

- To date, however, law-making by the Council has been carried out in a clearly political fashion, and this will likely provoke resistance from UN Member states over time. The Council's judicial functions will need to be applied with more care, according to principles and precedent, if this is to be avoided.
- The recent war crimes tribunals, in particular, are a radical political and legal development, and their credibility will rest to some extent on how other states react to the Council passing such major global legislation on their behalf. By the same token, the failure of the tribunals would be a serious blow to the credibility of the Council.
- The Council has largely finessed discussion of the changing nature of external intervention, and the apparent erosion of state sovereignty has not been much tested by serious debate within the Council. Indeed, the Council's role as a forum for such substantive legal debate has largely faded and should be revived.
- The normative implications of the Council's focus on promoting negotiated settlements to internal conflicts have been particularly significant. It has partially redefined legitimate internal authority by seeking to give all principal factions a continuing role in the state, thereby intervening directly in the sovereign, domestic jurisdiction of states.
- The conventional interpretation of self-determination may be moving away from a perceived right of independence to something that entails greater focus on how to achieve different modes of political participation within a given state.

Reform of the Security Council's operations, prerogatives, and agenda are a priority for most Member states, and this was reflected in the comments of the seminar participants.

- Council enlargement should not be viewed as a panacea. A truly representative Council would be so large as to preclude rational and timely decision-making. Membership should be extended on the basis of Article 23, which places emphasis on good UN citizenship as the key criterion.
- Member states should work to limit the use of the P-5 veto to Chapter VII items only, and not for matters such as the selection of the Secretary-General. Each member of the P-5 currently retains excessive leverage over candidates, and can hold "hostage" an incumbent interested in a second term. There was broad support for a single term of six or seven years, so that the Secretary-General may act freely.
- There was keen interest in seeing the Council broaden its agenda to address more squarely pressing global issues such as refugee flows, poverty, and massive human rights violations, which have a critical impact on international peace and human security.
- Broader Council leadership on peacebuilding is needed, requiring closer cooperation with international financial institutions (IFIs) and other development agencies. Such enhanced international coordination is necessary to develop and project greater "staying power" in addressing the plight of nations facing or emerging from violent conflict.