support the draft resolution in spite of the reservations.<sup>21</sup>

The President (Ghana) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution submitted by France, the Russian Federation, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States;<sup>22</sup> it was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1783 (2007), by which the Council, inter alia:

<sup>21</sup> S/PV.5773, pp. 2 and 3.

<sup>22</sup> S/2007/637.

#### 2. The situation in Liberia

## Decision of 12 March 2004 (4925th meeting): resolution 1532 (2004)

At the 4925th meeting,<sup>1</sup> on 12 March 2004, the President (France) drew the attention of the Security Council to a draft resolution.<sup>2</sup> It was then put to the vote and adopted, unanimously and without debate, as resolution 1532 (2004), by which the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, inter alia:

Decided that, to prevent former Liberian President Charles Taylor, his immediate family members, in particular Jewell Howard Taylor and Charles Taylor, Jr., senior officials of the former Taylor regime, or other close allies or associates as designated by the Committee established by paragraph 21 of resolution 1521 (2003) from using misappropriated funds and property to interfere in the restoration of peace and stability in Liberia and the subregion, all States in which there were, at the date of adoption of resolution 1521 (2003) or at any time thereafter, funds, other financial assets and economic resources owned or controlled directly or indirectly by Charles Taylor, Jewell Howard Taylor, and Charles Taylor, Jr. and/or those other individuals designated by the Committee, including funds, other financial assets and economic resources held by entities owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by any of them or by any persons acting on their behalf or at their direction, as designated by the Committee, shall freeze without delay all such funds,

Called upon the parties to enter into negotiations without preconditions in good faith;

Requested the Secretary-General to provide a report by 31 January 2008 on the status and progress of those negotiations and a report on the situation in Western Sahara before the end of the mandate period;

Decided to extend the mandate of MINURSO until 30 April 2008.

#### other financial assets and economic resources, and shall ensure that neither these nor any other funds, other financial assets or economic resources were made available, by their nationals or by any persons within their territory, directly or indirectly, to or

for the benefit of such persons;

Decided to review the measures imposed in paragraph 1 of the resolution at least once a year, the first review taking place by 22 December 2004 in conjunction with its review of the measures imposed in paragraphs 2, 4, 6 and 10 of resolution 1521 (2003), and to determine at that time what further action is appropriate.

#### Decision of 17 June 2004 (4991st meeting): resolution 1549 (2004)

At its 4981st meeting, on 3 June 2004, the Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General regarding Liberia.<sup>3</sup> In his report, the Secretary-General observed that there had been general respect for and maintenance of the ceasefire in Monrovia and other parts of the country since December 2003, although a number of minor ceasefire violations perpetrated by elements of all three armed groups had been reported outside the capital. He stressed that much remained to be done to rigorously apply and implement the recommendations for reform of the timber sector in a transparent and accountable manner and that the National Transitional Government of Liberia was making gradual progress in preparing its application to join the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme for diamonds. He added that the assistance provided by some Member States and international organizations to the National Transitional Government

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> During this period, in addition to the meetings covered in this section, the Council held a number of meetings in private with the troop-contributing countries to the United Nations Mission in Liberia, pursuant to resolution 1353 (2001), annex II, sections A and B. The meetings were held on 15 September 2004 (5034th), 12 September 2005 (5258th), 24 March 2006 (5395th), 25 September 2006 (5534th), 22 March 2007 (5643rd) and 6 September 2007 (5737th).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> S/2004/189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> S/2004/428, submitted pursuant to resolution 1521 (2003).

of Liberia in its efforts to reform the timber industry and adhere to the Kimberley Process was vital to enabling Liberia to make progress towards meeting the goals and objectives of resolution 1521 (2003), which could facilitate an early review of existing sanctions.

The Council also included in its agenda the third progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL).<sup>4</sup> In his report, the Secretary-General observed that UNMIL continued to make steady progress in stabilizing Liberia and creating the necessary security conditions for the full implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, as well as the delivery of humanitarian assistance and the commencement of the national recovery. He noted that the deployment of UNMIL troops throughout the country was almost complete, and the implementation of the disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation and reintegration programme was on track. He underlined that the mechanisms for monitoring the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement were also functioning more effectively. However, he pointed out that the security situation could again turn volatile until the disarmament and demobilization of combatants was completed. He appealed to Member States to provide the assistance for the police service in Liberia as well as for the programme for the reintegration of former combatants and the repatriation of non-Liberian combatants and commended the United States for its provision of assistance for the restructuring and training of Liberia's armed forces. Finally, he remarked on the importance of beginning the preparations for the 2005 elections as soon as possible, considering the numerous difficulties facing the electoral process.

At the same meeting, the Council heard briefings by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Liberia and the Chairman of the National Transitional Government of Liberia, following which all Council members made statements.

The Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Liberia affirmed that the deployment throughout Liberia had greatly improved security along its long and porous borders. Nonetheless, he pointed out that there were worrying signs because some of the heavy weapons had not yet been turned in. He expressed the view that the Council needed to reiterate its strong support for the October 2005 election date and its insistence that the elections would be held as scheduled. He noted that concrete measures were being enhance inter-mission cooperation, in taken to the sharing of assets and military particular information, in cooperation with their colleagues in the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone, the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI) and the United Nations Office for West Africa. Finally, he highlighted the fact that the National Transitional Government of Liberia badly needed reliable sources of revenue in order to function effectively. All necessary support needed to be given to the Government of Liberia so it could meet the requirements of resolution 1521 (2003) and allow for the lifting of sanctions.5

The Chairman of the National Transitional Government of Liberia affirmed that he was there for one primary reason: "to plead with the Council to lift the sanctions on my country", specifically on timber and diamonds. Noting that the primary reason for the imposition of the sanctions had been that the resources were being used by the "erstwhile Government" to purchase arms for the purposes of fuelling conflict within the subregion and suppressing its people, he underscored that the war was over and that Liberia was at peace with its neighbours. He affirmed that the Transitional Government was committed to the rule of law, human rights and social justice, as well as to using the natural resources of the country for the benefit of all the people. He underlined that they had taken a series of actions to meet the requirement of the Council for lifting sanctions on the export of their timber products and that they had submitted themselves to the internationally recognized Kimberley Certification Process. He also welcomed the decision of the Government of the United States to unilaterally lift sanctions on the importation of diamonds from Liberia.6

The majority of the speakers highlighted the deployment of UNMIL, the resumption of the disarmament process as well as the achievements made by the National Transitional Government of Liberia, including the action taken to restore State control over natural resources. Most of the representatives welcomed the efforts of coordination between the various United Nations peacekeeping operations in West Africa. A number of representatives expressed

<sup>4</sup> S/2004/430 and Corr.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> S/PV.4981, pp. 2-6, 26-27.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 6-10.

concern about the fact that arms trafficking had not been dismantled. Some speakers remarked on the importance of Liberia for peace and stability in the West African region as a whole. A few speakers welcomed the holding of the summit of the Mano River Union towards the activation of dialogue and cooperation among the States of the region. The majority of representatives declared that, in considering when to lift the sanctions, they would continue to follow the progress made by Liberia.

The representative of the United States expressed concern about the fact that the civilian staffing for UNMIL was behind schedule and stressed that the Special Representative needed to have all the means necessary to carry out his work. He emphasized that all parts of the United Nations system involved in the disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation and reintegration process needed to begin the rehabilitation and reintegration phase immediately. He observed that a "history of corrupt practices in Liberia had fostered an environment in which abuses of power had been permitted to flourish". He believed that the time had come for the National Transitional Government to establish transparent accounting and auditing mechanisms to ensure that all Government revenues were employed to improve the lives of all Liberians. Finally, he held the view that former President Charles Taylor remained a threat to Liberia and that he needed to be held "accountable for his actions in Sierra Leone" and appear before the Special Court.<sup>7</sup>

The representative of China endorsed the idea that the Security Council needed to make a decision on the sanctions on Liberia as soon as possible.<sup>8</sup>

Noting that the sanctions had been imposed for the sake of peace in Liberia and that the Government had become a partner for peace of the Security Council, the representative of Algeria stressed that the issue of sanctions no longer needed to be a "source of controversy between Liberia and the Council".<sup>9</sup>

The representative of Angola recognized that the results achieved by UNMIL had exceeded expectations. He opined that the Council should therefore respond to the plea made by the Chairman of the National Transitional Government of Liberia concerning the lifting of sanctions.<sup>10</sup>

The representative of Germany suggested that UNMIL could become a model for the new type of multidimensional peacekeeping missions the Council had been aiming at. In particular, he cited the use of quick-impact projects as a useful tool that might have potential for other peacekeeping missions.<sup>11</sup>

The representative of Benin expressed concern about the delay in reviewing, ratifying and issuing certain important legal texts, especially those on human rights. He warned about the need to ensure that truly national political parties were created, free of all regionalist, ethnic or tribal tendencies and answering solely to the precise criteria established in advance by a charter of parties. He added that an evaluation of the impact of sanctions imposed against individuals was required in order to ensure their effectiveness since available information would seem to indicate that resolution 1532 (2004) had had "only limited effect on the targeted individuals".<sup>12</sup>

The representative of Pakistan emphasized the clear distinction between the arms and travel bans, on the one hand, and the economic sanctions on diamonds and timber, on the other; and expressed support for the lifting of the diamond sanctions given the progress made by the authorities of Liberia on that issue.<sup>13</sup>

At its 4991st meeting, on 17 June 2004, the Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General dated 26 May 2004,<sup>14</sup> as well as a letter dated 1 June 2004 from the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1521 (2003) concerning Liberia,<sup>15</sup> transmitting the report of the Panel of Experts pursuant to paragraph 22 of resolution 1521 (2003). In its report, the Panel of Experts observed that, although there had been no evidence of weapons trafficking into Liberia since August 2003, the sanctions on arms needed to remain. The Panel underlined that the National Transitional Government of Liberia was currently applying the regulations of international civil aviation and had begun taking steps towards the establishment of an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 10-12.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 17-19.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>14</sup> S/2004/428.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> S/2004/396.

effective certificate of origin scheme for trade in rough diamonds. The Panel also maintained that the sanctions on Liberia had contributed to ending the armed conflict in the country despite some adverse effects, such as the high rates of unemployment.

The President (Philippines) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution;<sup>16</sup> it was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously and without debate as resolution 1549 (2004), by which the Council, inter alia:

Decided to re-establish the Panel of Experts appointed pursuant to Council resolution 1521 (2003) for a further period to commence no later that 30 June until 21 December 2004 to undertake the following tasks: (a) to conduct a follow-up assessment mission; (b) to assess the progress made towards the goals described in paragraph 5, 7 and 11 of resolution 1521 (2003); (c) to monitor the implementation and enforcement of the measures imposed by resolution 1532 (2004); and (d) to assess the socioeconomic and humanitarian impact of the measures imposed by both resolutions;

Further requested the Panel to provide a midterm report to the Council no later that 30 September 2004 and a final report by 10 December 2004;

Requested the Secretary-General to appoint five experts by 30 June to fulfil the Panel's mandate;

Urged all States and relevant organizations to cooperate fully with the Committee and the Panel of Experts.

## Decision of 17 September 2004 (5036th meeting): resolution 1561 (2004)

At its 5036th meeting, on 17 September 2004, the Council included in its agenda the fourth progress report of the Secretary-General on UNMIL.<sup>17</sup> In his report, the Secretary-General observed that the capacity of the National Transitional Government of Liberia to deliver basic services and extend civil administration throughout the country remained limited. He expressed concern about the problems that the Government was encountering in functioning as a cohesive administration. He welcomed the establishment of a high-level National Transitional Government of Liberia-United Nations-Economic Community of West African States consultative mechanism and noted the progress of the National Elections Commission.

A statement was made by the representative of the United States,<sup>18</sup> who affirmed that it was the policy of his Government to ensure that members of the armed services of his country participating in United Nations peace operations were "protected from criminal prosecution or other assertion of jurisdiction by the International Criminal Court". Nevertheless, in that instance, the United States maintained that there were sufficient bilateral protections with the Government of Liberia to facilitate continued United States participation in UNMIL, even though there were no express provisions providing such protection for personnel in the mandate extension.<sup>19</sup>

The President (Spain) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution;<sup>20</sup> it was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1561 (2004), by which the Council, inter alia:

Decided to extend the mandate of UNMIL until 19 September 2005;

Called on all Liberian parties to demonstrate their full commitment to the peace process and to work together to ensure that free, fair and transparent elections took place as planned no later than October 2005;

Requested the Secretary-General through his Special Representative to continue to report periodically to the Council on progress made by the Mission in the implementation of its mandate.

## Decision of 21 December 2004 (5105th meeting): resolution 1579 (2004)

At its 5105th meeting, on 21 December 2004, the Council included in its agenda a letter dated 23 September 2004 from the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1521 (2003) addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the midterm report of the Panel of Experts pursuant to paragraph 2 of resolution 1549 (2004).<sup>21</sup> In its report, the Panel of Experts observed that corruption remained widespread in Liberia, and that the humanitarian situation was critical. The Panel emphasized that UNMIL remained hampered by the Security Council mandate, which did not provide the Mission with full executive authority that allowed, for example, the arrest of those undermining peace or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> S/2004/495.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> S/2004/725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The representative of Liberia was invited to participate in the meeting but did not make a statement.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> S/PV.5036, p. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> S/2004/740.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> S/2004/752.

failing to disarm. It also pointed out that few of the necessary reforms in the timber sector had been implemented and that it was unlikely that the Government of Liberia would be able to meet the full requirements necessary for its participation in the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme for some time.

The Council also included in its agenda a letter dated 6 December 2004 from the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1521 (2003), transmitting the report of the Panel of Experts pursuant to paragraph 2 of resolution 1549 (2004).<sup>22</sup> In its report, the Panel observed that the efforts of the National Transitional Government of Liberia to satisfy the requirements of the Security Council for the lifting of the embargo on the export of Liberian rough diamonds remained hampered by a lack of funding and institutional capacity. The Panel indicated that the first full-year budget of the National Transitional Government had not given any sign of macroeconomic policy orientation and that there had been large variations between the purposes for which amounts had been sanctioned by the Legislative Assembly and the purposes for which the funds had been actually spent.

A statement was made by the representative of the United States,<sup>23</sup> who supported the ongoing efforts of the United Nations to ensure peace and stability in Liberia and the region, and its recognition that the premature lifting of sanctions at that time "would threaten the re-emergence of armed conflict". He added that the United States was actively engaged in assisting the authorities of Liberia to restructure both Liberia's timber and diamond sectors as a means to expedite the eventual lifting of sanctions, once necessary and appropriate control mechanisms had been established.24

The President (Algeria) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution submitted by France, Germany, Romania, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States;<sup>25</sup> it was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1579 (2004), by

which the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, inter alia:

Decided to renew the measures on arms and travel imposed by paragraphs 2 and 4 of resolution 1521 (2003) for a further period of 12 months from the date of adoption of the resolution, and to review them after six months; to renew measures on timber imposed by paragraph 10 of resolution 1521 (2003) for a further period of 12 months and to review them after six months; to renew measures on diamonds imposed by paragraph 6 of resolution 1521 (2003) for a further period of six months but to review them after three months in the light of the Kimberley Process visit and preliminary report of the Expert Panel requested in paragraph 8 of the resolution;

Decided to re-establish the Panel of Experts appointed pursuant to resolution 1549 (2004) for a further period until 21 June 2005.

## Decision of 21 June 2005 (5208th meeting): resolution 1607 (2005)

At its 5208th meeting, on 21 June 2005, the Council included in its agenda a letter dated 13 June 2005 from the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1521 (2003) addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the report of the Panel of Experts submitted pursuant to paragraph 8 (e) of resolution 1579 (2004).<sup>26</sup> In the report, the Panel of Experts expressed concern about the recruitment of combatants by insurgents in Liberia, mainly to fight in Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea; the probability of some involvement of Liberians in the assassination attempt on the President of Guinea; the effectiveness of the embargo on the export of diamonds; and the lack of transparency and accountability in the Liberian system. The Panel pointed out that the UNMIL deployment was complete, but its limited mandate undermined the Mission's ability to exert authority throughout Liberia. It recommended, inter alia, cooperation between the various United Nations missions in the subregion and a robust mandate to UNMIL to assist the National Transitional Government of Liberia and any future Government with its control of illegal mining.

The Council also included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General of 7 June 2005.<sup>27</sup> In his report, the Secretary-General observed that the conclusion of the disarmament and demobilization

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> S/2004/955.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The representative of Liberia was invited to participate in the meeting but did not make a statement.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> S/PV.5105, pp. 2-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> S/2004/981.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> S/2005/360.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> S/2005/376, submitted pursuant to resolution 1579 (2004).

process and the dissolution of the armed factions had signalled the successful completion of the implementation of the ceasefire agreement and that the progress made towards organization of the October 2005 elections provided hope that the peace process would be brought to a successful conclusion. He suggested that the Council might consider broadening the mandate and increasing the resources of UNMIL to enable it to assist the National Transitional Government in providing security in the diamond- and timber-producing areas.

The representative of Liberia was invited to participate in the discussion. The President (France) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution;<sup>28</sup> it was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously and without debate as resolution 1607 (2005), by which the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, inter alia:

Decided, on the basis of its assessments of progress made by the National Transitional Government of Liberia towards meeting the conditions for lifting the measures imposed by resolution 1521 (2003), to renew the measures on diamonds imposed by paragraph 6 of resolution 1521 (2003) for a further period of six months;

Urged UNMIL to intensify its efforts, as mandated in resolution 1509 (2003), to assist the National Transitional Government of Liberia in re-establishing its authority throughout Liberia, including diamond-producing and timberproducing areas, and restoring proper administration of natural resources;

Decided to re-establish the Panel of Experts appointed pursuant to resolution 1579 (2004) for a further period until 21 December 2005;

Requested the Secretary-General, acting in consultation with the Committee, to appoint as soon as possible no more than five experts, with the appropriate range of expertise, in particular on arms, timber, diamonds, finance, humanitarian and socioeconomic and any other relevant issues.

## Decision of 19 September 2005 (5263rd meeting): resolution 1626 (2005)

At its 5263rd meeting, on 19 September 2005, the Council included in its agenda the eighth progress report of the Secretary-General on UNMIL.<sup>29</sup> In his report, the Secretary-General observed the determination of the Liberian people to participate in the polls and the peaceful manner in which the electoral process had been conducted so far. He indicated that the UNMIL was then moving towards a new phase of its operations which would focus on the conduct of free and fair elections, as well as the provision of security during the elections and in the run-up to the installation of the new Government in January 2006.

The President (Philippines) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution;<sup>30</sup> it was put to the vote and adopted unanimously and without debate as resolution 1626 (2005), by which the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, inter alia:

Decided that the mandate of UNMIL should be extended until 31 March 2006;

Authorized UNMIL to deploy from November 2005 up to 250 United Nations military personnel to Sierra Leone to provide security for the Special Court for Sierra Leone;

Authorized a temporary increase in the UNMIL personnel ceiling, to a total of 15,250 United Nations military personnel, for the period from 15 November 2005 to 31 March 2006 in order to ensure that the support provided to the Court did not reduce the capabilities of the Mission in Liberia during its political transition period;

Authorized UNMIL to deploy an adequate number of military personnel to Sierra Leone, if and when needed, to evacuate UNMIL military personnel deployed to Sierra Leone and officials of the Special Court for Sierra Leone in the event of a serious security crisis affecting those personnel and the Court.

# Decision of 11 November 2005 (5304th meeting): resolution 1638 (2005)

At the 5304th meeting, on 11 November 2005, the President (Russian Federation) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution submitted by Denmark, the United Kingdom and the United States.<sup>31</sup> Statements were made by the representatives of Argentina and Brazil.

The representative of Brazil emphasized that the promotion of the rule of law in a country needed to be exercised primarily by national institutions, with international assistance if so requested; and that adherence to the rule of law needed to be based on strict observance of the domestic legal framework and of international law.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> S/2005/401.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> S/2005/560.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> S/2005/591.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> S/2005/710.

<sup>32</sup> S/PV.5304, p. 2.

The representative of Argentina stressed that peace could never really be achieved until those who had committed the gravest crimes against humankind were brought to justice and he therefore supported the mandate given to UNMIL to "apprehend Mr. Charles Taylor" and to facilitate his transfer to the Special Court for Sierra Leone for prosecution in the event that he returned to Liberia.<sup>33</sup>

The draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1638 (2005), by which the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, inter alia:

Decided that the mandate of UNMIL should include the following additional element: to apprehend and detain former President Charles Taylor in the event of a return to Liberia and to transfer him or facilitate his transfer to Sierra Leone for prosecution before the Special Court for Sierra Leone and to keep the Government of Liberia, the Government of Sierra Leone and the Council fully informed;

Decided to remain actively seized of the matter.

## Decision of 20 December 2005 (5336th meeting): resolution 1647 (2005)

At its 5336th meeting, on 20 December 2005, the Council included in its agenda a letter dated 7 December 2005 from the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1521 (2003) addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the report of the Panel of Experts submitted pursuant to paragraph 14 (e) of resolution 1607 (2005).<sup>34</sup> In its report, the Panel of Experts noted the insufficient measures taken by Liberia to fulfil the requirements for lifting sanctions and it recommended that the Government of Liberia needed to further endeavour to demonstrate its commitment to transparency and accountability.

The representative of Liberia was invited to participate in the discussion. The President (United Kingdom) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution submitted by Denmark, France, Japan, Romania, the United Kingdom and the United States;<sup>35</sup> it was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously and without debate as resolution 1647 (2005), by which the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, inter alia:

Decided, on the basis of its assessment of progress made to date towards meeting the conditions for lifting the measures imposed by resolution 1521 (2003) to renew the measures on arms and travel imposed by resolution 1521 (2003) for a further period of 12 months; to renew the measures on diamonds and timber for a further period of six months; to renew the above measures at the request of the new Government of Liberia, once the Government reported to the Council that the conditions set out in resolution 1521 (2003) for terminating the measures have been met, and provided the Council with information to justify its assessment;

Reiterated the Council's readiness to terminate these measures once the conditions set forth in resolution 1521 (2003) had been met;

Called on the international donor community to support the incoming Government of Liberia by providing generous assistance to the peace process, including for reintegration of ex-combatants, reconstruction and humanitarian appeals;

Decided to re-establish the Panel of Experts appointed pursuant to resolution 1607 (2005) for a further period until 21 June 2006;

Requested the Secretary-General to appoint no more than five experts, with the appropriate expertise, in particular on arms, timber, diamonds, finance, humanitarian and socioeconomic issues, and further requested the Secretary-General to make the necessary financial and security arrangements to support the work of the Panel.

## Deliberations of 17 March 2006 (5389th meeting)

At the 5389th meeting, on 17 March 2006, statements were made by all the members of the Council as well as the President of Liberia.

The President of Liberia affirmed that their strategy for peacebuilding was constructed on four pillars, focusing on security, the rule of law and governance, economic revitalization and basic services, and infrastructure. She assured the Council that her Government was putting in place mechanisms that would enhance transparency in governance, consistent with the requirements for the lifting of timber and diamond sanctions. She informed Council members about the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the reconstitution of Liberia's Supreme Court and the formulation of an anti-corruption action plan. She mentioned her request to the President of Nigeria to consult with colleagues in the subregion and in the international community on the resolution of the issue of former President Charles Taylor. Finally, she urged the Council to maintain its support for UNMIL

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> S/2005/745.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> S/2005/792.

and the donor countries and organizations to contribute to the recovery and development agenda.<sup>36</sup>

The majority of speakers recognized the new signs of recovery and reform in Liberia; the example of the President of Liberia as the first woman to be elected head of State in Africa in full respect for democratic principles; and the commitment of the President of Liberia to promoting national reconciliation and reforming the diamond and timber sectors. Most of the speakers expressed, inter alia, the necessity of the presence of UNMIL and support for the talks between the Presidents of Liberia and Nigeria and other African leaders on sending the former President Charles Taylor to the Special Court for Sierra Leone. A number of representatives called for a review of the sanctions regime. A few speakers also expressed concern about the fragile and unstable regional environment, specifically in Côte d'Ivoire.

## Decision of 31 March 2006 (5406th meeting): resolution 1667 (2006)

At its 5406th meeting, on 31 March 2006, the Council included in its agenda the tenth progress report of the Secretary-General on UNMIL.37 In his report, the Secretary-General observed that the installation of the new democratically elected Government of Liberia had marked the completion of the two-year transition process set out in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed by the Liberian parties in August 2003 and that the President of Liberia had shown commendable determination in harnessing the opportunities and fulfilling the hopes of the people of Liberia. He underlined that the Transitional Government had not been able to meet the conditions for the lifting of timber and diamond sanctions. He remarked that the continued presence of UNMIL remained indispensable during the consolidation phase and, therefore, recommended the extension of the mandate of UNMIL and the increase of the Mission's police strength.

The representative of Liberia was invited to participate in the discussion and a statement was made by the representative of France. The representative of France welcomed the arrest and the transfer to the special court for Sierra Leone of Charles Taylor and wished to pay a sincere tribute to the President of Nigeria for his decisive action and to the Liberian authorities for their determination to ensure "that justice is finally done". He emphasized that any attempt to separate the situation in Liberia from that in Côte d'Ivoire made no sense and that the Council needed to pay particular attention to what Africans were telling them.<sup>38</sup>

The President (Argentina) drew the attention of the Council to a letter dated 22 March 2006 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council<sup>39</sup> and a draft resolution.<sup>40</sup> The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1667 (2006), by which the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, inter alia:

Decided that the mandate of UNMIL should be extended until 30 September 2006;

Decided to extend the provisions of paragraph 6 of resolution 1626 (2005) for the period specified above;

Reaffirmed its intention to authorize the Secretary-General to redeploy troops between UNMIL and the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire on a temporary basis in accordance with the provisions of resolution 1609 (2005), as needed;

Requested the Secretary-General to review his recommendations for a drawdown plan for UNMIL and to present further recommendations in his next regular report to the Council on the progress of the Mission in the implementation of its mandate.

<sup>38</sup> S/PV.5406, pp. 2-3.

<sup>39</sup> S/2006/184. In the letter, the Secretary-General noted the recent developments in the political process in Côte d'Ivoire and called for a reinforcement of the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI) beyond the interim arrangements. For more information, see sect. 13 (The situation in Côte d'Ivoire) of the present chapter, or chap. V, part I, sect. F.14 (UNOCI).

<sup>40</sup> S/2006/202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> S/PV.5389, pp. 2-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> S/2006/159.

## Decision of 13 June 2006 (5454th meeting): resolution 1683 (2006)

At its 5454th meeting, on 13 June 2006, the Council invited the representative of Liberia to participate in the discussion. The President (Denmark) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution,<sup>41</sup> it was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously and without debate as resolution 1683 (2006), by which the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, inter alia:

Decided that the measures imposed by paragraphs 2 (a) and (b) of resolution 1521 (2003) should not apply to the weapons and ammunition already provided to members of the Special Security Service for training purposes and that those weapons could remain in the custody of the Special Security Service for unencumbered operational use;

Also decided that those measures should not apply to limited supplies of weapons and ammunition intended for the use for the Government of Liberia police and security forces who had been vetted and trained since the inception of UNMIL;

Decided that a request made in accordance with paragraph 2 of the resolution should be submitted to the Committee by the Government and the exporting State, and, in case of approval, the Government should subsequently mark the weapons, maintain a registry of them and formally notify the Committee of those steps;

Reiterated the importance of continuing assistance by the Mission and requested it to inspect inventories of weapons and ammunition obtained in accordance with paragraphs 1 and 2 of the resolution and to make periodic reports to the Committee.

### Decision of 20 June 2006 (5468th meeting): resolution 1689 (2006)

At its 5468th meeting, on 20 June 2006, the Council included in its agenda a letter dated 7 June 2006 from the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1521 (2003) addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the report of the Panel of Experts submitted pursuant to paragraph 9 (e) of resolution 1647 (2005).<sup>42</sup> The Panel noted that, regarding timber, the sanctions were generally effective and there was no evidence of exports. The President of Liberia had also declared all logging concessions null and void due to their failure to comply with the rule of law. Regarding diamonds, the Panel noted that a lack of government capacity and the absence of a clear mandate of interdiction for

UNMIL had hampered efforts to curb illegal digging in the interior.

The representative of Liberia was invited to participate in the discussion. The President (Denmark) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution;<sup>43</sup> it was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously and without debate as resolution 1689 (2006), by which the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, inter alia:

Decided not to renew the measure in paragraph 10 of resolution 1521 (2003) that obligated Member States to prevent the import into their territories of all round log and timber products originating in Liberia;

Decided to review that decision after a period of 90 days and expressed its determination to reinstate the measure in paragraph 10 of resolution 1521 (2003) unless the Council was informed by that time that the forestry legislation proposed by the Forest Reform Monitoring Committee had been passed;

Urged the speedy adoption of the forestry legislation proposed by the Forest Reform Monitoring Committee;

Further decided that the measures imposed by paragraph 6 of resolution 1521 (2003) should be renewed for an additional six months with a review by the Council after four months, to allow the Government of Liberia sufficient time to establish an effective certificate of origin regime for trade in Liberian rough diamonds;

Requested that the Secretary-General renew for an additional six months the mandate of the Panel of Experts re-established according to paragraph 9 of resolution 1647 (2005), and requested that the Panel of Experts report to the Council through the Committee no later than 15 December 2006 its observations and recommendations.

### Decision of 13 July 2006 (5487th meeting): resolution 1694 (2006)

At its 5487th meeting, on 13 July 2006, the Council included in its agenda the eleventh progress report of the Secretary-General on UNMIL.<sup>44</sup> In his report, the Secretary-General observed that the country's relative stability had allowed increased freedom of movement, facilitated the return of refugees and internally displaced persons and aided the gradual resurgence of economic activity. However, serious disturbances created by former personnel of the Armed Forces and others underlined the fragility of peace. He stressed that the relative stability continued to overwhelmingly rely on the presence of UNMIL, as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> S/2006/370.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> S/2006/379.

<sup>43</sup> S/2006/413.

<sup>44</sup> S/2006/376.

Liberia did not yet have its own army and the new police force was still in the formative stages.

The representative of Liberia was invited to participate in the discussion. The President (France) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution submitted by the United States of America;<sup>45</sup> it was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously and without debate as resolution 1694 (2006), by which the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, inter alia:

Decided to increase the authorized size of the UNMIL civilian police component by 125, and to decrease the authorized size of the military component by 125, from the current authorized levels.

## Decision of 29 September 2006 (5542nd meeting): resolution 1712 (2006)

At its 5542nd meeting, on 29 September 2006, the Council included in its agenda the twelfth progress report of the Secretary-General on UNMIL.<sup>46</sup> In his report, the Secretary-General observed that despite progress that had been made in implementing a number of important structural reforms, Liberia remained heavily dependent on UNMIL for the provision of security, particularly in the light of the volatile situation in the subregion, particularly in Côte d'Ivoire.

The representative of Liberia was invited to participate in the discussion. The President (Greece) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution,<sup>47</sup> it was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously and without debate as resolution 1712 (2006), by which the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, inter alia:

Decided that the mandate of UNMIL should be extended until 31 March 2007;

Reaffirmed its intention to authorize the Secretary-General to redeploy troops between UNMIL and the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire on a temporary basis in accordance with the provisions of resolution 1609 (2005), as needed;

Endorsed the Secretary-General's recommendations for a phased, gradual consolidation, drawdown and withdrawal of the UNMIL troop contingent, as the situation permitted and without compromising the security of Liberia.

# Decision of 20 December 2006 (5602nd meeting): resolution 1731 (2006)

At its 5602nd meeting, on 20 December 2006, the Council included in its agenda a letter dated 13 December 2006 from the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1521 (2003) addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the report of the Panel of Experts submitted pursuant to paragraph 9 (e) of resolution 1647 (2005).<sup>48</sup> The Panel noted that Liberia was not yet in a position to demonstrate the internal controls necessary for the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme, and thus the lifting of sanctions on diamonds was not warranted. It also noted that allegations of recruitment for the war in Côte d'Ivoire had persisted.

The representative of Liberia was invited to participate in the discussion. The President (Qatar) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution,<sup>49</sup> it was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously and without debate as resolution 1731 (2006), by which the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, inter alia:

Decided, on the basis of its assessment of progress made to date towards meeting the conditions for lifting the measures imposed by resolution 1521 (2003) to renew the measures on arms imposed by paragraph 2 of resolution 1521 (2003) and modified by paragraphs 1 and 2 of resolution 1683 (2006) and to renew the measures on travel imposed by paragraph 4 of resolution 1521 (2003) for a further period of 12 months; that the measures on arms imposed by paragraphs 2 (a) and (b) of resolution 1521 (2003) should not apply to supplies of non-lethal military equipment, excluding non-lethal weapons and ammunition, as notified in advance to the Committee established by paragraph 21 of resolution 1521 (2003); to renew the measures on diamonds imposed by paragraph 6 of resolution 1521 (2003) and renewed by paragraph 4 of resolution 1689 (2006) for an additional six months with a review by the Council after four months, to allow the Government of Liberia sufficient time to establish an effective certificate of origin regime for trade in Liberian rough diamonds that is transparent and internationally verifiable; to review any of the above measures at the request of the Government of Liberia, once the Government reported to the Council that the conditions set out in resolution 1521 (2003) for terminating the measures had been met, and provided the Council with information to justify its assessment;

Decided to extend the mandate of the current Panel of Experts appointed pursuant to paragraph 5 of resolution 1689 (2006) for a further period, until 20 June 2007;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> S/2006/509.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> S/2006/743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> S/2006/773.

<sup>48</sup> S/2006/976.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> S/2006/1001.

Requested the Secretary-General to take the necessary measures, in this exceptional instance, to reappoint the current members of the Panel of Experts as referred to in his letter to the President of the Security Council dated 27 June 2006<sup>50</sup> and to make the necessary financial and security arrangements to support the work of the Panel.

#### Decision of 30 March 2007 (5652nd meeting): resolution 1750 (2007)

At its 5652nd meeting, on 30 March 2007, the Council included in its agenda the fourteenth progress report of the Secretary-General on UNMIL.<sup>51</sup> In his report, the Secretary-General observed that the overall political situation in Liberia had remained relatively stable although the unpredictable situations in Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea created an environment that posed additional challenges to efforts to build sustained stability in Liberia.

The representative of Liberia was invited to participate in the discussion. The President (South Africa) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution,<sup>52</sup> it was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously and without debate as resolution 1750 (2007), by which the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, inter alia:

Decided the mandate of UNMIL should be extended until 30 September 2007;

Reaffirmed its intention to authorize the Secretary-General to redeploy troops, as needed, between UNMIL and UNOCI on a temporary basis in accordance with the provisions of resolution 1609 (2005);

Called on the Government of Liberia, in close coordination with UNMIL, to take further steps towards achieving those benchmarks with a view to a phased, gradual consolidation, drawdown and withdrawal of the UNMIL troop contingent, as the situation permited and without compromising the security of Liberia.

### Decision of 27 April 2007 (5668th meeting): resolution 1753 (2007)

At its 5668th meeting, on 27 April 2007, the Council invited the representative of Liberia to participate in the discussion. The President (United Kingdom) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution;<sup>53</sup> it was then put to the vote and adopted

unanimously and without debate as resolution 1753 (2007), by which the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, inter alia:

Decided to terminate the measures on diamonds imposed by paragraph 6 of resolution 1521 (2003) and renewed by paragraph 1 of resolution 1731 (2006);

Encouraged the Kimberley Process to report in 90 days to the Council on Liberia's application to the Kimberley Process and called on the Government of Liberia to carry out the recommendations of the expert mission identified for the period following admission to the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme;

Decided to review the termination of the measures in paragraph 6 of resolution 1521 (2003) after consideration of the report of the Panel of Experts.

## Decision of 20 June 2007 (5699th meeting): resolution 1760 (2007)

At its 5699th meeting, on 20 June 2007, the Council included in its agenda a letter dated 7 June 2007 from the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1521 (2003) addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the report of the Panel of Experts submitted pursuant to paragraph 9 (e) of resolution 1731 (2006).<sup>54</sup> The Panel noted that, as a direct consequence of the lifting of sanctions on the export of Liberia rough diamonds, Liberia had been formally admitted to membership of the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme on 4 May 2007. Noting that the Government had welcomed the lifting of sanctions on timber and diamonds, the Panel expressed concern that the lifting was likely to increase unrealistic expectations among the population about the Government's ability to provide immediate employment and improved social services. Such expectations had the potential to place undue stress on the Government's efforts to revive the economy.

The representative of Liberia was invited to participate in the discussion. The President (Belgium) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution;<sup>55</sup> it was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously and without debate as resolution 1760 (2007), by which the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, inter alia:

Requested the Secretary-General to establish a Panel of Experts to undertake the following tasks: (a) to conduct a

 $<sup>^{50}</sup>$  S/2006/438.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> S/2007/151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> S/2007/176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> S/2007/227.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> S/2007/340.

<sup>55</sup> S/2007/369.

follow-up assessment mission to Liberia and neighbouring States, in order to investigate and compile a report on the implementation, and any violations, of the measures imposed by resolution 1521 (2003); (b) to assess the impact of and effectiveness of the measures imposed by paragraph 1 of resolution 1532 (2004); (c) to assess the implementation of forestry legislation passed by the Liberian Congress on 19 September 2006 and signed into law by President Johnson Sirleaf on 5 October 2006; (d) to assess the Government of Liberia's compliance with the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme; (e) to report to the Council through the Committee by 6 December 2007 on all these issues; (f) to cooperate with other relevant groups of experts; (g) to identify and make recommendations regarding areas where the capacity of States in the region could be strengthened to facilitate the implementation of the measures imposed by paragraph 4 of resolution 1521 (2003) and paragraph 1 of resolution 1532 (2004);

Called upon all States and the Government of Liberia to cooperate fully with the Panel of Experts in all the aspects of its mandate.

## Decision of 20 September 2007 (5745th meeting): resolution 1777 (2007)

At its 5745th meeting, on 20 September 2007, the Council included in its agenda the fifteenth progress report of the Secretary-General on UNMIL.56 In his report, the Secretary-General observed that the Government had remained focused on consolidating its authority, fighting corruption, implementing the Governance and Economic Management Assistance Programme, reforming the security sector, regaining control and regulation of its natural resources and strengthening the capacity of its institutions. However, the slow progress in strengthening the security sector was a source of great concern. He noted that the proposed drawdown plan for UNMIL allowed for a gradual phased transfer of responsibility for the security of Liberia to the Government in a manner that gave it the opportunity to build its capacity.

The representative of Liberia was invited to participate in the discussion. The President (France) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution;<sup>57</sup> it was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously and without debate as resolution 1777 (2007), by which the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, inter alia:

Decided that the mandate of UNMIL should be extended until 30 September 2008;

Reaffirmed its intention to authorize the Secretary-General to redeploy troops, as needed, between UNMIL and UNOCI on a temporary basis in accordance with the provisions of resolution 1609 (2005);

Endorsed the Secretary-General's recommendation for a reduction of 2,450 in the number of personnel deployed as part of the UNMIL military component;

Further endorsed the Secretary-General's recommendation for a reduction of 498 in the number of officers deployed as part of the UNMIL police component;

Requested the Secretary-General to monitor progress on the core benchmarks;

Expressed its intention to review by 30 September 2008 the Secretary-General's recommendations for further UNMIL reductions, in the context of the security situation in Liberia and the subregion.

## Decision of 19 December 2007 (5810th meeting): resolution 1792 (2007)

At its 5810th meeting, on 19 December 2007, the Council included in its agenda a letter dated 5 December 2007 from the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1521 (2003) addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the report of the Panel of Experts submitted pursuant to paragraph 9 (e) of resolution 1760 (2007).58 The Panel noted that it had found no evidence of significant movements of arms or ex-combatants across Liberia's borders during the reporting period, although armed robbery rates for Monrovia had increased dramatically. That had raised the profile of the debate over rearming Liberia's security services and had highlighted some of the challenges confronting the establishment of sustainable rule of law.

The representative of Liberia was invited to participate in the discussion. The President (Italy) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution;<sup>59</sup> it was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously and without debate as resolution 1792 (2007), by which the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, inter alia:

<sup>56</sup> S/2007/479

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> S/2007/549.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> S/2007/689. <sup>59</sup> S/2007/742.

Decided to renew the measures on arms imposed by paragraph 2 of resolution 1521 (2003) and modified by paragraphs 1 and 2 of resolution 1683 (2006) and by paragraph 1 (b) of resolution 1731 (2006) and to renew the measures on travel imposed by paragraph 4 of resolution 1521 (2003) for a further period of 12 months; that Member States should notify the Committee established by paragraph 21 of resolution 1521 (2003) upon delivery of all arms and related materiel supplied in accordance with paragraph 2 (e) or 2 (f) of resolution 1521 (2003), paragraph 2 of resolution 1683 (2006), or paragraph 1 (b)

of resolution 1731; to review any of the above measures at the request of the Government of Liberia, once the Government reported to the Council that the conditions set out in resolution 1521 (2003) for terminating the measures had been met, and provided the Council with information to justify its assessment;

Decided to extend the mandate of the current Panel of Experts appointed pursuant to paragraph 1 of resolution 1760 (2007) for a further period, until 20 June 2008;

Requested the Secretary-General to reappoint the current members of the Panel of Experts and to make the necessary financial and security arrangements to support the work of the Panel.

#### 3. The situation in Somalia

#### **Decision of 25 February 2004 (4915th meeting):** statement by the President

At its 4915th meeting, on 25 February 2004, the Security Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia dated 12 February 2004.<sup>1</sup> In his report, the Secretary-General noted that the agreement reached at the Somali Leaders' Consultation in Nairobi had marked a breakthrough that promised to allow further progress at the Somali National Reconciliation Conference, which had stalled for some time. The next and final phase of the reconciliation process would involve the selection of members of the transitional national parliament, who in turn would elect the president for the transitional period. He stressed that progress in the political arena had to be accompanied by improvements in the security situation on the ground, which would, in turn, accord the necessary credibility to the political agreement. The Secretary-General further emphasized the necessity for the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) frontline States to narrow differences among themselves with regard to the Somali reconciliation process and to speak with one voice. He observed that the mission to the region in November 2003 of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to

resolution 751 (1992) and the adoption of resolution 1519 (2003) had demonstrated the Council's determination to give full effect to the implementation of the arms embargo on Somalia. In accordance with the Council's request in resolution 1519 (2003), the Secretary-General announced that he had established a Monitoring Group composed of four experts, for a period of six months, based in Nairobi, with a mandate, inter alia, to investigate violations of the arms embargo and to provide a list of arms embargo violators for possible future action by the Council. He also reported that insecurity and violence in many parts of the country and recent tensions over control of the Sool and Sanaag regions underlined the fact that a comprehensive peace was both urgent and necessary in Somalia. Somali leaders and their militias had to be aware that they would be held accountable for continued violations of human rights.

The representative of Somalia was invited to participate in the discussion. The President (China) made a statement on behalf of the Council,<sup>2</sup> by which the Council, inter alia:

Reiterated its firm support for the Somali National Reconciliation process;

Called upon the Somali parties to conclude the Somali National Reconciliation Conference by establishing a viable

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> S/2004/115 and Corr.1, submitted pursuant to the statement by the President of 31 October 2001 (S/PRST/2001/30).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> S/PRST/2004/3.