Demanded in particular that the Ivorian authorities put an immediate end to any violation of measures imposed by paragraph 11 of resolution 1572 (2004) including those violations mentioned by the Group of Experts in its report dated 21 September 2007;

Decided that any serious obstacle to the freedom of movement of UNOCI and of the French forces which supported it, or any attack or obstruction of the action of UNOCI, of the French forces, of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, of the Facilitator mentioned in paragraph 10 of resolution 1765 (2007) or his Special Representative in Côte d'Ivoire should constitute a threat to the peace and national reconciliation process for the purposes of paragraphs 9 and 11 of resolution 1572 (2004);

Also decided to extend the mandate of the Group of Experts as set out in paragraph 7 of resolution 1727 (2006) until 31 October 2008.

14. Items relating to West Africa

A. Cross-border issues in West Africa

Initial proceedings

Decision of 25 March 2004 (4933rd meeting): statement by the President

At its 4933rd meeting, on 25 March 2004, the Security Council adopted the item entitled “Cross-border issues in West Africa” and included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General dated 12 March 2004 on ways to combat subregional and cross-border problems in West Africa.¹

In his report, the Secretary-General stressed that the various cross-border problems facing West Africa were interlinked and that none of them could be solved at the national level alone, but rather required a regional approach. To that end, the Secretary-General presented a number of practical recommendations, including by increasing harmonization among the United Nations actors in the subregion, strengthening the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) secretariat and implementing the ECOWAS Moratorium on the Importation, Exportation and Manufacture of Small Arms and Light Weapons in West Africa, promoting disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, encouraging security sector reform, reducing extortion at roadblocks and “naming and shaming” parties who contravened humanitarian norms and international law. The Secretary-General called for a fundamental change in the long-standing political approach that had prevailed in the region and promoted authoritarianism. He emphasized that preventing abuse by State and non-State actors and ensuring respect for the rights and security of the peoples living in all parts of the region must be central to any strategy to ensure stability and development in West Africa. In conclusion, the Secretary-General stressed the need for the regional and international community to provide targeted assistance to national Governments of the region and respond at an earlier stage to governance and humanitarian crises and hoped that the Council would act upon his recommendations.

The Council heard briefings by the Secretary-General, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, in his capacity as Chairman of ECOWAS, the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS, the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and the Associate Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Following the briefings, statements were made by all

members of the Council, as well as by the representatives of Ireland (on behalf of the European Union) and Japan.

In his briefing, the Secretary-General reiterated that the recommendations contained in his report could not be carried out solely on a country-by-country basis, but that their implementation would require a multifaceted regional approach. Special attention should be paid to the proliferation of small arms, the illegal exploitation of natural resources and the use of child soldiers and mercenaries, as well as to roadblocks. The Secretary-General observed that the root causes of the region’s problems were linked above all to questions of governance, human rights and transparency. He cautioned that should authoritarianism and the culture of violence, exclusion and impunity remain, possible progress made in addressing those cross-border problems would likely be temporary and fragile at best. Therefore, he urged Governments of the region to establish solidly democratic institutions and effective regional organizations.

While noting the fact that the United Nations Office for West Africa (UNOWA) had failed to fully consult with ECOWAS member States or its secretariat in preparing the Secretary-General’s report, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana and Chairman of ECOWAS underlined the need to develop a comprehensive approach to address the many interlinked root causes of cross-border problems. He noted that ECOWAS believed that the best solution was to find a way to restore peace to the entire region and added that it had identified some potential destabilizing factors, including a sudden and total withdrawal of the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL).

The Executive Secretary of ECOWAS concurred that a regional approach was required to address cross-border problems, notably the upsurge in the use of mercenaries and child soldiers, the proliferation of small arms and extortion at roadblocks. He found the Secretary-General’s recommendations to be useful and appropriate for collective action by the international community and considered the successful disarmament, demobilization, resettlement and reintegration processes in Liberia and Côte d’Ivoire to be critical in addressing the proliferation of small arms in the region. He hoped that the drawdown of UNAMSIL would be aligned with the duration of the United Nations missions in Liberia and Côte d’Ivoire.

The Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs observed that humanitarian and human rights efforts alone usually were insufficient in providing protection to vulnerable groups in armed conflict and welcomed the fact that the Council was willing and able to take additional measures to protect civilians. He emphasized the need to forge closer links at the regional level between humanitarian, political and economic actors so as to better coordinate and implement disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes. He called for a more comprehensive approach to deal with the underlying root causes, such as poverty, a lack of good governance and the rule of law, and considered that the implementation of the main recommendations of the Secretary-General would contribute significantly to addressing primary humanitarian concerns.

Affirming that UNDP had been addressing the development dimension of crisis and conflict up front by mainstreaming prevention and peacebuilding in its development work, the Associate Administrator of UNDP stated that UNDP had developed an integrated regional development strategy for West Africa, in addition to carrying out initiatives to address specific problems related to cross-border issues that included support for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and small-arms programmes in the region. He stressed the importance of adopting a holistic approach that would closely link peacebuilding and development and held the view that “new and innovative” regional approaches to development, such as a subregional poverty reduction strategy, could help the international community to attain its common objectives in West Africa.

---

2 Benin was represented by its Minister for Foreign Affairs and African Integration.
3 Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Norway, Poland, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, Slovakia, Slovenia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey aligned themselves with the statement.
4 S/PV.4933, pp. 2-3.
5 Ibid., pp. 3-7.
6 Ibid., pp. 7-9.
7 Ibid., pp. 10-11.
8 Ibid., pp. 11-12.
In the subsequent discussion, speakers generally agreed that a regional approach was required to deal with cross-border problems in West Africa. They welcomed and endorsed the action-oriented recommendations contained in the Secretary-General’s report and noted their readiness to further study how to implement the recommendations. In that context, most speakers highlighted the need to enhance coordination among the United Nations missions in the region,9 while several also positively reacted to the Secretary-General’s recommendation on joint border patrols by those missions.10 On the other hand, while concurring with the need for a more effective use of United Nations assets across the region, the representative of the United Kingdom observed that sharing resources across missions and across borders risked confusing mission mandates and potentially disrupting the lines of command and control. He stressed that these potential difficulties had to be tackled and overcome so that a regional approach by the United Nations interventions could be put in place.11 The representative of the Russian Federation cautioned that the coordinated actions of United Nations forces in the subregion should be taken with due diligence so as not to violate the sovereignty of individual States or the mandates of specific missions.12 At the same time, many speakers called for strengthening cooperation between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations, including ECOWAS and the Mano River Union.13 The representative of Chile explicitly pointed out that regional and subregional organizations should be more involved in tackling cross-border problems “within the framework of Chapter VIII of the Charter”.14

A number of speakers attached importance to the successful conduct of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and security sector reform programmes in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Côte d’Ivoire.15 Many speakers held that the proliferation of small arms and child soldiers needed to be curbed by strengthening existing regional and national mechanisms, such as transforming the ECOWAS Moratorium into a legally binding instrument.16 Several speakers noted that development was a fundamental issue that must be given particular attention in order for a lasting peace to be achieved in the region.17

The representative of Algeria believed that cross-border problems in West Africa needed to be considered as “threats to international peace and security under the meaning of Chapter VII of the Charter, and treated as such”.18 He urged the Council to adopt a long-term view to fight those problems. The representative was also of the view that illegal exploitation of natural resources should be included on the list of cross-border problems identified by the Secretary-General. The representative of the United Kingdom echoed the need to tackle the use and misuse of West Africa’s rich natural resources.19 Similarly, as one of a few ideas to be added to the Secretary-General’s report, the representative of France proposed that the countries of the region be assisted in strengthening their control over their natural resources through the support of United Nations peacekeeping operations and other mechanisms.20 The representative of Pakistan considered that, given the established linkage between the illegal exploitation of natural resources and the fuelling of conflicts in West Africa, both the supply and the demand sides of the illegally exploited natural resources should be in the scope of sanctions. Therefore, he urged that “naming and shaming” and sanctions be applied to all those who were involved in illicit activities.21

---

9 Ibid., p. 12 (Brazil); p. 13 (Spain); p. 16 (Philippines); p. 17 (Germany); p. 20 (China); p. 22 (Pakistan); p. 23 (Russian Federation); p. 24 (United States); p. 26 (Algeria); p. 28 (Romania); p. 29 (Chile); pp. 31-32 (Ireland, on behalf of the European Union); and p. 33 (Japan).
10 Ibid., p. 17 (Germany); p. 20 (China); p. 24 (United States); and p. 28 (Romania).
11 Ibid., p. 18.
12 Ibid., p. 23.
13 Ibid., pp. 15-16 (Philippines); p. 18 (United Kingdom); pp. 19-20 (China); p. 26 (Algeria); pp. 27-28 (Romania); p. 30 (France); and p. 32 (Ireland, on behalf of the European Union).
14 Ibid., p. 29.
15 Ibid., p. 14 (Spain); p. 16 (Philippines); p. 19 (China); p. 21 (Angola); pp. 24-25 (United States); p. 30 (France); and p. 33 (Japan).
16 Ibid., p. 14 (Spain); p. 16 (Philippines); p. 17 (Germany); pp. 18-19 (United Kingdom); pp. 20-21 (Angola); pp. 25-26 (Algeria); p. 28 (Romania); and p. 32 (Ireland, on behalf of the European Union).
17 Ibid., p. 13 (Brazil); p. 15 (Benin); p. 20 (China); p. 22 (Pakistan); and p. 33 (Japan).
18 Ibid., p. 27.
19 Ibid., p. 19.
20 Ibid., p. 30.
21 Ibid., p. 23.
At the end of the meeting, the President (France) made a statement on behalf of the Council, by which the Council, inter alia:

- Requested the Secretary-General to encourage the United Nations missions in West Africa to share information and their logistics and administrative resources in order to increase their effectiveness and reduce costs;

- Stressed the importance of a regional approach in the preparation and implementation of demobilization, disarmament and reintegration programmes;

- Urged States in the region to promote the conditions for the safe return of refugees;

- Urged ECOWAS member States to fully implement the Moratorium on the Importation, Exportation and Manufacture of Small Arms and Light Weapons in West Africa and to take all steps to better combat trafficking in small arms and light weapons;

- Called on the Mano River Union States to resume dialogue and consider a summit of Heads of State to develop a common approach to their shared security issues and confidence-building measures;

- Urgently called on donor countries and financial institutions to coordinate efforts to support ECOWAS in their efforts to reform the security sector.

Decision of 25 February 2005 (5131st meeting): statement by the President

At its 5131st meeting, on 25 February 2005, the Council included in its agenda the progress report of the Secretary-General dated 11 February 2005 on ways to combat subregional and cross-border problems in West Africa. In his report, the Secretary-General observed that despite progress made in several States in West Africa, the subregion continued to be acutely vulnerable and that much remained to be done in order to achieve lasting peace. He noted with satisfaction the growth of a constructive partnership among the United Nations system, development partners and ECOWAS, as well as some of the Governments, civil society organizations and local communities in West Africa, but stressed that redoubled and better targeted efforts in many other areas could contribute more effectively to conflict prevention and peacebuilding in the subregion. In that regard, the Secretary-General called on ECOWAS member States to convert the moratorium on small arms and light weapons into a legally binding instrument at the earliest opportunity. While commending the progress in the implementation of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in Sierra Leone and Liberia, he cautioned that that process could not be successful without adequate funding for the reintegration and rehabilitation of ex-combatants. The Secretary-General underlined the vital importance of reducing the shocking levels of youth unemployment in the subregion. He also urged development partners to fund cross-border support services to alleviate the dire humanitarian situation in many parts of the subregion, particularly in those sensitive border areas affected by conflict whose population were at risk from a variety of cross-border problems. Finally, noting that security sector reform was an especially pressing priority for West Africa as a key tool for conflict prevention, he requested that a regionally integrated security sector reform programme be produced by UNOWA, in consultation with its partners in West Africa, before the end of 2005. In conclusion, the Secretary-General affirmed that while the primary responsibility for promoting peace in the region rested with West African leaders and communities themselves, the United Nations would continue to support endeavours towards a better future for the people of West Africa.

The Council heard briefings by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for West Africa, as well as by the Special Adviser on Child Protection to the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS. In addition to all members of the Council, the representatives of Burkina Faso, Côte d’Ivoire, Guinea, Luxembourg (on behalf of the European Union), Mali, the Niger, Nigeria (on behalf of the Group of African States) and Sierra Leone also made statements.

In his introductory remarks, the Secretary-General expressed concern that West Africa continued to face grave security challenges. He pointed out in that respect the issues of volatile border areas, a disturbing shortfall in the funding for security sector reform and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes and high youth unemployment levels. He recalled that in his report he had highlighted areas that required immediate and longer-term action and maintained that the recommendations contained therein were directed at a

---

23 S/2005/86.
24 Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Iceland, Norway, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey aligned themselves with the statement.
wide range of players, including the Security Council and other parts of the United Nations system, bilateral and multilateral development partners, the secretariat of ECOWAS, individual Member States and civil society organizations. He welcomed the recent efforts of ECOWAS and its members to address the complex challenges facing the region, as well as the constructive partnership emerging among ECOWAS, the United Nations system and other relevant actors.

The Special Representative of the Secretary-General for West Africa observed that the collective action by the international community in West Africa faced three broad challenges. With respect to the institutional challenge, he stressed that institutional collaboration among the United Nations entities in West Africa, as well as that between the United Nations and other partners in the subregion, especially ECOWAS, West African States and civil society, should be further strengthened. On the methodological challenge, he underlined the need to prioritize issues, areas and objectives, stating that the current key priorities included issues such as small arms, child soldiers, security sector reform, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, roadblocks and cross-border peacebuilding. On the doctrinal challenge, he opined that while it was a logical course of action to concentrate peacebuilding efforts on countries at war, countries not at war, such as Ghana and the Niger, deserved international support since they remained fragile and could be weakened by violence in neighbouring areas. The Special Representative expressed his confidence that ongoing collaboration between the international community and West African populations and States would help to overcome some of those daunting challenges.

The Special Adviser on Child Protection to the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS stated that the cross-border problems facing West Africa were all threats to peace, security and stability and that those threats stemmed from activities of organized gangs with networks in several countries of the subregion and even outside the region. Most of those gangs, which usually had political roots and might mutate into criminal gangs, survived by means of arms and drugs trafficking, money-laundering and human trafficking, and very often controlled the richest areas of the countries in crisis. The Special Adviser informed the Council that to prevent and combat negative activities of armed gangs, ECOWAS had established a number of instruments, such as the Convention on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters and the Convention on Extradition. ECOWAS had identified three main strategic approaches to implement those instruments, namely through political, legal and development measures. Meanwhile, ECOWAS had also adopted a number of protocols to prevent conflict by promoting democracy and good governance as well as the free movement of goods and people. The Special Adviser concluded by stating that all the agreed-upon guidelines should be followed in order to bring about an environment conducive to good economic and social development in the subregion.

Speakers shared the assessment by the Secretary-General that the situation in West Africa was a mixed picture of positive developments and continuing challenges and reaffirmed the belief that concerted efforts on the basis of an integrated regional approach to conflict prevention were required in order to bring sustainable peace. In addition to commending the enhanced cooperation among the various United Nations political and peacekeeping missions in the subregion as well as between the United Nations system and other stakeholders, most speakers focused their respective statements on small arms, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and security sector reform, and border areas.

A large number of speakers noted that the proliferation of small arms remained a serious challenge which must be more effectively addressed, notably by ECOWAS member States converting the Moratorium into a legally binding instrument and by the international community supporting the ECOWAS Small Arms Control Programme. In the context of trafficking of small arms, a number of speakers supported the Secretary-General’s recommendation that United Nations peacekeeping operations be given

26 S/PV.5131, pp. 2-3.
27 Ibid., pp. 3-4.
the means to monitor and enforce arms embargoes. Several speakers argued that “naming and shaming” was an effective tool to enforce the implementation of sanctions regimes and that the Council should consider publishing a list of individuals and entities violating arms embargoes and the ECOWAS moratorium. In that regard, representatives of Brazil and Luxembourg, the latter speaking on behalf of the European Union, positively considered the recommendation by the Secretary-General concerning bringing those responsible for criminal activities such as trafficking in small arms, natural resources and human beings to the International Criminal Court for prosecution, while the representative of the United States said that his delegation had a different view as to the most appropriate forums in which to hear those particular cases.

Many speakers noted that successful disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and security sector reform processes were instrumental to conflict prevention and peacebuilding. According to the representative of Denmark, depoliticizing the role of security forces and subjecting them to democratic oversight were prerequisites for preventing new conflict and building peace. She added that the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process should be tailored to specifically take into account the problem of children and discontented, disillusioned West African youth and that the United Nations should consider funding a larger share of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration-related activities in peace operations through assessed contributions. The representative of the United States was concerned that funding for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes remained a challenge, while endorsing the need for greater security sector reform and the creation of democratic, professional security forces, drawn from all groups in various societies. The representative of Japan stressed the importance of tackling the issue of reintegration, particularly the problem of youth unemployment, in order to avoid recurrence of conflict. Considering the way to address cross-border issues in West Africa, a few representatives endorsed the proposed establishment of a peacebuilding commission.

Several speakers touched upon the issue of sensitive border areas and the need for developing integrated strategies for it. The representative of the Russian Federation agreed with the Secretary-General regarding the need to strengthen the borders of African States and to create joint security mechanisms in border areas. The representative of Benin urged UNOWA to give its full support to an ECOWAS plan aimed at establishing an association of West African border regions and towns. The representative of Nigeria, speaking on behalf of the Group of African States, stated that the existing initiative entitled “Integrated strategies for sensitive border areas in West Africa”, which included participation of UNOWA, ECOWAS, the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, development partners, civil society groups as well as concerned United Nations country teams and peace missions, should help prevent possible outbreaks of violence, restore trust and confidence in inter-State relations and promote peace and stability in the subregion, if fully implemented. He further held that the challenges of cross-border problems in West Africa could be effectively addressed only when opportunities for economic growth and development were enhanced. The representative of the Niger noted that the management of border areas

---

29 Ibid., p. 7 (United Kingdom); p. 16 (Denmark); p. 22 (France); p. 29 (Luxembourg, on behalf of the European Union); and pp. 37-38 (Mali).
30 Ibid., p. 20 (Greece); p. 23 (Romania); p. 29 (Luxembourg, on behalf of the European Union); and p. 36 (Nigeria, on behalf of the Group of African States).
31 Ibid., p. 11 (Brazil); and p. 29 (Luxembourg, on behalf of the European Union).
32 Ibid., p. 19.
33 Ibid., p. 7 (United Kingdom); p. 10 (Algeria); p. 11 (Brazil); p. 12 (United Republic of Tanzania); p. 14 (Philippines); p. 17 (Denmark); p. 18 (Japan); p. 19 (United States); p. 20 (Greece); p. 23 (Romania); p. 24 (Argentina); p. 25 (Benin); p. 29 (Luxembourg, on behalf of the European Union); p. 31 (Côte d’Ivoire); p. 36 (Nigeria, on behalf of the Group of African States); and p. 38 (Mali).
34 Ibid., p. 17.
36 Ibid., p. 18.
37 Ibid., pp. 7-8 (United Kingdom); p. 11 (Brazil); and p. 14 (Philippines).
38 Ibid., p. 15 (Russian Federation); p. 19 (United States); pp. 23-24 (Romania); p. 24 (Argentina); pp. 25-26 (Benin); p. 31 (Côte d’Ivoire); p. 33 (Guinea); p. 36 (Nigeria, on behalf of the Group of African States); p. 38 (Mali); and p. 39 (Niger).
39 Ibid., p. 15.
41 Ibid., p. 36.
was a major problem in the light of the high degree of mobility among the populations in the region, while cautioning that extortion and abuse at the border posts had often provoked a revolt among neighbouring populations, leading to crises between two adjacent countries.\textsuperscript{42}

Some noted that the best practices and lessons learned from West Africa, including cross-border and regional cooperation, could serve as examples and be applied to other regions and subregions.\textsuperscript{43} A number of speakers concurred that the primary responsibility for promoting peace and stability in the subregion and dealing with cross-border issues lay with African States themselves\textsuperscript{44} and in that context, some highlighted that African States should take ownership of the process of conflict resolution and peace consolidation.\textsuperscript{45} The representative of the Russian Federation underlined that more thought needed to be given to new ideas about how the Security Council could help West African States to strengthen their peace processes, adding that work on such innovative ideas could take place in the Council’s Ad Hoc Working Group on Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Africa.\textsuperscript{46}

Taking issue with the Secretary-General who had welcomed in his report the decision by the International Contact Group on Liberia to expand its mandate and scope to include the other countries in the Mano River Union, as well as Guinea-Bissau and Côte d’Ivoire,\textsuperscript{47} the representative of Guinea made it clear that his Government considered that decision totally inappropriate and had already rejected it.\textsuperscript{48}

At the end of the meeting, the President (Benin) made a statement on behalf of the Council,\textsuperscript{49} by which the Council, inter alia:

- Reiterated its belief that action on cross-border and subregional issues should take place as part of a wider strategy of conflict prevention, crisis management and peacebuilding in the subregion;
- Encouraged UNOWA further to promote an integrated and joint subregional approach with ECOWAS and the African Union, as well as with other key international partners and civil society organizations;
- Welcomed the decision of the European Commission on 2 December 2004 to assist ECOWAS in implementing its plans to combat the illicit dissemination of small arms;
- Emphasized the need to pursue security sector reforms aiming at improving civil-military relations in countries emerging from conflict situations and creating a culture of peace and stability and promoting the rule of law;
- Urged the donor countries, international organizations and civil society to address the dire humanitarian situation in many parts of the subregion and to provide adequate resources in the framework of the consolidated appeals process 2005 for West Africa as part of a regional humanitarian response strategy to improve the human security of the people in dire need of protection or those whose coping capacities were close to exhaustion.

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., p. 39.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., p. 6 (United Kingdom); p. 12 (United Republic of Tanzania); and p. 14 (Philippines).
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., p. 10 (Algeria); p. 15 (Russian Federation); p. 18 (Japan); p. 24 (Argentina); p. 29 (Luxembourg, on behalf of the European Union); and p. 35 (Sierra Leone).
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., p. 16 (Denmark); p. 18 (Japan); and p. 20 (Greece).
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., p. 15.

\textsuperscript{47} S/2005/86, para. 8. The Group was renamed International Contact Group on the Mano River Basin.
\textsuperscript{48} S/PV.5131, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{49} S/PRST/2005/9.