



# Security Council

Sixty-fourth year

**6068**<sup>th</sup> meeting

Friday, 16 January 2009, 10 a.m.

New York

*Provisional*

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<i>President:</i>	Mr. Ripert . . . . .	(France)
<i>Members:</i>	Austria . . . . .	Mr. Mayr-Harting
	Burkina Faso . . . . .	Mr. Tiendrébéogo
	China . . . . .	Mr. Liu Zhenmin
	Costa Rica . . . . .	Mr. Weisleder
	Croatia . . . . .	Mr. Vilović
	Japan . . . . .	Mr. Takasu
	Libyan Arab Jamahiriya . . . . .	Mr. Dabbashi
	Mexico . . . . .	Mr. Heller
	Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Churkin
	Turkey . . . . .	Mr. Çorman
	Uganda . . . . .	Mr. Butagira
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . . . . .	Ms. Pierce
	United States of America . . . . .	Mr. Khalilzad
	Viet Nam . . . . .	Mr. Bui The Giang

## Agenda

### The situation in Somalia

Letter dated 19 December 2008 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2008/804)

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*The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.*

**Expression of farewell to Mr. Zalmay Khalilzad,  
Permanent Representative of the United States of  
America to the United Nations**

**The President** (*spoke in French*): As I am aware that this is the last meeting of the Security Council in which our colleague Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad, Permanent Representative of the United States of America, will participate, I should like, on behalf of the Security Council, to say how much we regret to see his departure as a colleague, but above all as a friend. Zalmay Khalilzad is a man of conviction, and of commitment, and, above all a man of talent. I think that none of us will forget the warmth of his personality, and I am sure that we will long remember his resounding laughter echoing in and around the corridors of the Security Council. I know that we will miss it.

The role of Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations is not an easy one. He has the privileges of status and power, but the reality is that he also often has the privilege of solitude. In this role, Zalmay Khalilzad has always acted with great dignity and grace, as a great diplomat and a tough negotiator. He always applied the old saying: always dialogue; always negotiate; never turn away.

We all know his curriculum vitae, which clearly embodies the American miracle of integration and personal success. But also in a way, it powerfully embodies the United Nations and the cultural diversity of the world: Afghanistan, where he came from; Lebanon, where he grew up; and then the United States, which both gave him opportunities and benefited by his talent.

I would like to stress, in particular, after a difficult period, how Zalmay Khalilzad has brought the United States of America closer to the United Nations. We all know how our common Organization needs the support and active commitment of all of its Members, and in particular of the United States.

So, my dear Zal, we all wish you every success in your journey through life. And in order to help you improve your French, I will tell you we are not saying *adieu*, but *au revoir*.

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The situation in Somalia**

**Letter dated 19 December 2008 from the  
Secretary-General addressed to the President  
of the Security Council (S/2008/804)**

**The President** (*spoke in French*): I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Burundi, Italy and Somalia to participate in the consideration of the item of the agenda, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Duale (Somalia) took a seat at the Council table; the representatives of the other aforementioned countries took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.*

**The President** (*spoke in French*): The Council will now begin 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/2009/37, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Burkina Faso, Burundi, Italy, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Turkey, Uganda and the United States of America.

Members of the Council also have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia contained in document S/2008/709. I should also like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to documents S/2008/804 and S/2008/846, containing letters dated 19 December 2008 and 31 December 2008 from the Secretary-General respectively.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. 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:*

Austria, Burkina Faso, China, Costa Rica, Croatia, France, Japan, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mexico, Russian Federation, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Viet Nam

**The President** (*spoke in French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1863 (2009).

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

**Mr. Khalilzad** (United States of America): First, *merci beaucoup* for the very nice, warm and kind statement that you made about me, Mr. President. It has been a great honour for me to represent the United States in the United Nations and in the Council. I thank you all, fellow members, for the work that we have done together, and I thank you also for the friendship, for the spirit and for the relationship that we have developed and through which we have worked in dealing with the many challenges that we have faced in the course of my service here. I shall miss you all, and I wish you all the best as the Council continues to deal with many challenges that affect the future of the world. I shall remember fondly my service here. I believe that the United States needs the United Nations and the United Nations needs an active participant in the United States. So, thank you again, Sir, for your kind remarks and your personal leadership, as well as for the work that you and I have done together.

I would like also to thank my colleagues for unanimously supporting our resolution on Somalia today. I take pride in the role that the United States has played in helping move the issue of Somalia to the forefront of the Council's attention.

Somalia is one of the most complex challenges faced by the international community. One of the symptoms of its instability — the scourge of piracy — was debated earlier this week in this building as 24 countries met to agree on a mechanism to coordinate international efforts to address this problem. We cannot afford, however, to address Somalia only through the lens of piracy. We need a comprehensive approach that addresses the root causes of instability in Somalia, which include political, economic, humanitarian and security issues.

The resolution adopted today attempts to address those root causes by making a clear commitment that the Security Council will assume its responsibilities with regard to Somalia. The resolution also provides for the United Nations to back up this commitment with concrete logistical support for the forces of the African Union. We intend this support for the African Union Mission in Somalia to allow it to continue to provide security for key humanitarian infrastructure in Mogadishu until 1 June, by which date the Council will make a decision on movement towards a United Nations peacekeeping force.

As we shoulder our responsibility, this resolution makes clear that the ultimate responsibility for national reconciliation and stabilization lies with the Somalis themselves. The United States strongly supports the political process, led by Mr. Ahmedou Ould-Abdallah, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and calls on all Somali stakeholders to renounce violence and engage constructively in the formation of a unity government in the interest of establishing lasting peace, stability and effective governance in Somalia. We also attach great importance to the establishment, under the terms of the Djibouti peace agreement, of joint Somali security forces, who ultimately will take responsibility for ensuring security in the country.

Finally, I thank you once again, Mr. President, for your courtesy and for all the work that you have done and we that we have all done together. I wish you all the best. *Au revoir*.

**Ms. Pierce** (United Kingdom): I should like to speak in explanation of vote. Before doing so, however, I should like to join other delegations in paying tribute to Ambassador Khalilzad.

The question of the situation in Somalia has been a genuinely difficult one for the Security Council to address. Many factors — related to the political, security and development areas — have needed to be weighed in making a decision, along with the imperative of building a peace to keep. I should like to express the thanks of my Government and our Foreign Secretary to the United States and Secretary Rice for all the hard work that has gone into this resolution, in particular their efforts to take into account the concerns of others, including those of the United Kingdom. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for the advice that he and his staff have provided to the

Council on this issue in helping us to reach a balanced conclusion.

We believe that the current resolution offers a good way forward that takes account of the key relevant factors. Crucially, the resolution provides for enhanced support for the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). AMISOM troops are doing a difficult job in difficult circumstances, and we salute them for their work. This resolution authorizes a United Nations logistics mission, including equipment and services that will support the African Union (AU) peacekeeping operation in Somalia, and it requests the Secretary-General to establish a trust fund to ensure the continuity of funding for AMISOM. As regards the assessed contribution element, we believe that the funding arrangement provided for in the resolution is workable, but we will need to monitor it closely and must not, of course, cut across General Assembly prerogatives.

Secondly, the resolution provides for a second decision on whether or not to mandate a United Nations peacekeeping operation. That is an important point for my Government, based on Brahimi best practices and a comprehensive and realistic way forward. When the time comes for the Council to take that decision, my Government will look to weigh the following factors: the situation on the ground, particularly the political and security situation; the question of whether there is a sustainable peace that Blue Helmet troops can realistically keep; and what is in the best interests of United Nations peacekeeping overall. We will be looking to the Secretary-General's report to address those issues in full so that the Council can take an informed decision at the right time.

Finally, the resolution provides for renewed impetus for the implementation of the Djibouti agreement, and the Secretary-General is asked to make recommendations, including on the option of an international conference to that end. To make sure that there is absolutely no doubt, I wish to stress that the intention of such implementation and such renewed impetus is not to replace Djibouti, but to reinforce it. For that, renewed efforts by the parties will also be necessary.

**Mr. Takasu** (Japan): Before speaking in explanation of vote, I would like to join others in paying a warm tribute to our departing friend, Ambassador Khalilzad, an extremely capable

representative of the United States. We are very pleased and fortunate to have worked with him, albeit briefly. I wish him every success in his future endeavours.

Japan shares the serious concern over the situation in Somalia: first, over the lack of political stability and security; and secondly, over the continuing piracy and armed robbery off its coast. Concerted and intensified efforts by the international community are essential to address those concerns.

With regard to bringing about peace and stability in Somalia and the region, we appreciate the important role played by the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and the States Members of the African Union, and recognize the need to strengthen the Mission.

Initially, in his latest relevant report (S/2008/709) and in various letters, the Secretary-General recommended that the establishment of a multinational force would be an appropriate option in view of the situation on the ground. Subsequently, in his most recent letter, dated 19 December 2008 (S/2008/804), the Secretary-General offered his assessment that supporting AMISOM operations would pave the way for the eventual deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation, subject to progress in the political process and an improvement in the security situation.

Japan supports a two-stage approach to bringing about peace and stability in Somalia. In the first stage, AMISOM would be strengthened and then, as the necessary conditions are developed, a United Nations peacekeeping operation would be established in the second. Therefore, we are pleased to join in the unanimous adoption of resolution 1863 (2009), and we appreciate the leadership role played by the United States in particular. The Council has confirmed its intention to establish a United Nations peacekeeping operation in Somalia as a follow-up force to AMISOM, subject to a further decision by 1 June, based on consideration of the report of the Secretary-General to be issued by 15 April.

On this occasion, I would like to emphasize two principles that are important for my delegation, concerning the establishment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation and extending United Nations support to an operation authorized but not necessarily established by the Security Council.

First, the United Nations has learned many important lessons over the years in various peacekeeping operations throughout the world. In Somalia itself, the United Nations has learned hard lessons from its previous engagement in authorizing a multinational force and from earlier peacekeeping missions. Among those many lessons, one is strikingly important and cannot be overemphasized. When the Council takes a decision to establish a new operation, it must be not only desirable, but also effectively possible to implement. It is the Council, not the Secretary-General or the Secretariat, that should take the primary responsibility for the consequences of the decision.

In resolution 1327 (2000), the Council confirmed its determination to give peacekeeping operations clear, credible and achievable mandates. The Council has also undertaken to ensure that the mandated tasks of peacekeeping operations are appropriate to the situation on the ground, including such factors as the prospects for success.

Japan will study most closely the assessment that the Secretary-General will submit in his April report, including with regard to developments in the political and security situations in Somalia. We will actively participate in the discussion in the Council aimed at deciding on the possible deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation in Somalia, fully taking into account all relevant considerations. As a responsible member of the Council, Japan believes that it is of the utmost importance that such a decision be made after careful consideration of the feasibility and effectiveness of the proposed deployment, so that the decision will be effectively implemented.

My second point concerns logistical support. I would like to stress the importance of respecting the established rules and mechanisms of the United Nations, as clearly provided for in the Charter, including in its Article 17. It is also important to respect the competence of the General Assembly on the financial and administrative aspects of United Nations peacekeeping operations and other activities, such as AMISOM, which are authorized by the United Nations but implemented by non-United Nations entities. Japan would have serious reservations about compromising the principle of financing only the expenses of United Nations activities through mandatory assessments, particularly if that is done by the Security Council.

In that regard, the resolution just adopted requests the Secretary-General to provide a logistical support package for AMISOM so that its forces can be incorporated into a United Nations peacekeeping operation. Japan considers it important that the package, requested by the Security Council, be carefully reviewed by the General Assembly in the light of previous resolutions. Furthermore, the proposed logistical support package should be implemented in a transparent and accountable manner, in accordance with the relevant United Nations rules and regulations.

Lastly, I would like to reaffirm the importance of promoting the political process, which is key to bringing about peace and security. Japan supports the Djibouti peace process, which should be given additional impetus and facilitated in a more secure environment. We hope that a strengthened AMISOM will contribute to this political process. We expect the United Nations to take a coherent approach, including through the role of the United Nations Political Office for Somalia.

It is also important to advance Somalian ownership of the process by building the capacities of the Transitional Federal Government at the federal and local levels. The joint transitional security forces and the police should be supported by the international community.

We have recently contributed to the improvement of the Somali security sector and the country's border control by providing \$5 million through the International Organization for Migration and the United Nations Development Programme. With the concrete support of the international community, durable peace and stability should be promoted on the ground.

**Mr. Churkin** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): At the outset, Mr. President, I should like to second the eloquent words you spoke to our American colleague, Ambassador Khalilzad. I fully agree with what you said and I would like to express gratitude to Ambassador Khalilzad for his contribution to the work of the Security Council and to the United Nations as a whole. We know that the geometry of working in the Security Council is such that sometimes we sit across from each other and sometimes we sit on the same side of the table, and it seems to me that the work of the Security Council has always won when we were on the

same side of the table. Every effort should be made to that effect and I know that that was how Ambassador Khalilzad acted. I wish him every success in all his future endeavours. Since the President's eloquent words of farewell were not spoken in English, I shall rely on the very good Russian analogue. We do not say "farewell" — we say "until we meet again".

Moving on to the item under discussion today — the resolution we just adopted — I would like to make the following remarks.

The Security Council has recently given focused attention to the situation in Somalia, adopting a whole set of resolutions and statements to support the political settlement in that country, to combat piracy, and to operationalize the mechanism of targeted sanctions. Today, we have adopted a new important resolution to strengthen the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).

Russia supports the activities of AMISOM. The purpose of the resolution is to promote the full deployment of the Mission and to prepare for its possible transformation into a United Nations peacekeeping operation. A future decision of the Security Council on the deployment in Somalia of a United Nations peacekeeping operation will depend, to a large extent, on the commitment to peace of the Somalis themselves, a significant improvement in the security situation in their country and the achievement of serious progress in the political settlement. In that respect, we believe that the established budgetary procedures for the transfer to AMISOM of United Nations assets will be fully respected through the division of the competencies of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

Moscow sincerely welcomed the signing of the Djibouti agreement. We call upon all parties to the Somali conflict to scrupulously abide by the agreements reached and to work together constructively to advance the process of consolidating their society, restoring statehood and restoring long-term peace in the country.

Without doubt the main responsibility for overcoming this protracted crisis lies primarily with the Somalis themselves. The Russian Federation supports the efforts of the Transitional Federal Government to restore law and order, achieve national reconciliation and provide for State sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the country.

The resolution we have just adopted provides for increased assistance in support of the Somali peace process. The achievement of progress in this area will help to resolve the entire set of problems, including the eradication of piracy off the coast of Somalia. Russia was a co-founder of the contact group on piracy around Somalia, the activities of which will take place in the general context of international efforts to stabilize the situation in that country.

We look forward to the full and effective implementation of this resolution with the constructive cooperation of all parties with the African Union and the United Nations.

**Mr. Heller** (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): Mr. President, first of all, I would like to echo your words today regarding this being Ambassador Khalilzad's last meeting as the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations. I would like to highlight his contributions to the work at the Organization and the humility and respect that he has always shown towards his counterparts from all States Members of the United Nations, regardless of whether they were in agreement or disagreement. I wish him every success in his future endeavours.

Mexico supports resolution 1863 (2009), aware of the urgent need for the Security Council to adopt measures to address the deteriorating situation in all areas on the ground and the challenges they represent, after so many years and frustrating attempts to achieve the stabilization of Somalia and its viability as an independent State.

We firmly believe that only through a comprehensive approach to the conflict will we be able to establish the conditions for peace in Somalia, end the widespread violence and return hundreds of thousands of internally displaced persons and refugees to their homes.

Mexico acknowledges the important contribution of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) to peace and stability in the country and the commitment shown by the Governments of Uganda and Burundi.

The security situation of international personnel and the Organization in Somalia has worsened significantly. Mexico condemns the attacks against them, which unfortunately have led to many deaths.

Mexico expresses its deep concern over the deterioration of the humanitarian situation and over the very serious crimes that have been committed against civilians, and reaffirms the importance of the fight against impunity.

We urgently appeal to all the parties to respect international humanitarian law, human rights and the rights of refugees. We also urge the parties to contribute to strengthening the political process and to honour the commitments agreed upon in the Djibouti agreement, which forms the basis for a settlement of the conflict.

Today's resolution is an initial step towards the possible establishment of a peacekeeping operation to replace AMISOM. In that regard, we look forward to the report of the Secretary-General requested through the resolution on progress in the political situation and events on the ground as the minimal conditions necessary for the deployment of a peacekeeping operation. We will also be awaiting the information to be provided by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and other relevant authorities to the Security Council on those aspects that are crucial to the implementation of the mandate of a future peacekeeping operation that might genuinely promote stability in Somalia.

Mexico highlights the importance for neighbouring countries and countries of the region, in coordination with the United Nations, to step up their efforts to fight the illicit trafficking of weapons and munitions to armed groups in Somalia. In this respect, I reiterate the commitment of my country to the peace process, which will certainly be reflected through Mexico's work as Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 751 (1992) concerning Somalia, a fundamental element of the efforts of the Organization to achieve a climate of peace and lasting security.

**Mr. Çorman** (Turkey): Mr. President, before coming to Turkey's explanation of vote, I would like to join you and others in paying tribute to Ambassador Khalilzad. We knew him as the United States Ambassador to Baghdad. We worked closely with him to overcome some of the great challenges faced by Iraq at that time. We have had the honour to work with him here. We can only regret that it was a very short period of time that we could share membership in this Council

with him. We will cherish him as a man who combines the wisdom of the East and the West.

Turkey attaches great importance to the comprehensive and lasting settlement of the situation in Somalia; hence our sponsorship of today's resolution. We welcome the Djibouti peace agreement. It presents the basis for the resolution of the conflict. Yet more needs to be done by the Somalis themselves.

We commend the contribution of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) to lasting peace and stability in Somalia. We appreciate the commitments of the Governments of Uganda and Burundi. We are concerned about the worsening humanitarian situation in Somalia. It is crucial that AMISOM remain in Somalia, but for AMISOM to carry out its mandate in a more efficient manner, it has to be reinforced.

Today's resolution reflects the determination of the Council to establish a United Nations peacekeeping operation in Somalia as a follow-on force to AMISOM. Progress in the political process and security conditions on the ground will no doubt have an impact on the decision that the Security Council is expected to adopt by 1 June 2009. We welcome the call made in this resolution to the Secretary-General to establish a trust fund to provide financial support to AMISOM until a United Nations peacekeeping operation is deployed. Turkey will participate in the donor conference to be convened by the Secretary-General, and it will make an announcement on its financial contribution.

In line with the provisions of this resolution, the Turkish armed forces are prepared to give training to prospective peacekeepers within AMISOM in Turkey, as outlined in the letter of His Excellency Abdullah Gül, President of the Republic of Turkey, to His Excellency Ban Ki-moon, dated 29 December 2008.

By adopting today's resolution, the Council did what is necessary on its part. Now is the time for the parties to the Djibouti process to seize this opportunity to create conditions that will be conducive to the deployment of the United Nations peacekeeping operation as early as possible. In that regard, I would like to express our appreciation for the tireless efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to continue to make progress on the political process.

**Mr. Butagira** (Uganda): Allow me to also join those who have paid tribute to Ambassador Khalilzad. One may wonder if somebody who has just joined the Council has the qualifications to pay such tribute. But I can assure my colleagues that, although I am new to the Council, I have been around the United Nations for a while, and during my work I have come across the Ambassador. We have interacted insofar as some of the work of the Security Council touches on our interests. So when I pay tribute, I mean it. I know him. Lastly on this point, I would like to place on the record his active encouragement and support for our bid for Security Council membership. As he can see, it was successful, and I would like to thank him on that score.

On the resolution just adopted, Uganda welcomes its adoption and would like to thank the United States and all of those who have put in a lot of work to see to it that this resolution was before us today. For a while now, whenever the occasion arose for us to take part as outsiders in the open debates in this Council on matters concerning peacekeeping, Uganda and the African Union have almost invariably urged the United Nations to shoulder its responsibility and establish a United Nations peacekeeping force in Somalia. We are thus very happy that we have reached this stage. I would like therefore to thank the Council for this unanimous decision.

The resolution envisages two stages; one is support for the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). As Council members know, Uganda is playing a leading part in AMISOM, along with Burundi. Without shirking our responsibilities on the maintenance of international peace and security, we have stayed the course in Somalia despite the difficulties and the lack of reinforcement from other countries. We did so because we believe that the cause of Somali peace is just and very crucial. Therefore, we stayed in the hope that the international community would come in and reinforce us. That is why we welcome this resolution: it envisages not only strengthening AMISOM as it is, but also, at the appropriate stage, within six months, considering the establishment of a United Nations peacekeeping force in Somalia.

Since there are some misgivings about when that stage will arise, I would like to emphasize that the situation in Somalia is so unique and challenging that if we have to wait for a complete restoration of peace as the sine qua non for deployment of a United Nations

peacekeeping force, we may never achieve that goal. What I am saying is that the United Nations and the Security Council should sometimes engage in peacemaking as well. The presence of United Nations peacekeepers can be a catalyst for peace. We should therefore not be timid and wait for when the situation is completely peaceful. In fact, when it is peaceful, why would the United Nations be required there? I would like therefore to flag that issue, so that when the time comes, we will also bear it in mind.

Lastly, Uganda welcomes the guiding principles agreed by the parties in the Djibouti peace agreement on 26 November 2008, in particular the importance of broad-based and representative institutions reached through a political process that is ultimately inclusive. The responsibility for peace in Somalia is ultimately that of the Somali people. Therefore this is a challenge to them. The Council has given encouragement and has spoken, but the challenge is for the Somali people to move fast and unify themselves, putting such institutions in place. Then the international community can come to their support.

**Mr. Dabbashi** (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*spoke in Arabic*): Mr. President, you have expressed all of our feelings for Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad with such eloquence, that I can only support what you said. I wish Ambassador Khalilzad every success in the future.

With regard to the adoption of resolution 1863 (2009), on Somalia, this is an important step forward for the restoration of peace and stability to this country which has suffered through more than two decades of war. We believe that the resolution we have just adopted provides a basis for practical efforts by the Council to restore real peace to Somalia.

For many months now, we have been calling for support for the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and for the establishment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation to follow on from AMISOM in the future. We are delighted to see that the Council is now convinced of the validity of that proposal. The resolution we have just adopted is a practical step forward in that direction.

The present absence of stability in Somalia should not prevent certain members of the Council from supporting a resolution with regard, inter alia, to the deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation in Somalia. We need to remember that the



United Nations has deployed peacekeeping operations to other regions of the world that were not stable, and that those operations did a great job and made it possible to restore peace to those regions.

We believe that the Council should not stop at the adoption of resolution 1863 (2009). The implementation of the resolution has to be followed up in a timely manner. We need to move forward on that basis to advance the political process in Somalia through a comprehensive dialogue that includes Somali parties without exception with the aim of establishing a national unity Government and creating a unified national army. We must seize the opportunity we now have and begin without further ado to implement the resolution. We must also support Mr. Ould-Abdallah, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, to ensure that the political process in Somalia continues to move forward on the basis of the Djibouti agreement.

**Mr. Tiendrébéogo** (Burkina Faso) (*spoke in French*): We should like to join you, Mr. President, in paying tribute to Ambassador Khalilzad and in expressing our good wishes for his future endeavours.

With respect to the resolution that we have just adopted, we would like to thank the delegation of the United States of America for its leadership in the preparation and negotiation of the draft. Burkina Faso would also like to thank the members of the Security Council, who agreed to adopt the resolution unanimously.

For some time now the Council has been facing a dilemma in Somalia: how to act effectively in a situation of chaos. At the same time, is it not precisely because there is chaos that our action is necessary? With the present resolution, the Council is laying an important milestone on the road to establishing a peacekeeping operation. Burkina Faso chose to support the resolution even though we had hoped it would express a firmer commitment on the part of the Council beyond the intention currently expressed in the text. We believe nonetheless that the resolution will make it possible to support more fully the dynamic of the political process under way, because it takes into account certain recommendations of the African Union, specifically those related to strengthening the African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM) and the deployment of a peacekeeping operation.

We look forward to studying the report of the Secretary-General and also hope that the Council can quickly come to a firm decision to establish an operation. For the time being, we invite donors to contribute to the special trust fund created to support the efforts of AMISOM.

We take this opportunity to reiterate our gratitude to the troops of Uganda and Burundi involved in AMISOM and our support for the mission of Mr. Ahmedou Ould-Abdallah, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia.

**The President** (*spoke in French*): I shall now make an explanation of vote in my capacity as the representative of France.

France fully supports resolution 1863 (2009) and welcomes its unanimous adoption by the Security Council. I should also like to thank Ambassador Khalilzad for the decisive role he played in the negotiation of the text.

Inaction is not an option given the tragedy facing the Somali people. We are thinking in particular of those millions of people who are currently dependent on international aid and of those waves of displaced persons fleeing the violence who find themselves in the most precarious of conditions on the Afgoye road.

On the other hand, to decide to establish a peacekeeping operation when the necessary political and security conditions are not in place would be to destine the Blue Helmets to failure and to give false hope to one of the most traumatized populations of Africa. It would also have been wrong for us to commit blindly to deploying a peacekeeping operation at an arbitrary date.

The approach spelled out in resolution 1863 (2009) allows us both to send a strong political signal and to begin to take concrete action in Somalia itself. The resolution sends the new and realistic political message that the Security Council is ready in principle to establish a peacekeeping operation once the necessary conditions have been met. The resolution is very clear on this point. It is also very clear in setting out that, once those conditions are met, a subsequent decision will need to be taken by the Council. Naturally, that decision will be taken in response to political and security developments in the situation. In that respect, we look forward to the Secretary-General's delivery in April of a detailed report that will

equip the Security Council to take a decision at that point.

Major events are taking place. The Ethiopian army has now withdrawn from Mogadishu. Following the resignation of President Yusuf on 29 December 2008, presidential elections are being planned for 26 January. The risks are great, but it is crucial that the Somali parties seize the political opportunities before them to implement fully the Djibouti agreement, make it completely inclusive, pursue political dialogue and start the work to improve security in certain areas.

Resolution 1863 (2009) enables the Security Council to act right now to support the African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM). We wish here to pay tribute in particular to Uganda and to Burundi for their efforts. It also makes it possible to support the joint security force created following the Djibouti agreement.

The resolution calls on the Secretary-General to establish a trust fund and to organize a donors conference to find additional resources, as well as to establish a logistics support package for AMISOM, as he proposed on 19 December. All of this can and should be done quickly, in a spirit of transparency and, of course, in full respect of the budgetary principles of the United Nations.

The Security Council has chosen to act in and off the coast of Somalia. On the sea, through resolutions 1846 (2008) and 1851 (2008), the fight against piracy is now actively under way, with the notable participation of members of the European Union and of many other nations. On land, resolution 1863 (2008) provides for a number of steps that have to be translated into reality. Whether we are talking about the financial measures that I have just mentioned or the assignment to Somalia of a special representative of the Secretary-General, these are all tools to help the Somalis to live up to the promise of the Djibouti agreement to restore peace finally to Somalia.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

I now give the floor to the representative of Somalia.

**Mr. Duale** (Somalia): Let me first and foremost congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of

the presidency and to congratulate you on resolution 1863 (2009), which has been adopted unanimously under your presidency. I also express our gratitude to all the members of the Security Council for having voted unanimously in favour of the resolution.

We believe that the resolution is a step in the right direction for the time being in trying to address the complex situation in Somalia, bearing in mind that that complex situation requires measures that are not only active but also urgent. A comprehensive holistic approach is required to address the root causes of the crisis in Somalia, which has been ongoing for almost 20 years and now includes acts of piracy off the Somali coast, on which the Security Council has already taken necessary action, again in unanimity.

I am also grateful for the very wise statements made by the members of the Council, starting with my colleague from the United States. I should like to congratulate him and to express my regret that he is leaving us.

I should also like to thank all the others who have mentioned on a positive note that it is essential that a United Nations peacekeeping force deploy as soon as possible — time and other factors allowing. However, I think that, as my colleagues from Uganda and Turkey have mentioned, if we establish the *sine qua non* condition that there must be peace and stability before a United Nations operation can start, that may take more than another 10 years.

Somalis are trying to implement the Djibouti agreement. As usual, there are always problems when such a complex agreement has to be implemented. If we wait until everything is in place, I believe that we will miss the boat and Somalia will be forever absent from the international community.

I would very much like to thank the Council for this resolution, which we believe is a good one that gives us hope for the future.

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

*The meeting rose at 11.10 a.m.*