of Foreign Partners to Follow Up on the Electoral Process in order to support the reconstruction efforts initiated by the Central Africans;

Expressed its concern at the insecurity reigning in the north and the west of the country and invites relevant States to consult with subregional and regional organizations and with the United Nations Peacebuilding Office in the Central African Republic on the action required to respond collectively to the threat posed by those armed groups to the stability of the Central African Republic and certain countries of the subregion.

Decision of 22 November 2006 (5572nd meeting): statement by the President

At its 5572nd meeting,⁴ on 22 November 2006, the Council invited the representative of the Central African Republic to participate in the discussion. The President (Peru) then made a statement on behalf of the Council,⁵ by which the Council, inter alia:

Reiterated its full support for BONUCA;

Welcomed the courageous efforts of the Government to implement the reforms advocated by the bilateral partners and international financial institutions aimed at improving the management of the national treasury, ensuring transparency in economic activities and good governance;

Expressed serious concern that instability along the border areas of Chad, the Sudan and the Central African Republic represented a threat to security and stability in the Central African Republic and its neighbours;

Reaffirmed its commitment to the territorial integrity of the Central African Republic;

Requested the Secretary-General to reinforce cooperation between the United Nations and member States of the Central African Economic and Monetary Community;

Decided to renew the mandate of BONUCA for a period of one year, until 31 December 2007.

10. Items relating to peace and security in Africa

A. The situation in Africa

Deliberations of 24 September 2004 (5043rd meeting)

At its 5043rd meeting, on 24 September 2004, the Security Council included in its agenda, under the item entitled "The situation in Africa", a briefing by the President of Nigeria and current Chairman of the African Union. Statements were made by all Council members, the Secretary-General and the President of Nigeria.¹

The President of the Council (Spain) drew the attention of the Council to a letter dated 22 September 2004 from the representative of Nigeria, transmitting a communiqué issued by the Peace and Security Council of the African Union regarding the situation in the Darfur region of the Sudan and the situation in Somalia.² He then provided some introductory remarks

in his national capacity, recalling his recent visit to the Sudan the previous week. While expressing the view that the humanitarian situation in Darfur was beginning to slowly improve, he also noted that attacks on the civilian population had not stopped entirely and that it was therefore essential that all the parties respected the ceasefire agreement. Underlining the importance of the African Union's role in Darfur by, inter alia, sponsoring the Abuja peace negotiations, he recalled that the international community expected all the parties to negotiate in good faith to reach an agreement that could be implemented as soon as possible. Finally, in connection with the situation in the south of the Sudan, he advocated an early conclusion of the Naivasha negotiations, which could have very positive effects on the situation in Darfur.3

In his statement, the Secretary-General deemed the tragedy in Darfur to be one of the greatest challenges the international community faced, with the

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⁴ At its 5558th meeting, held in private on 30 October 2006, the Council had a discussion with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of BONUCA and the Prime Minister of the Central African Republic.

⁵ S/PRST/2006/47.

¹ Germany and Spain were represented by their respective Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

² S/2004/755.

³ S/PV.5043, pp. 2-3.

urgent task being the protection of civilians from violence and human rights abuses. Recalling that the United Nations was supporting the African Union to strengthen its operations in all parts of Darfur, the Secretary-General said that the expansion of the African Union's mission should be supported with substantial international resources, including logistics support, equipment and financing. Similarly, recalling that the United Nations was also supporting the leadership of the African Union in the political process to achieve a genuine political settlement, the Secretary-General called on the international community to support the African Union in such a task, by making "unambiguously clear" to both sides of the conflict that they were expected to resume negotiations for a political settlement in Darfur with the spirit of compromise necessary to reach an agreement.4

The President of Nigeria and current Chairman of the African Union concurred that the situation in Darfur posed serious challenges to the African Union and to the international community and referred to the peace talks in Abuja as one of the most important steps undertaken under the leadership of the African Union to address the situation in Darfur. Stating that the African Union was determined to bring peace to Darfur since the peace and security of the Sudan would positively impact the subregion as well as the whole African continent, he emphasized the collaborative role that the international community, particularly the United Nations through the Security Council, could play in strengthening the African Union's efforts in the region. He therefore urged donors and the international community to enhance the African Union's capacity by providing logistics, training, the deployment of personnel and the wherewithal to maintain a force level of approximately 3,000 troops in Darfur. The challenge, he added, was to determine which member States of the African Union would contribute to the force and to the necessary logistics and resources. Adding that such a force should be in place only until a permanent political arrangement had been agreed upon and implemented, he noted that, in light of the limited experience of the African Union with such operations, command and control would likewise be a challenge.

Turning to other issues affecting Africa, the President of Nigeria welcomed the recent extension of the mandates of the United Nations Mission in Liberia and the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone; and welcomed the Secretary-General's recommendations on expanding the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC). Concluding his statement, he urged the Security Council to continue its current positive role in support of all efforts in Africa and the international community at large to increase its level of assistance, especially in the areas of capacity-building and infrastructure development, to ensure the achievement of social and economic development in Africa.⁵

In their reactions to the briefing, most Council members generally expressed concern for the situation in Darfur, recognizing that the most urgent priority was to stop the killings and end all violence against civilians; reiterated that the Security Council was determined to keep up the pressure on the Government of the Sudan and the rebel groups to return to the negotiating table and remain committed to the peace process; and supported the efforts of the African Union in this regard.

Asked by the representative of the United States whether the Security Council and interested countries were doing enough in Darfur or could do anything different, the President of Nigeria expressed the view that the five permanent members of the Council should act in a uniform manner to put unvarying pressure on both the Government of the Sudan and the rebels.6 Stressing that the Council's immediate priority in Darfur was to end the violence against civilians, the representative of the United Kingdom observed that the Government of the Sudan needed assistance in this regard and, therefore, encouraged the Government itself and the African Union to quickly identify what reinforcements were needed on the ground in Darfur, as well as what the Government of the Sudan was prepared to accept and what the African Union could provide.7 The representative of China stated that the priority was to achieve, as soon as possible, expanded deployment by the African Union and for the international community to provide all possible assistance in that connection. Noting that the genesis of the Darfur problem was very complicated, he stressed that only through a political settlement would there be durable peace in the region of Darfur. He therefore supported the African Union in this regard and called

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⁴ Ibid., p. 3.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 3-6 and pp. 15-18.

⁶ Ibid., p. 6.

⁷ Ibid., p. 7.

on all parties, especially the rebel groups, to demonstrate more flexibility so that a comprehensive agreement could be achieved.8 The representative of France stated that the Council needed to be very demanding of the Government of the Sudan to fulfil all its obligations, particularly the combating of impunity and the end of violence, and appealed to the international community to provide adequate assistance to the African Union.9 The representative of Brazil stressed that preventive action and early warning were at the core of regional organizations' assets and that there was, therefore, a need to find innovative ways to work within a logic of conflict avoidance that involved eradicating underdevelopment, lack of education, poverty and hunger. He argued that the growing interrelationship between security and economic and social development underscored the need for better cooperation between the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council through Article 65 of the Charter. 10 The representative of Angola, echoed by the representative of Romania, noted that the situation in Darfur provided the Council with the opportunity to take better advantage of Chapter VIII of the Charter regarding cooperation with regional organizations. 11 The representative of Chile suggested that, in the light of the discussion on cooperation between the African Union and the Council, it might be interesting to hold a joint meeting of the Council and the African Union Peace and Security Council. 12

Deliberations of 19 December 2005 to 4 April 2007 (5331st, 5525th, 5571st and 5655th meetings)

At its 5331st meeting, on 19 December 2005, the Council included in its agenda a briefing by the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator. Following the briefing statements were made by all Council members.

In his briefing, the Under-Secretary-General elaborated on the deteriorating situation in Darfur; reported on the violent attacks by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in northern Uganda, southern Sudan and most recently in the Democratic Republic of the Congo; and informed the Council of his recent trip to

Zimbabwe, where the situation was worsening due to food shortages. With reference to the sustainability of the humanitarian operation in the Darfur, he stressed the need for an expanded and more effective security presence on the ground as soon as possible in order to provide protection to civilians and allow internally displaced persons to return to their homes. In connection with the regional crises caused by the activities of LRA, he invited the Council to strongly condemn LRA attacks against civilian humanitarian workers and insist on the immediate cessation of violence. To help the Council consider further steps and improve its understanding of LRA, Under-Secretary-General suggested appointment by the Council of a panel of experts, as well as the holding of regular updates on the effects of LRA activities in the region. Finally, with reference to the humanitarian situation in Zimbabwe, he invited the United Nations and the humanitarian community at large to try to engage more actively with the Government of Zimbabwe to address the enormous humanitarian crisis. In closing, he urged the international community to support and fund a more ambitious development and humanitarian agenda, adding that humanitarian crises resulted from a total absence of peace and security and that humanitarian aid could not be an alibi for unwillingness to address the root causes of conflict. 13

Council members expressed concern at the deepening humanitarian situations in Darfur, northern Uganda, southern Sudan and Zimbabwe and noted, inter alia, the need to tackle the root causes of such humanitarian situations, and the importance of a regional approach.

Referring to the situation in Darfur, several members stressed the importance of ensuring a positive outcome of the Abuja negotiations in order to stabilize the situation and ensure effective protection for the civilian population. ¹⁴ Likewise, in connection with the humanitarian situation in northern Uganda and southern Sudan caused by the attacks of LRA, the representatives of Denmark and Japan emphasized the need for a resumption of dialogue between the Government of Uganda and LRA. ¹⁵

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⁸ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 11-12.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 12.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 13 (Angola); and pp. 14-15 (Romania).

¹² Ibid., p. 14.

¹³ S/PV.5331, pp. 2-5.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 6 (Benin); p. 8 (Japan); p. 12 (United States); and p. 16 (France).

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 7 (Denmark); and pp. 8-9 (Japan).

On the situation in Zimbabwe, some members urged the Government of Zimbabwe to demonstrate greater willingness to engage in a dialogue with the international community in order to provide assistance and protection to its own people. 16 Reiterating the importance his country attached to this situation and noting that it considered the current food crisis to be a threat to regional peace and security, the representative of the United States urged the Government of Zimbabwe to reach out to its people, political parties and civil society groups and engage in a dialogue aimed at reaching a sustainable political settlement. He suggested that the Under-Secretary-General Political Affairs pay a visit to Zimbabwe as well as to other countries in the region.¹⁷ Similarly, the representatives of France and Denmark suggested that it might be useful if the Secretary-General himself visited Zimbabwe, while the representative of the United Kingdom insisted on the necessity for seeing substantial progress before the international community could think of the Secretary-General himself getting involved in the issue.¹⁸

At the end of the meeting, while responding to questions from Council members about the possibility of a high-level visit to Zimbabwe, the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator confirmed that the President of Zimbabwe had invited the Secretary-General to the country and that the latter was planning to send the Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs on a mission to engage in dialogue with the leaders of the country.¹⁹

At its 5525th meeting, on 15 September 2006, the Council included in its agenda a briefing by the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, who addressed the Council and answered questions on the humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Uganda following his recent visit to the countries. All Council members made statements.

In his briefing, although acknowledging that the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo had

improved with more relief workers on the ground, the Under-Secretary-General noted that remained a major obstacle to further progress. In this regard, he urged the Council and other Member States to put pressure on the armed forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to end all violence against civilians. He also called upon the Council to show its commitment by maintaining the current strength of MONUC and by exerting pressure on the Government to end impunity and promote the rule of law and good governance. Turning to the "more promising" situation in northern Uganda, the Under-Secretary-General said that he had seen "improvement on almost every indicator", including greater humanitarian access, smaller numbers of night commuters and better security environment in the camps of internally displaced persons. Highlighting the signing on 26 August of a Cessation of Hostilities Agreement between the Government of Uganda and LRA, he underlined the importance for the Council to help move forward the process in order to reach a final agreement as soon as possible.²⁰

Following the briefing, members of the Council stated that they were encouraged by the recent improvements in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Uganda and welcomed the progress made; but continued to be concerned at the enormous challenges facing the two countries, as not all the factors of instability had been eliminated. They welcomed the ceasefire between the Government of Uganda and LRA and reiterated that the issue of impunity should be addressed in both countries in order to achieve lasting peace.

At its 5571st meeting, on 22 November 2006, the Council included in its agenda a briefing by the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator on critical humanitarian challenges in Africa, particularly the situation in Darfur and the peace talks between the Government of Uganda and LRA. Following the briefing, statements were made by all Council members.

Concerning the situation in the Sudan, and particularly in Darfur, the Under-Secretary-General reported that, since his last mission to Darfur, the Government of the Sudan was still failing to protect its own citizens, even in areas without rebels, resulting in an increase of the number of people in need of

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¹⁶ Ibid., p. 7 (Denmark); p. 8 (Japan); p. 12 (United States); p. 15 (Romania); and p. 18 (United Kingdom).

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 7 (Denmark); p. 17 (France); and p. 18 (United Kingdom).

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 20.

²⁰ S/PV.5525, pp. 2-4.

4 million, emergency assistance to with unprecedented 2 million internally displaced persons. To alleviate the dire situation on the ground, the Under-Secretary-General recommended an immediate cessation of hostilities and respect for the ceasefire by all parties as well as the immediate and lasting implementation of all freedom of movement guarantees afforded by the Government of the Sudan. On the highlevel meeting between the United Nations and the African Union on 16 November in Addis Ababa, he expressed the hope that the agreement reached on the establishment of a hybrid United Nations/African Union force would mark a historic turning point, re-energizing the peace process, strengthening the ceasefire and facilitating effective peacekeeping. Finally, he called for an immediate deployment in Darfur of a more effective force with the mandate, resources, and capabilities to deploy proactively to areas of risk for civilian populations and facilitate the protection of humanitarian activities.

Turning to the Juba peace process between the Government of Uganda and LRA, the Under-Secretary-General indicated that, except for small incidents, the cessation of hostilities had been respected, allowing hundreds of thousands of internally displaced persons to start returning to northern Uganda. He added, however, that he was struck by the vulnerability of the peace process, which had made little substantial progress since the cessation of hostilities was signed in August 2006. Recalling his recent meeting with the LRA leadership, he said that he had urged it to move towards a speedy end to the conflict and to ensure the reassembly of the LRA forces. Concluding, the Under-Secretary-General stressed that it was crucial for the United Nations to continue funding the mediation effort by the Juba Initiative Project, which was led by the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs; maintain political assistance to the mediation efforts; and provide immediate assistance to the assembly areas.21

In their statements following the briefing, members of the Council, inter alia, expressed deep concern about the worsening humanitarian situation in Darfur and its negative impact on the wider region, particularly on Chad and the Central African Republic; urged all parties concerned to take action to implement the ceasefire, ensure the delivery of humanitarian relief

to the needy population, and revive the deadlocked political process; deplored the failure of the Government of the Sudan to protect its own people and called for a greater role of the international community in that regard; welcomed the outcome of the recent meeting between the United Nations and the African Union in Addis Ababa and called for its prompt translation into concrete steps.

While the representatives of the United Kingdom and the Congo said they were perplexed by the disconnect between the deteriorating humanitarian situation on the ground and progress in the political process,22 the representative of China maintained that it would be very hard to settle humanitarian crises stability in place.²³ Likewise, without representative of the Russian Federation held that political progress would have a positive impact on the management of the humanitarian crises.²⁴ With regard to the deployment of a peacekeeping force in Darfur, the representative of Denmark stressed that a robust and efficient international force on the ground was the only way forward.²⁵ The representative of the United States reiterated that an effective peacekeeping operation should be deployed under United Nations command and control,26 while the representative of France stated that an expanded international peacekeeping presence could be effective only if the parties established and implemented a genuine ceasefire and resumed the political peace process initiated by the Abuja Agreement.²⁷

On the situation in northern Uganda, most members commended the renewal on 1 November of the ceasefire agreement between the Government and LRA, while urging both sides to implement the provisions of the agreement and move the Juba peace process forward; expressed satisfaction concerning the improvement of the humanitarian situation; and urged LRA to quickly release detained non-combatants, women and children in particular. Concerning the issue of impunity, several speakers held the view that the issue must be addressed in the peace talks, reaffirming that without justice and an end to impunity there could

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²¹ S/PV.5571, pp. 2-6.

²² Ibid., p. 6 (United Kingdom); and p. 7 (Congo).

²³ Ibid., p. 14.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 17.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 9.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 10.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 12.

not be lasting peace.²⁸ The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania noted that peace and justice should not be mutually exclusive and that the issue of immunity must be handled tactfully so as not to compromise the strategic objectives.²⁹

At its 5655th meeting, on 4 April 2007, the Council included in its agenda a briefing by the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator on his first mission to the Sudan, Chad, and the Central African Republic. Following the briefing, statements were made by all Council members.

After explaining his findings in each of the three countries, highlighting the complexity of the conflicts in each of them, the Under-Secretary-General emphasized the need to address the regional as well as internal aspects of those conflicts and advocated a political solution through dialogue and mediation, aided from outside where necessary, but relying on national actors. He stressed that there was no more important actor in this then the Security Council.³⁰

Council members were unanimous in expressing concern about the worsening humanitarian situation in Darfur and about the fact that the situation seriously affected the situation in neighbouring countries, such as Chad and the Central African Republic. The representative of Panama welcomed the fact that no Council member had argued that the issues belonged within the purview of other forums of the Organization, and noted that when human suffering crossed borders, that alone made it an issue that the Council needed to address.³¹

Specifically concerning the situation in Darfur, several delegations called on the parties to endeavour to find a political solution; welcomed the recent agreement between the United Nations and the Government of the Sudan to lift restrictions for humanitarian workers in Darfur, and renewed the appeal to the Government of the Sudan to respect such agreement and remove bureaucratic obstacles, including delays in issuing visas and work permits for humanitarian workers. Noting that efforts should be made to avoid political approaches that would

exacerbate the situation, the representative of China stated that it was imperative to take a targeted approach to address both the "root causes and the symptoms", avoiding any politicization of humanitarian issues.³² The representative of the Russian Federation maintained that the humanitarian problems in Darfur could be resolved only with the attainment of a stable political solution to the crisis, therefore requiring that all armed groups that remained outside the Darfur Peace Agreement became part of that Agreement.³³

On the situation in Chad and the Central African Republic, the representatives of France, Belgium, Slovakia and the United States reaffirmed their support for the idea of deploying a peacekeeping force to eastern Chad, in its border areas with the Sudan.³⁴ The representative of the United Kingdom underlined the need for an adequate protection of civilians, including those in the United Nations camps,³⁵ while the representative of the Russian Federation found it justifiable to use the Central Emergency Response Fund to help the underfinanced humanitarian activities in the Sudan, Chad and the Central African Republic, with funds allocated on an "objective and non-politicized"

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²⁸ Ibid., pp. 8-9 (Argentina); p. 10 (Denmark); p. 16 (Ghana); and p. 18 (Peru).

²⁹ Ibid., p. 16.

³⁰ S/PV.5655, pp. 2-7.

³¹ Ibid., p. 15.

³² Ibid., p. 9.

³³ Ibid., p. 12.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 9 (United States); p. 11 (Belgium); p. 12 (Slovakia); and p. 14 (France).

³⁵ Ibid., p. 18.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 13.