



Security Council

Seventy-second year

7995th meeting

Friday, 30 June 2017, 10.55 a.m.

New York

Provisional

President: Mr. Llorentty Solíz (Bolivia (Plurinational State of))

Members:

| | |
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| China | Mr. Zhang Dianbin |
| Egypt | Mr. Moustafa |
| Ethiopia | Mr. Woldegerima |
| France | Mrs. Gueguen |
| Italy | Mr. Lambertini |
| Japan | Mr. Kawamura |
| Kazakhstan | Mr. Umarov |
| Russian Federation. | Mr. Iliichev |
| Senegal | Mr. Ciss |
| Sweden | Mr. Skoog |
| Ukraine | Mr. Yelchenko |
| United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . . | Mr. Hickey |
| United States of America. | Ms. Tachco |
| Uruguay. | Mr. Rosselli |

Agenda

Identical letters dated 19 January 2016 from the Permanent Representative of Colombia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council (S/2016/53)

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Colombia (S/2017/539)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Identical letters dated 19 January 2016 from the Permanent Representative of Colombia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council (S/2016/53)

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Colombia (S/2017/539)

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of Colombia to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Jean Arnault, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Mission in Colombia, to participate in this meeting.

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

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2017/539, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Colombia.

I now give the floor to Mr. Arnault.

Mr. Arnault: I am pleased to supplement the Secretary-General's report to the Council dated 23 June (S/2017/539) and to inform the Council that three days ago, on 27 June, the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP) met its obligations under the 29 May road map agreement by handing over to the United Nations Mission in Colombia the remaining 40 per cent of the individual weapons registered by the Mission in March.

A number of weapons will remain at the disposal of FARC-EP to provide security for the camps and the United Nations weapons-laydown team sites therein until 1 August, on which date the containers will be removed from the camps, and the current zones where the FARC-EP are assembled will be turned into training and reintegration areas secured by the Colombian police and armed forces.

At the "farewell to arms, farewell to war" ceremony held on 27 June in a FARC-EP camp in a region that has been at the epicentre of the war, President Santos and the head of the FARC-EP secretariat, Timoleón Jiménez, sent strong and moving messages to a Colombian society often doubtful of the promises of the peace process. Mr. Jiménez announced that, with the laying down of its weapons, the FARC-EP was formally marking the end of the 53-year armed insurgency and the beginning of an unarmed, peaceful and democratic movement. I can only quote President Santos Calderón when he said that reaching and living that day had made his presidency of Colombia worthwhile. He acknowledged the historic significance of the FARC-EP's fulfilment of its commitment to laying down its weapons and affirmed his own commitment to implementing the Final Peace Agreement, as he said, to the last comma. At the ceremony, religious leaders, including the President of the Bishops' Conference of Colombia, acted as witnesses of honour for the final stage of the laying down of weapons.

The conviction expressed by both leaders — that half a century of war is now over — has been borne out by the Mission's review of the ceasefire that has been in place since the end of August 2016. Indeed, while in the past nine months there have been a number of failures to observe the rules of the ceasefire and the cessation of hostilities, none have showed a pattern of deliberate violation or any involvement of high-level decision-makers on either side. We therefore believe that as the FARC-EP lays down its weapons, the ceasefire has been consolidated. It will nevertheless be important to ensure that the tripartite Monitoring and Verification Mechanism continues to operate for some time after 1 August, when the current zones and points are due to disappear. It has been an effective tool for maintaining and strengthening confidence between the parties to the conflict, and its presence at the local level will help to ensure that any incidents that may occur in the next few weeks and months can still be dealt with cooperatively. Incidentally, eight months after the Mechanism began operating, we think that the merits of its tripartite approach — whereby the two parties participate directly in verifying each other's compliance, with United Nations support and coordination — have been well established. While the Mechanism's success owes much to the confidence fostered between the warring parties at the negotiating table, the Council might wish to consider whether it could usefully be applied to other peace processes.

With the storing of individual weapons in United Nations containers, the Mission and the FARC-EP, with the support of the armed forces and the police, can now devote their full attention to disposing of hundreds of arms caches, collecting the weapons in them and destroying explosives and unstable armaments. So far, 81 arms caches have been visited and a large amount of explosives destroyed. Plans are ongoing with the FARC and the Government to extract another 380 in the coming weeks, with more to follow. Disposing of arms caches is undoubtedly a difficult process, but we are encouraged by the willingness of the FARC-EP and the armed forces to move forward, and we are confident that at least a very high percentage of the caches, if not all, can be dealt with by 1 September, when the Mission's verification of the caches ends and responsibility switches to the Government.

The past few days have brought good, encouraging news to Colombia and the world, and it is perfectly all right to celebrate these advances, even if there is clearly no reason to pause and no room for complacency. While the completion of the laying down of individual weapons has created new opportunities, it has also emphasized the urgency of moving forward quickly with the implementation of the peace agenda.

The first and most urgent challenge is undoubtedly the reintegration of the 10,000 FARC-EP combatants and militias, among whom there is a deep sense of uncertainty about their physical security in the wake of disarmament and about their socioeconomic future. As the reports of the Secretary-General have stressed, reintegration is a particularly daunting endeavour against a backdrop of entrenched illegal economies, the spread of armed groups — including organized crime and FARC dissidents — into areas formerly controlled by the FARC-EP, and a pattern of violence against social leaders. One of the merits of the 29 May road map is that it clearly lays out a number of priorities relating to the legal, physical and socioeconomic security of FARC-EP members. No effort should be spared in promptly implementing that agenda.

Beyond the reintegration of combatants, the peace process must also respond to the needs and expectations of the more vulnerable sectors of Colombian society. We fully agree with the three priority areas identified by the Government — deploying security forces to protect communities and establish the rule of law in the areas most affected by the war; mobilizing national and local institutions to bring goods and services to rural areas

long outside their reach; and implementing the new peace jurisdiction as quickly as possible so as to deliver on the promise of justice for the victims of the conflict. We welcome the fact that, together with reintegration, these were precisely the priorities that the Government indicated to the Peacebuilding Fund, and we urge the international community to support these goals.

We are honoured by the Government of Colombia and the FARC-EP's request that we establish a second verification mission, focused on reintegration and wider security guarantees, to begin operating as soon as possible. As I have indicated, that is where some of the most immediate and pressing challenges to the consolidation of peace lie. We believe that the terms of reference indicated in President Santos's letter to the Secretary-General and the Security Council (S/2016/53, annex) represent a good basis for a credible and effective verification mandate. Like the first mission, the second will be as much about fostering cooperation and building confidence as about verification as such. In that regard, we believe that the trust that has been established between the Mission, the two parties, the State institutions and civil society can help to ensure the success of the second mandate.

The Security Council's decision in January 2016 to back the implementation of the agreement on a ceasefire and a laying down of arms by establishing the United Nations Mission in Colombia was widely regarded across Colombian society as a guarantee that the commitments made in Havana would be duly implemented at home. Across political divides, and the current polarized atmosphere notwithstanding, the Security Council remains a highly significant factor for confidence in the midst of the misgivings and uncertainties that are the inevitable sequels to such a protracted and painful conflict. As the peace process in Colombia enters a new phase, beyond the laying down of weapons, the Council's commitment to the peace process and the determination it expressed in its presidential statement S/PRST/2017/6, following its visit to Colombia in early May, to support the implementation of the Final Peace Agreement will remain an invaluable contribution to the long-term success of this unique endeavour.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Mr. Arnault for his briefing and for the work he is doing. I would also like to welcome the presence at today's meeting of Mr. Jeffrey Feltman, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs.

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

Mr. Rosselli (Uruguay) (*spoke in Spanish*): Since this is the final formal meeting of the Council under your stewardship, Mr. President, I thank you and would like to heartily congratulate you, on behalf of my delegation, on the excellent work you have done this month. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his report (S/2017/539), and his Special Representative, Mr. Jean Arnault, for his detailed briefing.

This Wednesday, Mr. Rodolfo Nin Novoa, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Uruguay, visited the United Nations Mission in Colombia and the tripartite Monitoring and Verification Mechanism. The visit took place at a historic moment for Colombia, which only the day before had announced the final laying down of arms of the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP). On that occasion, Minister Nin Novoa brought a message from the Government of Uruguay conveying its full support and readiness to collaborate with the Colombia peace process, as well as its commitment to the new mandate requested by the Government of Colombia and the FARC-EP, which the Council will consider shortly.

We stress that the progress that has been made in the implementation of the Final Peace Agreement demonstrates once again the firm commitment of the parties to the peace process. We have on many occasions stated, and once again reiterate, that the people of Colombia have shown the world through actions that giving peace a chance is worth it. Their leaders have staked their entire civic and political capital in opting for peace. True courage means fighting for peace, not making war.

The FARC-EP has made its final contribution by laying down its arms by the end of May, pursuant to the road map. For a combatant, laying down arms has great significance, because he ceases to be what he once was for a long period and exposes himself, as Mr. Arnault rightly pointed out, to a period of uncertainty in which he is no longer who he was and is not yet who he will be. Consequently, a great deal of courage is required, and we salute them. The laying down of arms made possible the heartfelt ceremony that Mr. Arnault referenced, which signalled the closure of a key stage of the Havana accords and opened a new chapter towards the future. As Jean also mentioned, it still remains for explosives to be removed from arms caches. However, that task is

already under way and will be carried out according to the timetable.

The Colombian Government has demonstrated its commitment to the implementation of the Agreement, using the fast-track procedure to adopt important laws in order to accelerate the process, as well as adopting numerous decrees related, *inter alia*, to the economic and social development of areas affected by the conflict, the socioeconomic reintegration of FARC-EP members and the reintegration of children.

The United Nations Mission in Colombia, for its part, has carried out many tasks of a different nature, while playing a fundamental role in the success of the various implementation stages of the Agreement that, until now, had been easily circumvented. That confirms that the Security Council acted wisely in establishing the current Mission in Colombia. In this new phase, we believe that it must continue to act in the same manner.

Given the remaining difficulties in the implementation of the Final Peace Agreement and understandable concerns, we consider that the request made by the President of the Republic of Colombia, Juan Manuel Santos Calderón, on behalf of the Government of Colombia and the FARC-EP, that a second political mission of the United Nations be established before 10 July — with a focus on the political and socioeconomic reintegration of the FARC-EP and on the implementation of personal and collective security measures for its members, as well as for integral security and protection programmes for the communities and organizations in the territories.

We also consider the recommendations of the Secretary-General to be timely and are encouraged by the information that the current Mission in Colombia would be able to initiate some tasks of the second mandate, on a provisional basis, in response to the request of the parties.

That is why we fully support the request of the Government of Colombia and the FARC-EP to establish a second political mission of the United Nations in Colombia, with a mandate that is consistent with the request, and fully endorse the recommendations of the Secretary-General.

Mr. Skoog (Sweden): I would like to thank the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report (S/2017/539). Let me also thank Special Representative Arnault and his team for his important briefing and,

more important, for the work that they carry out on a daily basis.

I want to take this opportunity to say a few words about the courage of both sides. Peace is never easy. It requires a great deal of courage and endurance. In Colombia we have seen both. We congratulate the Government of Colombia and the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP) for reaching another historic milestone in the peace process, with the successful laying down of individual arms by the FARC-EP on 27 June. As the Security Council saw first hand during its visit to Colombia, the process was not without challenges. We therefore commend the firm commitment of both sides and their efforts to overcome challenges in the implementation of the Final Peace Agreement that resulted in this historic achievement. I concur with Ambassador Rosselli in his description of the exemplary achievements reached thus far.

The United Nations Mission in Colombia has played an important role in support of the peace process. We believe that a second political mission will support the parties in building trust and overcoming challenges for the next stage. For that reason, we strongly support a second United Nations mission in Colombia. A second mission must be tailored to the next stage of the peace process. We would like to underscore the need for a second mission to have sufficient presence locally and regionally to be able to effectively and meaningfully verify the implementation of the relevant provisions of the Final Agreement. That includes the reintegration of elements of the FARC-EP as well as personal and collective security guarantees, as requested by the parties. I must say that we are concerned about the killings of human rights defenders, FARC-EP members and their families, as well as violence against social leaders — as reported by the Secretary-General.

It is also important that the second mission should cooperate, support and coordinate with the United Nations country team with regard to overlapping mandates. That should maximize synergies and avoid duplication so that the United Nations can really deliver as one and adopt a coherent approach to facilitating the implementation of the Peace Agreement.

Peace can be made only by those who are part of the conflict; however, once they set out along the path of peace they should not walk it alone. All parts of the State need to facilitate the implementation of the

Agreement, including moving forward on the amnesty provisions. The goodwill and generosity of spirit of partners is essential. A committed and sustained effort is needed in support of the implementation of the wider Peace Agreement, including comprehensive rural reform, so that it can rapidly deliver tangible peace dividends. In that regard, we were impressed by the presentation of the annual report of the United Nations Post-Conflict Multi-Partner Trust Fund for Colombia, which brings together the Colombian Government, the United Nations and the international community. We are very proud to have contributed to that Fund.

I thank the Special Representative for his update on the situation of children, and in particular on the implementation of the agreement signed on 15 May 2016 on the separation and reintegration of children associated with the FARC-EP. The focus must now be on reintegration and rehabilitation of children separated from the ranks of the FARC-EP. In that regard, we would like to highlight the Colombia conclusions of the Security Council Working Group on Children and Armed Conflict, which I had the pleasure and honour to chair, and the recommendations they contain.

We would also like to thank the Special Representative for the work that the Mission has undertaken regarding the inclusion and participation of women, as well as in developing prevention and protection mechanisms for possible situations of gender-based violence. I also credit the Government for the way it is carrying out that agenda.

The Peace Agreement marked a new beginning for Colombia. With each milestone along the way, peace is further consolidated. Yet, as the Secretary-General told us in January, peace is not inevitable. It still requires a lot of hard work. In our national capacities, as Member States and friends of the Colombian people, but also as a united Security Council, we must continue to stand with the parties as they continue to work for lasting peace in Colombia.

Mr. Umarov (Kazakhstan): At the outset, we thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Mission in Colombia, Mr. Jean Arnault, for his briefing and commend him on his great contribution and that of the Mission to the peace process in Colombia. We warmly recall our visit to Colombia and appreciate his help in facilitating that historic trip. My delegation would like to share the following observations.

First, Kazakhstan welcomes the many positive developments that have occurred in fulfilling the Peace Agreement. We are pleased to know that another major milestone has been achieved in the peace process when, on 27 June, 100 per cent of the individual weapons possessed by members of the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP) were surrendered, received and stored by the Mission. We strongly commend the people of Colombia for their courage and resolve to achieve peace and stability in their own country. Their commitment to the peace process is exemplary.

Secondly, we acknowledge the very timely mission of the Security Council to Colombia in May, which gave us the unique opportunity to witness at first-hand the accomplishments made thus far, as well as the challenges encountered in successfully implementing the Peace Agreement. We were able to demonstrate the unified solidarity of the international community with the Government and the people of Colombia in their efforts to restore peace, stability and security. Our presence was therefore a positive affirmation and sign of support for the determination of the Government and the FARC-EP to the peace process that benefits all Colombians.

Thirdly, despite the progress achieved, we are concerned about the ongoing attacks on community leaders, human rights defenders and FARC-EP members and their families. The activities of non-State armed groups, including the National Liberation Army, is sufficient cause for alarm. The Government should take every step possible to prevent such attacks in order to avoid undermining public confidence. It is absolutely essential to ensure security in all areas vacated by the FARC-EP so as to prevent armed groups from filling the vacuum. The long-term reintegration of the members of the FARC-EP and the development of areas affected by the conflict must become high priorities for the Government.

We strongly support the Government of Colombia in its resolve to tackle all of those issues on the ground. However, we understand that it cannot undertake that enormous task alone, and we therefore call upon the international community to mobilize the adequate resources.

Fourthly, in the meantime, it is important not to lose the positive momentum achieved. We therefore encourage the parties to redouble their efforts to

implement the Peace Agreement. We join previous speakers in fully endorsing the Secretary-General's recommendations towards the establishment of a second United Nations mission in Colombia.

Finally, once again, we commend the continuing efforts of the Colombian Government towards the consolidation and implementation of the peace accord and encourage it and the international community to continue to work hard in order to overcome challenges and facilitate and expedite the establishment of lasting peace in Colombia.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the Plurinational State of Bolivia.

Bolivia thanks the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Jean Arnault, for his briefing and for his good work as Head of the United Nations Mission in Colombia. We would also like to welcome the Permanent Representative of Colombia to the United Nations, Ambassador Ms. Mejía Vélez, to the Security Council.

On 27 June, the Government of Colombia and the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP) reached another historic milestone in their peace process. The members of the FARC-EP completed the process of surrendering their individual weapons, thereby demonstrating that the peace process in Colombia is irreversible. In that regard, Bolivia welcomes the road map approved on 29 May and commends both parties on their attitude to the process — calculating each step, establishing committees, analysing each stage, meeting to address challenges and reaching consensus on the way forward.

The process met with success because, in spite of their differences, the Government and the FARC-EP are engaged in ongoing talks to achieve their shared goal of peace. It is vital that they maintain and strengthen their attitude towards dialogue and common understanding as they enter the most difficult stage of the process. The road map stipulates that the members of the FARC-EP must surrender all of their weapons by 20 June. That step has been achieved. For its part, the Government promised to guarantee the physical, legal and socioeconomic safety of the former members of the FARC-EP, as stipulated in the Peace Agreement. We trust that that commitment will be gradually honoured.

This phase poses a genuine challenge. The murders of community leaders, human rights defenders and relatives of people with links to the guerrillas or dissidents; people who spread a message of hate instead of reconciliation and the illegal economy, inter alia, are all challenges that illustrate the complexity of the reintegration phase. Peace should be the cord that binds Colombians, and the support of the international community will play a fundamental role in that endeavour.

Bolivia believes that the parties to the conflict made the right decision when they requested that the Security Council establish a mission to verify the reintegration of ex-combatants. Once again, the Government and the FARC-EP have put their trust in the Security Council and the United Nations. We believe that the members of the Council will continue to provide firm and unanimous support to the peace process in Colombia. I would also like to highlight the remarks made by the Post-Conflict Minister of Colombia, Mr. Rafael Pardo, who, during his recent visit to New York, mentioned plans to deliver on one of the main objectives of the Peace Agreement, which is to raise the standard of living in rural areas and to bridge the existing gap between rural and urban areas.

We believe that measures to formalize land ownership in rural areas and improve social security for farmers and other residents of rural areas are important in the medium term. We hope that the international community and financial institutions can provide the necessary cooperation.

Finally, as expressed by my country's Minister for Foreign Affairs in a letter dated 28 June, we reaffirm the resolute support of the Bolivian Government for peacebuilding efforts in Colombia as part of fostering a culture of peace and dialogue to ensure the peaceful coexistence of its people. In that regard, in addition to the leadership and the political capital demonstrated by the Government and the leaders of the FARC-EP, we must underscore the third angle of this virtuous triangle, which is the support provided to the victims throughout the peace process. Leadership, boldness and the spirit of reconciliation make this process an example for the world to follow.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I give the floor to the representative of Colombia.

Ms. Mejía Vélez (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): As Mr. Arnault stated — and I would like to reiterate — the visit to our country by the members of the Security Council was of the utmost importance. For the very first time, we witnessed both supporters and detractors of the peace process engaging in dialogue, gleaned additional information and trying to deepen their understanding about the common goal that unites us.

I would like to thank the Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Mr. Jeffrey Feltman, for being part of the Council's mission to Colombia last week. I think that the visit was very valuable. I also thank Mr. Arnault and his entire team for their remarks and for facilitating the surrender, on 27 June, of all individual weapons held by the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP) to the United Nations, an organization that we acknowledge and respect for its impartiality and its role as the guarantor of global peace and security.

More than nine months have elapsed since the start of the United Nations Mission in Colombia and, through the reports of the Secretary-General, members of the Council have witnessed the ceasefire and cessation of hostilities, the registration of weapons, the surrender of all individual weapons, the 9,604 members of the FARC-EP, including militiamen and guerrillas, who are in the process of being reintegrated, a series of legislative and institutional reforms required for the implementation of the Peace Agreement and the start of plans for the reintegration process, which the Post-Conflict Minister so eloquently explained last week.

For all those reasons, I dare say that, despite the remaining tasks, both the FARC-EP and the Colombian Government have in fact fully upheld their commitments. These are not minor tasks. In the coming months, by the time we finish the first Mission's mandate in September, we must work to complete the phase of locating, extracting and destroying unstable armaments in the caches, as the Special Representative mentioned during his briefing.

This peace process is largely the result of the leadership of President Juan Manuel Santos Calderón and of Colombia's commitment to moving forward with strength and determination on the path towards lasting peace.

I am honoured to be here before Council members representing a country that has bid farewell to arms as part of a monumental effort in which Colombians have

insisted, over and over again throughout the years, with successes but also many failures, until we reached this moment that opens the door to a future that is possible for all of us.

Similarly, and based on what we have learned together, Colombia and the United Nations — through the one-of-a-kind tripartite mechanism format, which Mr. Jean Arnault mentioned — have learned lessons that can certainly serve Council members on other matters, bearing in mind the unique aspects of each case, and even, in a not-too-distant future, can serve to reciprocate the unwavering support given to us by the international community, the United Nations and the Security Council throughout this process. At the end of the day, the Peace Agreement seeks to build a more inclusive Colombia in which there is room for everybody, so we can all contribute to the building of our nation, whose success lies primarily with all Colombians.

I know that I do not need to tell you, Mr. President, or any Council member how precarious building sustainable peace is once the agreements between parties to a conflict have been signed. It has always been said that the first years of reincorporation are the hardest and are when the political will, the action and the commitment of the parties and the support of the international community are put to the test. That is why I would like to reiterate once again the gratitude of my Government and of the citizens of Colombian.

Now that we are preparing to establish a second political mission whose mandate responds to the contents of the Peace Agreement itself, we are confident that the history of Colombia, which until now has been

a success story, can continue and be strengthened. With the Council's support, I am sure that this will be so.

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

Before adjourning the meeting, as this is the last scheduled meeting of the Council during the Bolivian presidency, I would like to express the sincere appreciation of my delegation to all the members of the Council, especially my colleagues, the permanent representatives, the deputy permanent representatives, the diplomatic experts of all the missions and the secretariat of the Council for all the support it has given to us, as well as the rest of the Council members, who have supported us during the various meetings. Indeed, as the representative of Uruguay said earlier, it has been a busy month, but we think we achieved our objectives in terms of reaching consensus on several important issues within our purview. We could not have done it alone or without the support and fraternal solidarity of Council members, despite our differences.

I am grateful for the positive contributions of every delegation on the various issues. I thank the representatives of the Secretariat — the interpreters, the translators, the Conference Services officers, the sound engineers and the security personnel — who safeguarded the Council's work.

As we end our presidency, I know that I speak on behalf of the Council in wishing the delegation of China the best of luck in the month of July, when it will assume the presidency of the Council.

I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

The meeting rose at 11.35 a.m.