed at reaching a comprehensive peace agreement in the Sudan. As an incoming member of the Council, Japan is determined to assume a constructive role in the discussions aimed at the establishment of a United Nations peace-support operation in the Sudan. Japan urges the parties to the north-south conflict to immediately end their civil war

and to strive for national reconciliation and reconstruction. We fervently hope that a comprehensive peace agreement will be reached by the end of this year, at the latest. It is for that reason that we welcome the adoption of today's Security Council resolution.

Through the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), we have been advocating the importance of ownership by African countries and partnership with the international community to promote Africa's development. In this context, Japan highly appreciates the initiatives taken by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in the Naivasha peace process, as well as those taken by the African Union in the Abuja peace negotiations and its dispatch of a monitoring mission to the Sudan.

Thirdly, Japan places importance on providing assistance in a seamless manner in post-conflict situations during the transition from the emergency humanitarian assistance phase to that of development assistance. In order to achieve that objective, it is crucial that the parties to the conflict demonstrate their genuine commitment to the development of the Sudan by signing and actually implementing the comprehensive peace agreement.

I would like to take this opportunity to briefly touch upon the situation in Darfur. In order to resolve the ongoing humanitarian crisis, all the parties involved in the conflict must adhere to their commitment to establish security by immediately halting the violence, protecting the civilian population and giving their full cooperation to the African Union mission. In this regard, Japan welcomes the signing of the protocols on the improvement of the humanitarian situation and on the enhancement of the security situation in Darfur. It is essential that the parties redouble their efforts to bring about the political solution to crisis in Darfur. Alleviating the suffering of the vulnerable segments of the population such as refugees and internally displaced persons is a key element of Japan's response to the crisis in the Sudan, which is focused on promoting human security. Based on this concern over the humanitarian crisis and from the viewpoint of human security, Japan had dispatched a survey mission to eastern Chad as early as last May.

In his address before the United Nations General Assembly this year, our Prime Minister, Junichiro

Koizumi, pledged to provide humanitarian assistance for Darfur in the amount of \$21 million. Japan has acted speedily to fulfil that pledge by providing steady assistance to the refugees and displaced persons in the Sudan and eastern Chad through various international organizations, including the UNHCR, the World Food Programme and the International Committee of the Red Cross. Additionally, we have provided in-kind assistance of 700 tents for the Sudanese refugees in Chad in response to the request of the UNHCR.

Security Council members must continue to speak in one voice and in sending a strong message to the parties to the conflict if we are to achieve and consolidate peace in the Sudan. Allow me to close by emphasizing that Japan, together with the members of the Council and others in the international community, is ready to make an active contribution to the consolidation of peace and economic development in the Sudan.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of the Netherlands, Adriaan Kooijmans, in accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

Mr. Kooijmans (Netherlands): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union (EU). The countries aligning themselves with this statement are the candidate countries Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey and Croatia, the countries of the Stabilisation and Association Process and potential candidates Albania, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Serbia and Montenegro, and the European Free Trade Association countries Iceland and Norway.

The European Union is grateful for the opportunity to participate in this meeting of the Security Council in Nairobi. The fact that the meeting takes place in the region clearly signals the commitment of the international community to help the people of the Sudan attain lasting peace and stability. The EU would like to pay tribute to both the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the African Union for their untiring efforts, both politically as well as on the ground, to bring peace to the Sudan.

The European Union welcomes the resolution that the Security Council has just adopted. It joins the Council in urging both the Government of the Sudan and the Sudan Popular Liberation Movement/Army to conclude the discussions on outstanding issues

expeditiously, to speedily conclude a comprehensive peace agreement and to implement it without delay. In this respect, the EU welcomes the signing of the declaration on the conclusion of IGAD's negotiations on peace in the Sudan and the parties' commitment to reach a final, comprehensive agreement before the end of this year.

The European Union stands ready to assist the Sudan in the reconstruction and development of the country, on the understanding that the parties sign and implement a comprehensive peace agreement and fulfil all their commitments, including those on Darfur. Under the European Development Fund alone, €400 million have been earmarked for the Sudan. In this respect, the European Union will also cooperate closely with the United Nations and the other donors.

Concluding a peace agreement will not only bring an end to the long-lasting conflict between the north and the south that has cost so many lives and has inflicted tremendous human suffering, but also could provide a political platform for addressing the underlying causes of ongoing conflicts in the Sudan, including in Darfur. The crisis in Darfur can be resolved only through a negotiated settlement that tackles the root causes of the conflict. In this respect, the European Union looks forward to an early signature of the declaration of principles. The EU has also welcomed the signing of the humanitarian and security protocols in Abuja. However, progress made at the negotiating table has not been reflected yet in tangible progress on the ground. The EU notes with grave concern that the situation in Darfur has further deteriorated in recent weeks due to ceasefire violations and continued attacks on civilians.

The responsibility to protect the civilian population of Darfur rests first of all with the Government of the Sudan. The European Union is concerned that the Government has not fulfilled many of its obligations under Security Council resolutions 1556 (2004) and 1564 (2004), in particular disarming the Janjaweed and other militia groups, as well as bringing perpetrators of human rights violations to justice. At the same time, the rebel groups, by stepping up their attacks, have contributed to an escalation in insecurity and human suffering. The EU will continue to exert pressure on both sides and will take appropriate measures, as contemplated in Article 41 of the United Nations Charter, if no tangible progress is achieved in this respect.

The European Union once again urges both sides to abide strictly by the ceasefire agreement, strongly condemns all attacks on civilians, in particular ongoing cases of rape, and reiterates that those responsible will be held accountable for violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, in order to end impunity. The EU joins the Security Council in calling upon all parties to cooperate with the United Nations commission of inquiry.

The European Union is ready to assist the Government of the Sudan to meet the challenges it will face in implementing its obligations. We welcome the Government's agreement to the rapid expansion of the mission of the African Union, which the EU and its member States have facilitated by a contribution of more than €100 million, in addition to an earlier contribution of nearly €18 million when the operation was first launched.

It is essential that the African mission in the Sudan also receive all the support needed to ensure its rapid and full deployment and effective operationalization. In line with Council resolution 1556 (2004), in which the United Nations advance mission in the Sudan is requested to include contingency planning for Darfur in its work, the EU welcomes the further cooperation and exchange of experiences and expertise between the United Nations advance mission and the African mission in the Sudan.

The European Union and its member States have also made a considerable contribution to humanitarian assistance, amounting to over €320 million, in 2004. As the number of internally displaced persons is still growing, additional assistance is needed. The European Union therefore calls on all United Nations Member States to respond generously to additional appeals for assistance by the United Nations and by the international humanitarian agencies.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Australia, Mr. George Atkin, High Commissioner of Australia to Kenya, in accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

Mr. Atkin (Australia): Thank you, Mr. President, for this opportunity to address the Council on the situation in the Sudan. It is my honour to speak on behalf of New Zealand and my own country, Australia.

The Governments of New Zealand and Australia continue to be gravely concerned about the ongoing conflicts in the Sudan and the deteriorating humanitarian and human rights conditions in Darfur. We welcome this special meeting of the Security Council in Nairobi, and we urge the Council to take every possible step to resolve the conflicts in the Sudan, which have had such terrible effects on people throughout the country.

With respect to the north-south conflict, we commend the Security Council for its efforts to support the urgent conclusion of a comprehensive peace agreement. After 21 years of civil war, the current negotiations offer a real opportunity for a comprehensive political solution to the problems in the Sudan. The devastating conflict in Darfur is glaring evidence of the risks of continued instability, and there is no time to waste. We are heartened by the signature this morning of the memorandum of understanding to conclude a final settlement by the end of this year, and we urge the Council to maintain pressure on all parties at this critical stage.

Our countries are deeply concerned at reports that the situation in Darfur is deteriorating yet further. We are appalled by reports of horrific atrocities committed against the civilian population of Darfur in recent months. Let me be clear that we look to all parties to the conflict to immediately prevent further attacks on civilians.

We welcome the agreement on humanitarian and security protocols reached among the Government of

the Sudan, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army and the Justice and Equality Movement, and we call on the parties to implement their commitments without delay. The parties must be under no illusion about the seriousness with which the international community sees the situation in Darfur, and they must respond quickly and meaningfully.

Our countries are making a contribution to international efforts to resolve the crisis in the Sudan through the provision of substantial funding for United Nations operations, support for the African Union's mission and humanitarian assistance to the victims of the conflict. We applaud the African Union for its proactive role in resolving the crisis in Darfur, and we welcome the decision to expand the African Union's monitoring mission to Darfur. The international community must make every effort to ensure the success of the African Union mission to Darfur. Our Governments offer their full support to that mission.

The Governments of New Zealand and Australia will continue to support efforts to find a lasting solution to the multiple crises in the Sudan. Only sustained, coordinated international action will bring those conflicts to an end.

The President: There are no further speakers 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 1.05 p.m.