

<i>Meeting and date</i>	<i>Sub-item</i>	<i>Other documents</i>	<i>Rule 37 invitations</i>	<i>Rule 39 and other invitations</i>	<i>Speakers</i>	<i>Decision and vote (for-against-abstaining)</i>
6695 21 December 2011	Report of the Secretary-General on developments in Guinea-Bissau and on the activities of UNIOGBIS (S/2011/655)	Draft resolution submitted by Brazil, Nigeria, Portugal (S/2011/786)				Resolution 2030 (2011) 15-0-0

^a The representative of Angola spoke on behalf of the members of the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries.

10. The situation in Côte d'Ivoire

Overview

In 2010 and 2011, the Security Council held 26 meetings, including four private meetings with the troop-contributing countries,¹²⁹ and adopted 14 resolutions under Chapter VII of the Charter in connection with the situation in Côte d'Ivoire. The Council focused on the post-electoral crisis, the imposition of targeted sanctions against individuals threatening the peace process, and the strengthening of the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI).¹³⁰

Taking into account the electoral process in Côte d'Ivoire, the Council extended six times the mandate of UNOCI and the French forces which supported it.¹³¹ The Council also authorized, and several times extended, the temporary redeployment from the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) to UNOCI of additional military and police personnel, including up to three infantry companies and an aviation unit comprising two military utility helicopters.¹³² The Council extended or renewed the sanctions regime and twice extended the mandate of the Group of Experts.¹³³

¹²⁹ See S/PV.6258, S/PV.6328, S/PV.6436 and S/PV.6578.

¹³⁰ For more information on the mandate of UNOCI, see part X, sect. I, "Peacekeeping operations".

¹³¹ Resolutions 1911(2010), 1924 (2010), 1933 (2010), 1962 (2010), 1981(2011) and 2000 (2011).

¹³² Resolutions 1951 (2010), 1962 (2010), 1967 (2011), 1968 (2011), 1981 (2011) and 1992 (2011).

¹³³ Resolutions 1946 (2010), 1975 (2011) and 1980 (2011).

21 January to 7 December 2010: briefings by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on the electoral process

On 21 January 2010, the Council heard a briefing by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Côte d'Ivoire and Head of UNOCI, who introduced the report of the Secretary-General.¹³⁴ He informed the Council that the electoral process had made remarkable progress in a peaceful environment, and that the processing of data for the registration of around 6.3 million voters had been successfully completed in November 2009. This had resulted in the publication by the Independent Electoral Commission of the provisional electoral list on 23 November 2009. However, an unexpected controversy had emerged in connection with the appeals process, the President's supporters contesting the semi-official second list drawn up by the Commission.¹³⁵ The representative of Côte d'Ivoire referred to the case of fraud concerning the electoral list attributed to the President of the Independent Electoral Commission. Following consultations with all Ivorian political parties as well as the Facilitator, the Prime Minister, Guillaume Soro, had established a monitoring committee responsible for strengthening the Commission's capacities and restoring confidence. In his view, the incident constituted a minor disruption of the electoral timetable.¹³⁶

On 17 March 2010, the Special Representative stated that the political impasse that had started in the

¹³⁴ S/2010/15.

¹³⁵ S/PV.6263, pp. 2-3.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

wake of the production of the second electoral list by the former President of the Independent Electoral Commission had seriously weakened the electoral momentum. As a result of this, the elections were delayed. He noted that UNOCI would continue working with the Ouagadougou Political Agreement protagonists with a view to producing the definitive electoral list and developing a clearer picture of the unfolding election-reunification dynamics.¹³⁷ The representative of Côte d'Ivoire explained that there had been fraud with regard to the electoral list in favour of the opposition; the Commission and the Government had been dissolved, and a new President of the Commission elected and a new Government formed. Two actions were needed to organize clean and credible elections, namely the removal from the electoral list of people fraudulently registered and a full audit of the provisional list.¹³⁸

On 3 June 2010, the Council heard a briefing by the Special Representative, who introduced the twenty-fourth report of the Secretary-General on the latest situation in Côte d'Ivoire, including the impasse regarding the implementation of the peace process.¹³⁹ The Special Representative stated that UNOCI would have three priority objectives for the immediate future, namely, maintaining peace and stability, including the protection of civilians; safeguarding past achievements in both the elections and reunification domains and continuing to provide support towards the implementation of those two crucial processes; and helping to establish the definitive electoral list as expeditiously as possible.¹⁴⁰

On 3 November 2010, the Council was briefed by the Special Representative, who introduced the progress report of the Secretary-General on UNOCI.¹⁴¹ He reported that the electoral process had been conducted in a commendable manner and a peaceful environment and that the turnout had been over 80 per cent — one of the highest in the world.¹⁴²

On 7 December 2010, the Council heard a briefing by the Special Representative, who introduced the twenty-sixth progress report of the Secretary-General.¹⁴³ As a certifier of the Ivorian elections, he had

completed the analysis and evaluation of 20,000 tally sheets provided to him by the Ivorian authorities for the purposes of certification. He concluded that Mr. Alassane Ouattara was the winner of the presidential election by a clear margin, even taking into account all complaints submitted to the Constitutional Council by the camp of the current President.¹⁴⁴

30 June 2010 to 13 May 2011: strengthening of the mandate of UNOCI and redeployment of UNMIL troops

On 30 June 2010, the Council adopted resolution [1933 \(2010\)](#), by which it decided on a revised and updated mandate for UNOCI until 31 December 2010. The Council decided that, in order to support the parties to implement the Ouagadougou Political Agreement more effectively, UNOCI should, inter alia, monitor the armed groups, protect civilians, monitor the arms embargo, assist in the field of human rights, and contribute to the electoral process.

On 29 September 2010, the Council adopted resolution [1942 \(2010\)](#), by which it decided to authorize, as recommended by the Secretary-General in his letter dated 14 September 2010,¹⁴⁵ a temporary increase of the authorized military and police personnel of UNOCI from 8,650 to 9,150.

On 24 November 2010, the Council adopted resolution [1951 \(2010\)](#), by which it authorized the Secretary-General to temporarily redeploy from UNMIL to UNOCI for a period of no more than four weeks a maximum of three infantry companies and one aviation unit comprising two military utility helicopters.

On 19 January 2011, the Council adopted resolution [1967 \(2011\)](#), by which it decided to authorize the deployment of an additional 2,000 military personnel to UNOCI until 30 June 2011, to authorize the transfer on a temporary basis of three armed helicopters with crews from UNMIL to UNOCI for a period of four weeks, as recommended by the Secretary-General, and to authorize the deployment of 60 formed police unit personnel to meet threats posed by unarmed crowds, who would replace 60 United Nations police officers.

On 13 May 2011, prior to the adoption of resolution [1981 \(2011\)](#), by which the Council extended the mandate of UNOCI and the temporary redeployment

¹³⁷ [S/PV.6284](#), p. 2.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹³⁹ [S/2010/245](#)

¹⁴⁰ [S/PV.6329](#), pp. 2-3.

¹⁴¹ [S/2010/537](#).

¹⁴² [S/PV.6415](#), p. 2.

¹⁴³ [S/2010/600](#).

¹⁴⁴ [S/PV.6437](#), pp. 2-3.

¹⁴⁵ [S/2010/485](#).

of personnel and equipment from UNMIL to UNOCI, the representative of the United States stressed that the aviation assets on loan to UNOCI would be returned to UNMIL no later than 30 June 2011 in order to avoid destabilizing Liberia. She said that as Côte d'Ivoire emerged from crisis the Council must not neglect Liberia or jeopardize its fragile peace. It must honour its commitment to ensure that UNMIL had the tools to do its job as Liberia entered its electoral season. This was therefore the last extension her delegation would support.¹⁴⁶ The representative of France said that the situation in Côte d'Ivoire posed the main threat to subregional destabilization. It was not the Council's role to interfere in the management of logistical peacekeeping assets by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, and UNMIL should continue to have the resources it needed in the context of the democratic transition that had begun four years previously.¹⁴⁷ While welcoming the adoption of the resolution, the representative of Côte d'Ivoire stressed that the security situation in his country remained volatile, particularly in the western part of the country where it needed to be strengthened; he called on the Security Council to act pragmatically and flexibly in allocating resources, particularly military.¹⁴⁸

**20 December 2010 to 18 July 2011:
post-electoral crisis**

On 20 December 2010, by resolution [1962 \(2010\)](#), the Council urged all the Ivorian parties and stakeholders to respect the will of the people and the outcome of the election in view of the recognition by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union of Mr. Alassane Ouattara as President-elect of Côte d'Ivoire and representative of the freely expressed voice of the Ivorian people as proclaimed by the Independent Electoral Commission.

On 25 March 2011, the Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations stated that the security situation had further deteriorated, with security forces loyal to the former President, Laurent Gbagbo, using heavy weapons against civilians in Abidjan. He noted that fighting between elements of the defence and security forces loyal to Mr. Gbagbo and the Forces nouvelles was in violation of the Comprehensive

Ceasefire Agreement signed on 3 May 2003. He reported on the actions that UNOCI had taken to protect civilians, including increasing the number of patrols to vulnerable communities under attack as well as investigating and recording violations of human rights. In concluding, he said that leaders of ECOWAS, meeting over the past two days in response to the situation, had adopted a resolution stating that the time had come to ensure the transfer of power to Mr. Ouattara without any further delay. To that end, they had requested the Security Council to consider strengthening the mandate of UNOCI and to adopt more stringent international sanctions against Mr. Gbagbo and his associates.¹⁴⁹ The representative of Côte d'Ivoire stressed that the obligation and responsibility of protecting civilian populations in imminent danger was at the heart of current international concerns. He said that Mr. Gbagbo's forces had committed massive human rights violations and massacred more than 500 civilians in just three months despite the presence of UNOCI. He called on the Security Council to adopt robust measures against former President Gbagbo and all those who supported him.¹⁵⁰

On 30 March 2011, the Council adopted resolution [1975 \(2011\)](#), by which it urged all Ivorian parties and other stakeholders to respect the will of the people and the election of Mr. Ouattara as the President of Côte d'Ivoire. The Council also recalled its authorization to UNOCI to use all means necessary to protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence, including to prevent the use of heavy weapons against the civilian population.

On 13 April 2011, the Council heard a briefing by the Special Representative, who introduced the twenty-seventh progress report of the Secretary-General on UNOCI.¹⁵¹ He said that former President Laurent Gbagbo had been taken into custody on 11 April by pro-Ouattara forces. He described the challenges that lay ahead, namely, the restoration of peace and law and order; the prevention of any further human rights abuses and violations, and the delivery of humanitarian assistance; national reconciliation; and national reconstruction. Among other concrete measures to be taken urgently were the swearing-in of President Ouattara and the organization of his Government; the implementation of the disarmament, demobilization and

¹⁴⁶ [S/PV.6535](#), p. 2.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁴⁹ [S/PV.6506](#), pp. 2-4.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁵¹ [S/2011/211](#).

reintegration and the security sector reform programmes; the question of reunification; and the organization of legislative elections.¹⁵² The Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs said that the humanitarian situation was deeply troubling. The humanitarian response had so far been severely impeded by the security situation, which had prevented aid agencies from scaling up their operations and accessing those most in need.¹⁵³ The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights informed the Council that her Office had conducted a mission mandated to assess the human rights situation and to remind all parties of their obligation to respect international human rights and humanitarian law and of the importance of bringing perpetrators to justice. The mission had found evidence of large-scale human rights violations, including extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances, torture and sexual violence in Abidjan and the rest of the country in the course of the conflict. In response to the human rights crisis, the Human Rights Council had established an independent commission of inquiry mandated to investigate the facts and circumstances surrounding the allegations of serious abuses and violations of human rights committed in the aftermath of the elections.¹⁵⁴

On 18 July 2011, the Council heard a briefing by the Special Representative, who introduced the report of the Secretary-General assessing the post-election crisis in Côte d'Ivoire.¹⁵⁵ He informed the Council that efforts were under way to address the following four major post-crisis tasks: the restoration of law and order in the south; national reconciliation; legislative elections; and economic recovery. He applauded the appointment of the Chair of the Dialogue, Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the efforts of the Ivorian authorities to expedite the restoration of law and order.¹⁵⁶ The representative of Côte d'Ivoire said that a new Government had been formed which included all political entities with the exception of the party formerly in power, but stressed that progress must be made on the following fronts: stabilizing the security situation; disarmament, demobilization and reintegration; security sector reform; national reconciliation; the humanitarian situation; the human rights situation; organizing

elections; and economic recovery. Regarding the upcoming legislative elections, he requested that the certification role of UNOCI be maintained and that the mission continue to support the entire electoral process.¹⁵⁷

15 October 2010 to 28 April 2011: sanctions measures

On 15 October 2010, in resolution [1946 \(2010\)](#), the Council underlined its readiness to impose targeted measures against persons determined, inter alia, to be a threat to the national reconciliation process in Côte d'Ivoire, or attacking or obstructing the action of UNOCI and its partners, or responsible for serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law.

On 30 March 2011, by resolution [1975 \(2011\)](#), the Council decided to adopt targeted sanctions against those individuals who met the criteria set out in resolution [1572 \(2004\)](#) and subsequent resolutions, including those individuals who obstructed peace and reconciliation in Côte d'Ivoire, obstructed the work of UNOCI and other international actors in Côte d'Ivoire and committed serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law.

Following the adoption of the resolution, most speakers stated that the text sent a strong message to those parties perpetrating the attacks against civilians and resisting the will of the Ivorian people. They also called for restraint by all parties, expressed grave concern over the humanitarian situation and supported the efforts of ECOWAS and the African Union to help bring about political reconciliation.¹⁵⁸

On 28 April 2011, the Council adopted resolution [1980 \(2011\)](#), by which it decided, inter alia, to renew the sanctions regime and extend the mandate of the Group of Experts until 30 April 2012. Following the adoption of the resolution, the representative of Côte d'Ivoire, welcoming the extension of the sanctions regime until 2012, said that it was necessary to consolidate the end of the state of belligerence his country had suffered over the past four months. Côte d'Ivoire wished to strive for socioeconomic development in a climate of peace and security and could not allow those efforts to be undermined by an environment of large-scale illicit arms flows. He stressed that the most important challenge was

¹⁵² [S/PV.6513](#), pp. 2-3.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

¹⁵⁵ [S/2011/387](#).

¹⁵⁶ [S/PV.6584](#), pp. 2-3.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-6.

¹⁵⁸ See [S/PV.6508](#).

that of national reconciliation, to address which the President had decided to establish a truth and reconciliation commission modelled on that created by

President Nelson Mandela in South Africa following the fall of apartheid.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹ [S/PV.6525](#), pp. 2-3

Meetings: the situation in Côte d'Ivoire

<i>Meeting and date</i>	<i>Sub-item</i>	<i>Other documents</i>	<i>Rule 37 invitations</i>	<i>Rule 39 and other invitations</i>	<i>Speakers</i>	<i>Decision and vote (for-against-abstaining)</i>
6263 21 January 2010	Twenty-third progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI) (S/2010/15)		Côte d'Ivoire	Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Côte d'Ivoire and Head of UNOCI	All invitees	
6267 28 January 2010	Twenty-third progress report of the Secretary-General on UNOCI (S/2010/15)	Draft resolution submitted by France (S/2010/41) Letter dated 15 January 2010 from the Secretary-General concerning the reinforcement of security arrangements in the context of the presidential election (S/2010/42)	Côte d'Ivoire			Resolution 1911 (2010) 15-0-0
6284 17 March 2010			Côte d'Ivoire	Special Representative of the Secretary-General	All invitees	
6323 27 May 2010	Twenty-fourth report of the Secretary-General on UNOCI (S/2010/245)	Letter dated 26 April 2010 from the Secretary-General concerning a one-month technical rollover of the mandate of UNOCI (S/2010/220) Draft resolution submitted by France (S/2010/253)	Côte d'Ivoire			Resolution 1924 (2010) 15-0-0

Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council, 2010-2011

<i>Meeting and date</i>	<i>Sub-item</i>	<i>Other documents</i>	<i>Rule 37 invitations</i>	<i>Rule 39 and other invitations</i>	<i>Speakers</i>	<i>Decision and vote (for-against-abstaining)</i>
6329 3 June 2010	Twenty-fourth report of the Secretary-General on UNOCI (S/2010/245)		Côte d'Ivoire	Special Representative of the Secretary-General	Special Representative of the Secretary-General	
6350 30 June 2010	Twenty-fourth report of the Secretary-General on UNOCI (S/2010/245)	Draft resolution submitted by France (S/2010/338)	Côte d'Ivoire			Resolution 1933 (2010) 15-0-0
6393 29 September 2010	Letter dated 14 September 2010 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2010/485) Letter dated 17 September 2010 from the President of the Security Council addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2010/486) Letter dated 23 September 2010 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2010/493)	Draft resolution submitted by France (S/2010/499)	Côte d'Ivoire			Resolution 1942 (2010) 15-0-0
6402 15 October 2010		Draft resolution submitted by France (S/2010/525)	Côte d'Ivoire			Resolution 1946 (2010) 15-0-0
6415 3 November 2010	Progress report of the Secretary-General on UNOCI (S/2010/537)		Côte d'Ivoire	Special Representative of the Secretary-General	Special Representative of the Secretary-General	

**Part I. Consideration of questions under the responsibility of
the Security Council for the maintenance of
international peace and security**

<i>Meeting and date</i>	<i>Sub-item</i>	<i>Other documents</i>	<i>Rule 37 invitations</i>	<i>Rule 39 and other invitations</i>	<i>Speakers</i>	<i>Decision and vote (for-against-abstaining)</i>
6431 24 November 2010	Letter dated 22 November 2010 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2010/601)	Draft resolution submitted by France, United States (S/2010/602)	Côte d'Ivoire			Resolution 1951 (2010) 15-0-0
6437 7 December 2010	Twenty-sixth progress report of the Secretary-General on UNOCI (S/2010/600)		Côte d'Ivoire	Special Representative of the Secretary-General	Special Representative of the Secretary-General	
6458 20 December 2010	Twenty-sixth progress report of the Secretary-General on UNOCI (S/2010/600)	Draft resolution submitted by Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, France, Gabon, Germany, Nigeria, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom, United States (S/2010/644)	Germany			Resolution 1962 (2010) 15-0-0
6469 19 January 2011	Letter dated 7 January 2011 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2011/5)	Draft resolution submitted by Bosnia and Herzegovina, France, Gabon, Germany, Lebanon, Nigeria, South Africa, United Kingdom, United States (S/2011/15)	Côte d'Ivoire			Resolution 1967 (2011) 15-0-0
6482 16 February 2011		Draft resolution submitted by France (S/2011/75)	Côte d'Ivoire			Resolution 1968 (2011) 15-0-0
6506 25 March 2011			Côte d'Ivoire	Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations	All invitees	
6508 30 March 2011		Draft resolution submitted by France, Nigeria (S/2011/202)	Côte d'Ivoire		10 Council members, ^a Côte d'Ivoire	Resolution 1975 (2011) 15-0-0

Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council, 2010-2011

<i>Meeting and date</i>	<i>Sub-item</i>	<i>Other documents</i>	<i>Rule 37 invitations</i>	<i>Rule 39 and other invitations</i>	<i>Speakers</i>	<i>Decision and vote (for-against-abstaining)</i>
6513 13 April 2011	Twenty-seventh progress report of the Secretary-General on UNOCI (S/2011/211)		Côte d'Ivoire	Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights	All invitees	
6525 28 April 2011	Letter dated 20 April 2011 from the Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1572 (2004) concerning Côte d'Ivoire addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2011/271)	Draft resolution submitted by France (S/2011/273)	Côte d'Ivoire		Côte d'Ivoire	Resolution 1980 (2011) 15-0-0
	Letter dated 20 April 2011 from the Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1572 (2004) concerning Côte d'Ivoire addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2011/272)					
6535 13 May 2011	Letter dated 11 May 2011 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2011/297)	Draft resolution submitted by France, Lebanon (S/2011/299)	Côte d'Ivoire		1 Council member (United States), Côte d'Ivoire	Resolution 1981 (2011) 15-0-0
		Letter dated 9 May 2011 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2011/295)				

<i>Meeting and date</i>	<i>Sub-item</i>	<i>Other documents</i>	<i>Rule 37 invitations</i>	<i>Rule 39 and other invitations</i>	<i>Speakers</i>	<i>Decision and vote (for-against-abstaining)</i>
6570 29 June 2011	Letter dated 10 June 2011 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2011/351)	Draft resolution submitted by France (S/2011/394)	Côte d'Ivoire			Resolution 1992 (2011) 15-0-0
6584 18 July 2011	Twenty-eighth report of the Secretary-General on UNOCI (S/2011/387)		Côte d'Ivoire	Special Representative of the Secretary-General	All invitees	
6591 27 July 2011	Twenty-eighth report of the Secretary-General on UNOCI (S/2011/387)	Draft resolution submitted by France, United States (S/2011/458)	Côte d'Ivoire		Côte d'Ivoire	Resolution 2000 (2011) 15-0-0

^a Brazil, China, Colombia, Gabon, Germany, India, Nigeria, South Africa, United Kingdom and United States.

11. Central African region

Overview

During the period under review, the Security Council held three meetings and adopted two presidential statements in connection with the Central African region. The Council focused on the activities of the newly established United Nations Regional Office for Central Africa (UNOCA),¹⁶⁰ the impact of illicit arms trafficking on peace and security, and the regional threat posed by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA).

19 March 2010: impact of illicit arms trafficking on peace and security

On 19 March 2010, the Deputy Secretary-General stressed the importance of achieving a global arms trade treaty and the implementation of community-based disarmament and confidence-building projects. Peace and security in Central Africa required a strong commitment by States in the subregion, together with State suppliers of weapons, to expand their efforts to eradicate weapons trafficking. Urgent priorities included

stockpile management, the security of weapons and ammunition, and measures to control the import, export, transit and retransfer of weapons.¹⁶¹ The Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime reported that the illegal arms trade was estimated globally at \$200 million to \$300 million annually, and noted that Africa, the most profitable market, suffered the greatest number of casualties because of it.¹⁶² The Secretary-General of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) stated that security threats posed by small arms and light weapons exceeded the ability of ECCAS to counter them. About 7 million such weapons had been in circulation in Central Africa in the past 15 years, most of which remained hidden. All sectors of society possessed those weapons, including women and children. He said that ECCAS would focus its efforts on finalizing a legal instrument on small arms and light weapons and its adoption by member States.¹⁶³ Speakers expressed grave concern over the wide-ranging humanitarian and socioeconomic consequences of small arms proliferation, which fuelled armed conflict. This in

¹⁶⁰ For more information on the mandate of UNOCA, see part X, sect. II, "Political and peacebuilding missions".

¹⁶¹ S/PV.6288, p. 3.

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁶³ Ibid., pp. 6-8.