

President of the Council, transmitting the report of the Panel of Experts.³⁹³

In the report, the Panel of Experts noted that in the absence of a strong, central and democratically elected Government in control of its territory, the illegal exploitation of natural resources would continue and serve as motivation and fuel for continued conflict in the region. While the establishment of the Transitional Government was a significant step in the right direction, the Panel believed that the peace process was not yet irreversible. One of the most significant challenges was enabling the timely extension of the transitional authority throughout the national territory, in particular in such problematic areas as Ituri and the Kivus. Parallel to the extension of government authority, the Panel recommended that a number of institutional reforms be initiated to allow the democratically elected central Government, once in place, to ensure the legal exploitation of natural resources. Such institutional changes included the effective control of national borders, strengthening the accounting and auditing system, and breaking up the large State-owned resources enterprises. The Panel also believed that the most helpful factor in ensuring the reunification of the national territory would be the effective integration of the new armed forces. The Panel recommended the consideration of immediate interim measures to end the illegal exploitation of

natural resources, including stopping the flow of illegal arms to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Stressing that the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo needed to be quickly convinced that peace was better than conflict, the Panel recommended that specific quick-impact projects re-establishing social and economic infrastructure be undertaken to convince people of the advantages of peace. Lastly, the Panel believed that none of its recommendations could be sustained in the long term unless a regional solution was found.

At the meeting, in which to the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo was invited to participate, the President (Angola) made a statement on behalf of the Council,³⁹⁴ by which the Council, *inter alia*:

Condemned the continuing illegal exploitation of natural resources in the Democratic Republic of the Congo;

Reaffirmed the importance of stopping them by exerting, if need be, the necessary pressure on the armed groups, traffickers and all other actors involved;

Urged all States concerned, especially those in the region, to take the appropriate steps to end those illegal activities, by proceeding with their own investigations, on the basis, in particular, of information and documentation accumulated by the Panel during its work and forwarded to Governments, including through judicial means where possible, and, if necessary, to report to the Council.

³⁹³ S/2003/1027; the report was submitted pursuant to resolutions 1457 (2003) and 1499 (2003).

³⁹⁴ S/PRST/2003/21.

11. The situation in the Central African Republic

Decision of 10 February 2000 (4101st meeting): statement by the President

At its 4101st meeting, on 10 February 2000, the Security Council included in its agenda the ninth report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA).¹ In his report, the Secretary-General observed that it appeared that the authorities of the Central African Republic had accepted the prospects of the withdrawal of MINURCA on 15 February 2000, despite their preference to have the drawdown delayed until December 2000. Noting that he had received a letter

from the President of Algeria and the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity² urging that more time be given to allow the new Government to consolidate peace, the Secretary-General noted that he had responded by stressing the importance of the determination of the parties to consolidate the progress made. The Secretary-General held that the people and Government of the Central African Republic had already demonstrated their strong commitment to democracy and peaceful development, but cautioned that the country remained vulnerable to the volatile situation in the subregion and that challenges remained, particularly with regard to the restructuring

¹ S/2000/24, submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 1271 (1999).

² On 8 July 2002, the Organization of African Union ceased to exist and was replaced by the African Union.

of the security and armed forces. The Secretary-General pointed out that as from 15 February 2000, the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office in the Central African Republic (BONUCA) would take over from MINURCA. BONUCA would support the efforts of the Government to consolidate peace and democracy in the Central African Republic and added that preparations had begun on the restructuring and demobilization programmes.

At the meeting, the President (Argentina) made a statement on behalf of the Council,³ by which the Council, *inter alia*:

Commended MINURCA and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the contribution they had made to the restoration of peace and security in the Central African Republic;

Recognized the significant progress made by the Government of the Central African Republic in implementing the Bangui Agreements;

Urged the Government of the Central African Republic to continue to conform to the requirements of the economic reform and financial consolidation programmes agreed with the international financial institutions;

Welcomed the promulgation by the Central African authorities of three laws on the restructuring of the armed forces;

Welcomed in particular the decision by the Government of the Central African Republic to disband the Special Force for the Defence of the Republican Institutions;

Welcomed the decision by the Secretary-General, which had been accepted by the Government of the Central African Republic, to establish, for an initial period of one year that began on 15 February 2000, the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office in the Central African Republic, headed by a representative of the Secretary-General.

**Decision of 23 January 2001 (4262nd meeting):
statement by the President**

At its 4261st meeting, on 23 January 2001, the Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in the Central African Republic and on the activities of BONUCA.⁴

In his report, the second on the subject, the Secretary-General observed that the situation in the Central African Republic was a source of great

concern. He warned that the lack of any political dialogue between the Government and the opposition did not contribute to the consolidation of the country's young democratic institutions. At the same time, the Secretary-General welcomed the fact that the Bretton Woods institutions had started providing assistance to the Government of the Central African Republic as the socio-economic situation in the country was extremely volatile and continued to cause social upheaval and strikes. Reporting that on 19 December 2000 an opposition rally, taking place in defiance of a Government ban, had been dispersed by security forces, and 73 people, including four parliamentarians had been arrested, he characterized the social situation in the country as "explosive". Moreover, the Secretary-General cautioned that the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo had a negative impact on the Central African Republic through increased refugee flows, and reported that he had sent a Special Envoy to assess the impact of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo on the Central African Republic and the Republic of the Congo.

At the meeting, the Council heard briefings by the Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of BONUCA, the Acting Deputy Director of the Regional Bureau for Africa of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the Vice-President for External Affairs and United Nations Affairs of the World Bank. During the meeting, statements were made by all members of the Council, as well as by the representative of the Central African Republic⁵ and the Permanent Observer for the International Organization of la Francophonie.

Introducing the Secretary-General's report, the Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of BONUCA stressed the increase in tensions between the Government and the opposition, with the former delaying dialogue and the latter seemingly favouring confrontation and calling for the President's resignation. He cautioned that the socio-economic situation remained precarious, as did the human rights situation particularly with regard to "neighbourhood justice" and the situation for detainees. Noting that the security situation remained calm and that progress was being made in disarmament and restructuring of the security and defence forces, he pointed out that there

³ S/PRST/2000/5.

⁴ S/2001/35, submitted pursuant to the statement by the President of 10 February 2000 (S/PRST/2000/5).

⁵ The Central African Republic was represented by the Minister for the Promotion of Civic Responsibility in charge of relations with the Parliament.

had been no tangible progress on the demobilization and reintegration programme.⁶

The Acting Deputy Director of the Regional Bureau for Africa of UNDP reported that the National Programme for Demobilization and Reintegration, with support from UNDP, had established the technical conditions for implementation and was moving into its initial phase.⁷

The Vice-President for External Affairs and United Nations Affairs of the World Bank held that international institutions could provide some temporary relief for pressing problems like civil service salary arrears, but only determined efforts by the Government could address the root causes of the crisis — especially weak governance — and provide a lasting solution.⁸

During the debate, most speakers expressed serious concern about the political tensions and lack of dialogue in the Central African Republic, which, many members said, posed an obstacle to consolidation of the new democratic institutions in the country, and threatened to unravel the progress made over the past four to five years. While welcoming the progress made by BONUCA with regard to disarmament and restructuring of the security and defence forces, they deplored the slow pace of the demobilization and reintegration programme. Most speakers underlined the importance of international involvement in the Central African Republic, while emphasizing that the political will of the people of that country was imperative in order to move towards dialogue and national reconciliation. A number of speakers urged the Government of the Central African Republic to initiate dialogue, and called on the opposition to respond favourably to such an initiative.

Most members of the Council were concerned with the inadequate financial resources to deal with the problems facing the Central African Republic, and commended the assistance provided by the Bretton Woods institutions. Some Council members welcomed the approval by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) of debt relief for the country.⁹ Several speakers expressed concern with the arrears in the payment of civil servants, which contributed to the political and

social tensions, and prevented the proper functioning of the country's public institutions.

A number of Council members expressed concern for the repercussions of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, particularly the impact of a new flow of refugees and of an increased circulation and trafficking in small arms. Many members looked forward to receiving recommendations from the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General on this issue.

The representative of the Central African Republic reaffirmed the interest of his Government in consolidating the country's democratic institutions, despite the logic of confrontation pursued by "some extremist political leaders". Moreover, he emphasized that the Central African Republic did not have a political crisis, as 95 percent of the institutions provided for in the Constitution were functioning well; but a social crisis, rooted in the events of the 1990s, which had created a backlog in payment to civil servants. He added that this economic backlog had only been worsened by the fuel crisis and the impact of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. At the same time, the representative pointed to improvements in the human rights situation in his country. While noting that some "corrupt politicians" continued their disruptive and irresponsible activities, he indicated that the governing party did not have a militia. He pointed out that his Government continued to reiterate its openness to dialogue, and added that the opposition leaders did "sometimes visit" on non-political occasions.¹⁰

The representative of the International Organization of la Francophonie warned that the social crisis and lack of political dialogue in the Central African Republic could endanger reconciliation efforts. Recalling the efforts by that organization and its members in the Central African Republic, he reported that a recent mission, initiated by its Secretary-General, had recommended a comprehensive assessment of the implementation of the Bangui Agreements and of the National Reconciliation Plan as a way to renew dialogue among all actors in the country.¹¹

At its 4262nd meeting, on 23 January 2001, the Council again included the report of the Secretary-

⁶ S/PV.4261, pp. 3-4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7 (Mauritius); p. 10 (Bangladesh); p. 15 (China); p. 16 (Ireland); and p. 20 (Tunisia).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-24.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-27.

General on BONUCA in its agenda.¹² The President (Singapore) then made a statement on behalf of the Council,¹³ by which Council, *inter alia*:

Commended BONUCA and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the efforts they have constantly made to contribute to peace and stability, expressed its concern at the political and social tensions which had recently resurfaced, and noted the absence of dialogue between the Government and the opposition;

Welcomed the contributions from bilateral and multilateral donors for the consolidation of public finances;

Strongly encouraged the Government to do everything in its power to strengthen democratic institutions and to take concrete measures to implement economic reforms;

Encouraged the Government to take all the necessary financial measures to relaunch the demobilization and reintegration programmes;

Urged all political actors to contribute to the reduction of tension;

Requested the Secretary-General to keep the Council informed on the progress made and to submit a report by 30 June 2001.

**Decision of 17 July 2001 (4347th meeting):
statement by the President**

At its 4347th meeting, on 17 July 2001, the Council included in its agenda the third report of the Secretary-General on BONUCA.¹⁴ In his report, the Secretary-General stated that the situation in the Central African Republic had been further exacerbated by the unexpected attempted coup d'état, which had occurred on the night of 27-28 May 2001. Recalling his own as well as the Security Council's condemnation of the attempted coup, he reported that the former President of the Republic, General André Kolingba, had claimed responsibility for the attempt. The Secretary-General indicated that the Government of the Central African Republic had rejected an offer of negotiations by General Kolingba, allowing the fighting between loyalists and putschists to continue until 6 June 2001. He added that the President Ange-Félix Patassé, had reaffirmed that the trial of the putschists would be subject to international observation and had requested a Security Council delegation to be sent to Bangui to ascertain that weapons had been

found in the residence of former President Kolingba. The Secretary-General pointed out that the attempted coup d'état had further complicated the already tense social and economic situation, and had led to increased violations of human rights. Noting that the Front de libération du Congo, led by Jean-Pierre Bemba, had provided support to President Patassé during the attempted coup d'état, the Secretary-General voiced concern that the impact of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo on the Central African Republic risked getting a political dimension, in addition to the economic, humanitarian and security dimensions already at play. However, a recent visit by a Congolese delegation to Bangui seemed to have cleared up the misunderstandings between the two Governments.

At the meeting, the President (China) made a statement on behalf of the Council,¹⁵ by which the Council, *inter alia*:

Reiterated its condemnation of the recent attempted coup in the Central African Republic;

Expressed deep concern at the precarious situation in the country and the persisting acts of violence;

Strongly condemned the killing of the security coordinator for the United Nations system in the Central African Republic and urged to bring those responsible to justice;

Requested the Secretary-General to submit to it by 30 September 2001 recommendations on how the United Nations might further contribute to the recovery of the country;

Urged all States that made pledges at the special donor meeting to fulfil them; and called on the Bretton Woods institutions to conclude programmes with the country;

Stressed the crucial importance of poverty eradication, debt payment and public administration.

**Decision of 26 September 2001 (4382nd
meeting): statement by the President**

At its 4380th meeting, on 21 September 2001, the Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in the Central African Republic.¹⁶ In his report, the Secretary-General characterized the situation in the Central African Republic following the coup attempt as seriously destabilized and requiring immediate and

¹² S/2001/35.

¹³ S/PRST/2001/2.

¹⁴ S/2001/660, submitted pursuant to the statement by the President of 10 February 2000 (S/PRST/2000/5).

¹⁵ S/PRST/2001/18.

¹⁶ S/2001/886, submitted pursuant to the statement by the President of 17 July 2001 (S/PRST/2001/18).

increased levels of external assistance. He observed that the period since the failed coup attempt had been marked by sharp political tensions with political dialogue no longer being on the agenda; further economic decline with the State being unable to pay salaries to public servants on a regular basis; simmering social tensions; and a lack of security as the crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo continued to spill over into the Central African Republic with increased proliferation of weapons and refugee flows. The Secretary-General added that more than 20,000 people had fled the Central African Republic during the violence surrounding the coup attempt, most of whom had crossed the border into the Democratic Republic of the Congo. He noted that the presence of a number of presumed putschists among those refugees constituted a security concern for the Central African authorities, who had since closed the border between the two States. The Secretary-General recommended a strengthening of the mandate of BONUCA with a special focus on promoting political dialogue and national reconciliation; monitoring the security situation and establishing an early warning mechanism; promoting respect for human rights; and providing political support for the mobilization of resources with a view to economic reconstruction of the country. The Secretary-General stressed that the proposed revision of the mandate of BONUCA would require a significant increase in the Mission's human, financial and material resources, and suggested that the mandate of a revamped BONUCA be extended for an additional year beyond 31 December 2001.

At the meeting, the Council received briefings by the Representative of the Secretary-General and by the Country Director of the World Bank. During the meeting, statements were made by all Council members, as well as by the representatives of Belgium (on behalf of the European Union¹⁷) and Egypt.¹⁸

In addition to introducing the report of the Secretary-General, the Representative of the Secretary-General reported on the efforts of BONUCA in helping the Government of the Central African Republic ease political and social tensions. He noted that, while

efforts were also under way in the economic and security realms, the attempted coup d'état had exacerbated the situation to such an extent that the country was "almost completely devastated" and called on the country's partners to provide emergency assistance commensurate with the situation.¹⁹

The Country Director at the World Bank reported on the efforts by the World Bank and IMF to assist the Government of the Central African Republic in improving its economic management. He hoped that, in the coming months, the World Bank would be able to contribute to solving the economic management problems in the country.²⁰

All speakers expressed concern about the political, social, economic, human rights and security situation in the Central African Republic, and underlined the need for a coherent programme to address the numerous challenges related to peacebuilding in that country. In that connection, it was repeatedly stressed that while the primary responsibility for achieving progress rested with the Central Africans themselves, international assistance remained crucial. Some delegations pointed out that peacebuilding efforts were not just a matter for the Security Council, but should include a variety of international partners, and would require greater coordination between the Council and other United Nations organs.²¹

On the socio-economic challenges facing the Central African Republic, most speakers expressed particular concern with the arrears in payment of salaries to public employees and by the decision of the World Bank to suspend its disbursements to the country in the wake of the inability of the authorities to pay their exterior debt. Several speakers expressed the hope that the World Bank would soon resume its disbursements to the Central African Republic.²² In that context, the representative of Jamaica reiterated his view that structural adjustment programmes often did not take into account the special conditions in post-conflict societies.²³

¹⁹ S/PV.4380, pp. 2-4.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²¹ S/PV.4380, p. 7 (Ukraine); p. 10 (United Kingdom); and p. 11 (Bangladesh).

²² *Ibid.*, p. 8 (Tunisia); and p. 9 (China).

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁷ Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia and Turkey aligned themselves with the statement.

¹⁸ The representative of the Central African Republic was invited to participate but did not make a statement.

Most speakers stressed the importance of restructuring the armed forces of the Central African Republic and of improving efforts to collect weapons throughout the country. Noting the destabilizing impact of the crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo on the already fragile situation in the Central African Republic, a number of delegations welcomed the close cooperation between the Representatives of the Secretary-General in the two countries and emphasized the importance of dialogue between all the countries in the region. In that context, several speakers were concerned by the refugee flows, and the thousands of refugees who had fled to the Democratic Republic of the Congo following the attempted coup d'état, and particularly with the alleged presence among them of a number of putschists. The representative of the United States observed that for these refugees to be able to return home, the border between the two countries needed to be reopened and the Government of the Central African Republic needed to guarantee that they would not be harmed upon return.²⁴ The representative of the Russian Federation agreed that refugees who had left the country out of fear of ethnic persecution needed to be enabled to return home safely.²⁵ The representative of the United Kingdom advocated that those forces that had fled following the coup be reintegrated into the armed forces instead of seeking to expand new recruitments.²⁵

Many speakers expressed concern about the general deterioration of the human rights situation in the Central African Republic, condemning human rights abuses, including extrajudicial violence on the part of the Government. Some delegations called on the Central African authorities to honour their commitment to ensure a fair and transparent trial for those responsible for instigating violence in connection with the attempted coup.²⁶

With regard to the recommendations of the Secretary-General to strengthen the mandate of BONUCA, most speakers expressed support for the proposals, but a number of delegations held that there was a need for the Council to receive further clarification of the budgetary implications.²⁷ At the same time, the representative of Singapore cautioned

against approving the new tasks for BONUCA without ensuring commensurate resources to the mission, as that would harm its credibility on the ground.²⁸ The representative of the United States indicated that any increase in the resources for BONUCA would depend on the efforts of the Government in working with BONUCA and in improving the domestic political dialogue.²⁹ The representative of France stated that the Council might have reduced the international presence "excessively" after the withdrawal of MINURCA, and expressed support for strengthening BONUCA. As a symbolic gesture, he also suggested that the Representative of the Secretary-General be promoted to Special Representative.³⁰

At its 4382nd meeting, on 26 September 2001, the Council invited the representative of the Central African Republic to participate and again included the report of the Secretary-General on the Central African Republic in its agenda.³¹ The President (France) made a statement on behalf of the Council,³² by which the Council, *inter alia*:

Expressed its continued deep concern at the precarious situation in the Central African Republic;

Reiterated its call on all parties for political dialogue, national reconciliation and respect for human rights in the spirit of the 1998 National Reconciliation Pact; and called on the Central African authorities to follow the internationally accepted standards for due process in the course of investigations and court trials of individuals involved in the coup attempt in May 2001;

Encouraged UNDP and the international financial institutions to consider, in consultation with the Government of the Central African Republic and the Secretary-General's Representative, ways of strengthening the capacities of the Government of the Central African Republic in the management of its economic and financial affairs, including through secondment of high-level experts;

Took note with interest of the intention of the Secretary-General, in coordination with the Government of the Central African Republic, to extend the mandate of BONUCA and to strengthen it in accordance with paragraph 29 of his report of 19 September 2001;

Underlined the need to continue the restructuring of the Central African armed forces to enable them to fulfil their role

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8 (United States); and p. 13 (Ireland).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8 (United States); p. 10 (United Kingdom); p. 11 (Russian Federation); and p. 17 (France).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³¹ S/2001/886.

³² S/PRST/2001/25.

effectively, loyally and impartially, in the service of the Central African people;

Also recalled the importance of implementing an effective arms-collection programme.

**Decision of 18 October 2002 (4627th meeting):
statement by the President**

At its 4627th meeting,³³ on 18 October 2002, the Council invited the representative of the Central African Republic to participate. The President (Cameroon) made a statement on behalf of the Council,³⁴ by which the Council, *inter alia*:

³³ At its 4571st meeting, held in private on 11 July 2002, the Council heard a briefing by the Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of BONUS. At its 4658th meeting, held in private on 9 December 2002, the Council had a discussion with the Prime Minister of the Central African Republic.

³⁴ S/PRST/2002/28.

Welcomed the holding of the Summit of the Central African Economic and Monetary Community in Libreville on 2 October 2002 to consider the situation between the Central African Republic and the Republic of Chad;

Strongly supported the intention of the President of the Republic of Chad to visit Bangui in the very near future;

Also welcomed the readiness expressed by the African Union to continue to contribute towards ongoing efforts to normalizing the relations between Central African Republic and Chad and to promote peace and stability in the Central African region as stipulated in the communiqué of the eighty-fifth ordinary session of the central organ of the mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution issued on 11 October 2002, in Addis Ababa;

Expressed its full support for the decision to deploy in the Central African Republic an International Observation Force of 300 to 350 troops from Gabon, Cameroon, the Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea and Mali with three main tasks: ensuring the safety of the President of the Central African Republic; observing and ensuring security on the border between Chad and the Central African Republic; and participating in the restructuring of the Central African Republic armed forces;

Requested the Secretary-General, through his Representative, to establish appropriate liaison with the Force; and invited the leadership of the Force to provide periodic reports, at least every three months.

12. The situation in Africa

**Deliberations of 10 January 2000
(4087th meeting)**

At its 4087th meeting,¹ on 10 January 2000, the Security Council included in its agenda the item entitled “The impact of AIDS on peace and security in Africa”. At the meeting, the Council heard a briefing by the Secretary-General, following which statements were made by most Council members,² the

¹ For more information on the discussion at this meeting, see chap. I, part V, case 12, with regard to the order of speakers under rule 27 of the provisional rules of procedure; chap. XI, part I, sect. B, with regard to Article 39 of the Charter and interpretations of what constitutes a threat to international peace and security; and chap. VI, part II, sect. B, case 5, with regard to relations between the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, in relation to Article 65.

² The representatives of China and the Russian Federation did not make statements. The representative of Mali, in addition to a statement in his national capacity, read out

representatives of Algeria, Australia, Brazil, Cape Verde (on behalf of the Group of African States), Cuba, Cyprus, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mongolia, New Zealand,³ Nigeria, Portugal (on behalf of the European Union⁴), the Republic of Korea, Senegal, South Africa, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe, as well as by the President of the World Bank, the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Executive Director of the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, and the Assistant Secretary

a message on behalf of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

³ Australia, Fiji, the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga and Vanuatu aligned themselves with the statement.

⁴ Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia and Turkey aligned themselves with the statement.