Regarding deployment of a peacekeeping force, he stated that the question was not "whether, but when and how". He stated their desire to vote for the resolution once they knew the mandate, the size and the costs. He expressed his hope that as a result of the meeting they would be able to accelerate, intensify and clarify what it was that they would be asked to approve, which required a lot of staff work internally that the United States was prepared to do.⁷⁰

The representative of the Netherlands expressed his agreement with the representative of the United States. He also wondered whether it might be conceivable to ask the Joint Military Commission to "step up the frequency of its meetings a little".⁷¹

The representative of France expressed his agreement with the representative of the United States. He also noted the great desire of the Council to move ahead swiftly and the strong backing for an international conference on peace and security in the Great Lakes region under the auspices of the United Nations and OAU. He asked the representative of the Secretariat to invite the next President of the Council to call for consideration of the subject of an international conference. He expressed his belief that the issue of Africa must be considered by the Council on a permanent basis.⁷²

The President, drawing some informal conclusions from the debate, reiterated that the Democratic Republic of the Congo was the major challenge facing Africa. The Lusaka Agreement was predicated on international support and there was thus a need for the United Nations to help implement that agreement through a further deployment. He underlined the point made that the parties needed to show their determination to meet their commitments before it would be right or sensible for the United Nations to deploy more widely. All those with responsibilities under the Lusaka Agreement needed to take them up urgently and the Security Council would act as rapidly and effectively as it could. The Council would return to this subject soon, analysing and acting on the import of this debate.73

⁷² Ibid., pp. 20-21.
⁷³ Ibid., pp. 23-24.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 20.

12. The situation in the Central African Republic

Initial proceedings

Decision of 6 August 1997 (3808th meeting): resolution 1125 (1997)

By identical letters dated 18 July 1997 addressed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the Security Council,¹ the President of the Central African Republic informed the Council of a grave crisis, in a context of regional instability, which stemmed from the army rebellions which broke out in 1996 and had left a large supply of weapons in the hands of the ex-rebels and militias. He requested the Security Council to authorize the States of the Inter-African Mission to Monitor the Implementation of the Bangui Agreements (MISAB), which had been set up at his request to help restore peace and security, to carry out the necessary operations, neutrally and impartially, to attain the objectives defined by the mandate of MISAB and to authorize, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, those States and the States supporting them to ensure the security and freedom of movement of Inter-African Mission personnel. He also transmitted the mandate of the inter-African force to monitor the implementation of the Bangui Agreements and the text of the agreement on the status of this force.

At its 3808th meeting, held on 6 August 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Security Council included in its agenda without objection the letters and the item entitled "The situation in the Central African Republic".

At the same meeting, the President (United Kingdom), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of the Central African Republic, at his

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 20.

¹ S/1997/561.

request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a letter dated 7 July 1997 from Gabon,² writing as a mediator representing the Heads of State designated by the Ouagadougou Summit of December 1996, informing the Council of the formation of MISAB by Burkina Faso, Chad, Gabon and Mali for the purpose of helping to restore peace and security by monitoring the implementation of the Bangui agreement and conducting operations to disarm the ex-rebels and militia. He asked the Security Council to approve the mandate of MISAB and authorize the intervention under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, as a legal framework for their intervention, in view of the continuing tension and the threat that prolongation of the crisis was likely to constitute for the maintenance of international peace and security.

At the same meeting the President also drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution submitted by the Central African Republic, Egypt, Guinea-Bissau and Kenya.³

Speaking before the vote, the representative of Kenya stated that the Central African Republic had been in a situation of armed conflict since the beginning of 1996, which had affected every aspect of civil life and could destabilize the region, and that this situation posed a threat to international peace and security and required the urgent attention of the Security Council. The threat to regional stability had attracted the attention of the Ouagadougou Summit at which the Central African Republic had requested international intervention, and a regional initiative with the participation of Burkina Faso, Chad, Gabon, Mali, Senegal and Togo had been initiated and was already in the country. He stated that the present draft resolution would give the approval of the Council to this regional initiative in the capacity of its responsibility to maintain international peace and security and underlined that the Council had a responsibility to support regional initiatives. He maintained that the parties in the conflict of the Central African Republic had shown a willingness to settle the dispute through peaceful means by signing the Bangui Agreements. The Inter-African Mission was doing a good job trying to observe the implementation of these commitments, which all parties had freely entered into, and it was for that reason that he supported the present draft resolution. He noted the significant contribution that African countries and France were making in resolving the crisis and he appealed to the international community to continue to support the initiative.⁴

The representative of Egypt stated that the military mutiny and the ensuing events had had serious economic and social consequences. He noted that the establishment of an International Monitoring Commission had had a tangible positive effect on the political situation and a dialogue between the two parties to the conflict had begun. He expressed his satisfaction that this effort had been further concretized in MISAB and that it had achieved tangible success in the discharge of its mandate, and expressed his appreciation for the role of Gabon and France. He stated that the regional intervention had proved once again that Africa did not lack the machinery necessary to contain the crises which took place in its states and constituted a successful example of preventative action international that deserved all support and encouragement. It was in this regard that they had not hesitated to sponsor and support the draft resolution. He maintained that an appropriate measure of economic and human development was the sole guarantee for the non-repetition of the crisis in Central Africa and expressed his support for the role played by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). He hoped that the Bretton Woods institutions, in cooperation with UNDP, would prepare а comprehensive plan for economic reform that would enable the Central African Republic to initiate genuine development for its people.5

The representative of Costa Rica stated that he had recently witnessed what he believed to be a new and important doctrinal approach on the part of the Council with respect to the concept of threats to international peace and security and peacekeeping. He highlighted the case of the multinational force for Albania that was authorized by the Council in March outside of the traditional framework of United Nations operations but in conformity with the principles and

² S/1997/543.

³ S/1997/613.

⁴ S/PV.3808, pp. 2-3.

⁵ Ibid., p. 5.

objectives of the Charter. The draft resolution was part of the new approach: in the past the Council might have interpreted the situation in the Central African Republic as an internal one and not been seized of it. He maintained that the Central African Republic was an example of an internal problem with international implications and an example of the resolve of African countries to collectively tackle and resolve their own issues. He noted that international intervention would not amount to much unless it was accompanied by actions to promote economic progress, justice, equality, the rule of law and human rights. In conclusion, he expressed strong support for the adoption of the draft resolution and expressed his trust that the approval of MISAB would be developed in keeping with the relevant international principles and with respect to the observance of human rights.⁶

The representative of France stated their support for the draft resolution and the efforts of several African countries to help the Central African Republic peacefully resolve a crisis situation. Noting that France supported politically and in material terms the regional endeavours in general including the one conducted by the member countries of MISAB, he stated that they also encouraged, in strict conformity with the Charter, any initiative that aimed at affirming the important role of the Security Council, especially under Chapter VII, which was why they had supported from the outset the actions of the Central African Republic and Gabon in seeking Council authorization for MISAB. He expressed his belief that this initiative was in keeping with a constructive evolution of the United Nations as reflected in three principles: scrupulous respect for the Charter, the affirmation of the role of the Security Council and support for the Council's backing of regional efforts.7

The representative of the United States, noting that MISAB was an important precedent and a test-case for African peacekeeping efforts, stated that he was pleased to support the draft resolution and expressed his support to the participants in the force. He expressed his concern at the continued instability in the region and the fact that not all elements had renounced violence or turned in their weapons. Taking special note of the financial and other contributions of France, Kenya and other donors which had made the Inter-African Mission possible and the resolution's statement that support for the force would continue to be born on a voluntary basis, he expressed their understanding that the Mission would not become a United Nations-assessed operation. He welcomed the provision that called for reporting every two weeks from the Inter-African Mission on the situation in the Central African Republic and expressed his belief that the Secretary-General needed to take steps to increase the knowledge of the United Nations regarding developments in the Central African Republic.⁸

The representative of the United Kingdom, noting the threat that instability might spread throughout the region, welcomed the contribution of countries that had provided troops to MISAB and applauded the role of regional leaders in the current mediation efforts. He stated that the support of UNDP for the wider peacebuilding process was an important factor in their success. He noted that the initiatives taken on the Central African Republic clearly demonstrated the importance and effectiveness of African leadership in dealing with conflict and instability in the region, and he reaffirmed his delegation's support for such initiatives. He noted the success of the efforts of MISAB in reducing the number of arms and heavy weaponry in the Central African Republic but remained concerned at the large amount of weapons still in circulation. In that regard, he believed that it was essential that the scope of the Inter-African Mission's operation was clearly defined. He expressed his gratitude for the information received on the activities of MISAB to date and on its objectives since it was essential for the Security Council to have a clear sense of the tasks of MISAB so that it could effectively monitor their implementation. He therefore looked forward to receiving further reports, as provided for in the draft resolution, on the progress of MISAB and the longer-term prospects for the political process in the country.9

Several other speakers spoke, noting that the situation in the Central African Republic threatened international peace and security; stating their support for authorizing MISAB under Chapter VII of the Charter; underlining the importance of the United

⁶ Ibid., pp. 5-6.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 6-7.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 8-9.

⁹ Ibid., p. 9.

Nations supporting regional initiatives; and commending the Governments involved and France for their efforts and support.¹⁰

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1125 (1997), which reads:

The Security Council,

Concerned by the grave crisis facing the Central African Republic,

Taking note with appreciation of the signing of the Bangui Agreements of January 1997 and the creation of the Inter-African Mission to Monitor the Implementation of the Bangui Agreements,

Concerned by the fact that, in the Central African Republic, former mutineers, members of militias and other persons continue to bear arms in contravention of the Bangui Agreements,

Taking note of the letter dated 4 July 1997 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General,

Taking note also of the letter dated 7 July 1997 to the Secretary-General from the President of Gabon, on behalf of the members of the International Committee for the follow-up of the Bangui Agreements,

Determining that the situation in the Central African Republic continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security in the region,

1. *Welcomes* the efforts of the Member States that participate in the Inter-African Mission to Monitor the Implementation of the Bangui Agreements and of those Member States that support them;

2. Approves the continued conduct by Member States participating in the Inter-African Mission of the operation in a neutral and impartial way to achieve its objective to facilitate the return to peace and security by monitoring the implementation of the Bangui Agreements in the Central African Republic as stipulated in the mandate of the Inter-African Mission including through the supervision of the surrendering of arms of former mutineers, militias and all other persons unlawfully bearing arms;

3. Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, authorizes the Member States participating in the Inter-African Mission and those States providing logistical support to ensure the security and freedom of movement of their personnel;

4. *Decides* that the authorization referred to in paragraph 3 above shall be limited to an initial period of three months from the adoption of the present resolution, at which time the Council will assess the situation on the basis of the reports referred to in paragraph 6 below;

5. *Stresses* that the expenses and logistical support for the force will be borne on a voluntary basis in accordance with article 11 of the mandate of the Inter-African Mission;

6. *Requests* the Member States participating in the Inter-African Mission to provide periodic reports at least every two weeks through the Secretary-General, the first report to be made within fourteen days after the adoption of the present resolution;

7. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 6 November 1997 (3829th meeting): resolution 1136 (1997)

By letters dated 27 October 1997 and 4 November 1997, respectively, addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹¹ the Presidents of Gabon and the Central African Republic requested, on behalf of all the heads of States with contingents in MISAB, the extension of the mandate of the Inter-African Mission for three months as from 6 November 1997.

At the 3829th meeting of the Security Council, held on 6 November 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (China), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of the Central African Republic, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.¹²

At the same meeting the President also drew the attention of the Council to a letter from the Secretary-General transmitting the sixth and final periodic report of MISAB.¹³ The report detailed the progress made in implementing the Bangui Agreements, including disarmament, restoration of security and national reconciliation. It stated that although undeniable progress had been made in implementing the Bangui Agreements, there was a long way to go in carrying out all the main provisions and, therefore, a need to renew

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 3-4 (Guinea-Bissau); p. 4 (Japan); pp. 4-5 (Republic of Korea); p. 7 (Chile); pp. 7-8 (Poland); and p. 8 (Portugal).

¹¹ S/1997/821 and S/1997/840.

 $^{^{12}}$ S/1997/849.

 $^{^{13}}$ S/1997/828.

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the mandate of MISAB. However, owing to the insufficiency of the African countries' own resources, logistical support from the international community was still needed.

The representative of the Central African Republic expressed his gratitude to the Council for considering the draft resolution and pledged his Government's full cooperation with the Council, the Secretary-General and MISAB to strengthen and promote the cause of peace and democracy, and to create the necessary conditions for a better life for the people of his country.

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1136 (1997), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 1125 (1997) of 6 August 1997,

Taking note of the sixth report to the Council by the International Committee for the follow-up of the Bangui Agreements,

Taking note also of the letter dated 17 October 1997 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General,

Taking note further of the letter dated 23 October 1997 to the President of the Security Council from the President of Gabon, on behalf of the members of the International Committee for the follow-up of the Bangui Agreements,

Expressing appreciation for the neutral and impartial way in which the Inter-African Mission to Monitor the Implementation of the Bangui Agreements has carried out its mandate, in close cooperation with the Central African authorities, and noting with satisfaction that the Inter-African Mission has contributed to stabilizing the situation in the Central African Republic, in particular through the supervision of the surrendering of arms,

Noting that the States participating in the Inter-African Mission and the Central African Republic have decided to extend the mandate of the Mission to enable it to complete its mission,

Stressing the importance of regional stability and, in this context, supporting the efforts made by the Member States participating in the International Mediation Committee established by the Nineteenth Conference of Heads of State, Government and Delegation of France and Africa, and by the members of the International Committee for the follow-up of the Bangui Agreements,

Stressing also the need for all signatories of the Bangui Agreements to continue to cooperate fully in respecting and implementing the Agreements,

Determining that the situation in the Central African Republic continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security in the region,

1. Welcomes the efforts made by the Member States which participate in the Inter-African Mission to Monitor the Implementation of the Bangui Agreements and of those Member States which provide support to them, and their readiness to maintain these efforts;

2. Welcomes also the support provided by the United Nations Development Programme to the International Committee for the follow-up of the Bangui Agreements, and encourages the United Nations Development Programme to continue its support;

3. *Approves* the continued conduct by Member States participating in the Inter-African Mission of the operation in a neutral and impartial way to achieve its objective as set out in paragraph 2 of resolution 1125 (1997);

4. Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, authorizes the Member States participating in the Inter-African Mission and those States providing logistical support to ensure the security and freedom of movement of their personnel;

5. *Decides* that the authorization referred to in paragraph 4 above shall be limited to a period of three months from the adoption of the present resolution;

6. Recalls that the expenses and logistical support for the Inter-African Mission will be borne on a voluntary basis in accordance with article 11 of the mandate of the Inter-African Mission, requests the Secretary-General, to take the necessary steps to establish a trust fund for the Central African Republic which would assist in supporting the troops of States participating in the Inter-African Mission and in providing logistical support to them, and encourages Member States to contribute to the trust fund;

7. *Requests* the Member States participating in the Inter-African Mission to provide periodic reports to the Council at least every month, through the Secretary-General, the next report to be made within one month from the adoption of the present resolution;

8. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide, before the end of the three-month period referred to in paragraph 5 above, a report on the implementation of the present resolution, including recommendations on further international support for the Central African Republic;

9. Urges all States, international organizations and financial institutions to assist in post-conflict development in the Central African Republic;

10. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 5 February 1998 (3853rd meeting): resolution 1152 (1998)

At its 3853rd meeting, held on 5 February 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Security Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General dated 23 January 1998 pursuant to resolution 1136 (1997) concerning the situation in the Central African Republic.¹⁴

In his report, the Secretary-General observed that since the signing of the Bangui Agreements peace and security had been gradually restored to Bangui, with due credit to both the Central African Republic and the mediating role by African countries and MISAB, with the logistical and other support of France and UNDP. However, for lasting peace and stability, it was essential that the outstanding provisions of the Bangui Agreements be implemented. In light of the withdrawal of France in April 1998 and the lack of capacity of MISAB to function without them, the President of the Central African Republic, the International Monitoring Committee and the States of the region had stated their belief that a credible peacekeeping force was essential for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Secretary-General thus recommended that the Council express its readiness to establish a United Nations peacekeeping operation on the basis of a more detailed concept of operations that he would submit in the light of the progress made by the Central African Republic in fulfilling their commitments. The structure and military role of the mission would be similar to that of MISAB and it would seek to maintain security, create an environment conducive to the holding of free and fair legislative elections and assist in building the capacity of the Central African police and gendarmerie. The mission would be of limited duration and would cooperate with other international partners in support of a lasting peace. He envisaged the appointment of a Special Representative to head the mission and the United Nations Resident Coordinator/United Nations Development Programme Resident Representative would serve as director of the office of his Special Representative.

At the same meeting the President (Gabon) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution

¹⁴ S/1998/61.

prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.¹⁵

At the same meeting the President also drew the attention of the Council to the following documents: a letter dated 30 January 1998 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the third periodic report of MISAB pursuant to Security Council resolution 1136 (1997);¹⁶ a letter dated 28 January 1998 from the representative of the Central African Republic addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹⁷ stating their full agreement with the Secretary-General's plans for a peacekeeping operation to replace MISAB and asking for a five-week extension of Inter-African Mission's mandate to facilitate the transition; and a letter dated 4 February 1998, addressed to the President of the Security Council, from the President of Gabon in his capacity as Chairman of the International Mediation Committee on the Central African crisis and on behalf of the countries participating in MISAB requesting the Council to extend the mandate of MISAB until 16 March 1998 and stating that a United Nations peacekeeping operation might be necessary to prevent the situation from becoming precarious again.¹⁸

The representative of France stated that MISAB had been a remarkable example of preventative diplomacy, which was the very objective of much United Nations effort to prevent conflict and the deterioration of situations that threatened regional or international security and stability. Nonetheless, the situation in the Central African Republic remained precarious and still threatened security and stability in the region and it was necessary to prepare for the legislative elections, to restructure the security forces and to implement vigorous measures in the economic and social spheres in support of national reconciliation. He stated that his Government supported the recommendations of the Secretary-General to establish a peacekeeping operation and the draft resolution would allow the Secretariat to prepare operational proposals on which the Security Council would decide.

¹⁵ S/1998/102. ¹⁶ S/1998/86.

¹⁷ S/1998/88.

 $^{^{18}}$ S/1998/97.

He expressed his belief that the Council's decision would be unanimous.¹⁹

The representative of the United Kingdom commended the work of the President of Gabon, MISAB, France and those countries which had committed troops for their work in maintaining peace in the Central African Republic. He stated his Government's support for the idea of a deployment of a United Nations operation, conditional on the Central African Republic addressing the need for fundamental adjustments in its social, economic, financial and security policies, and welcomed the idea of a United Nations political office to monitor their progress in the implementation of those reforms.²⁰

The representative of the Russian Federation stated his support for the draft resolution extending the authorization for MISAB, noting that international assistance in support of the Bangui Agreements was of great significance for the stabilization of the situation. He stated that in principle, he took a positive view of the establishment in the Central African Republic of a United Nations peacekeeping operation that was limited in time and resources, and that his delegation was prepared to take a further, more specific, decision following an additional report from the Secretary-General.²¹

The representative of the United States, noting that through MISAB the international community had re-established security in Bangui and created the conditions necessary for the implementation of the Bangui Agreements, stated that his Government fully supported an initial extension of the Chapter VII authorization of MISAB until 16 March 1998 and would vote for the draft resolution. He informed the Council that they would be prepared to take a decision on a possible United Nations peacekeeping operation in the Central African Republic by 16 March and would consider whether the process of institutional, political, military and economic reforms in the Central African Republic could be assisted by the security umbrella that a peacekeeping operation could provide. While his delegation would study the Secretary-General's recommendations regarding the size, the mandate, the cost and the exit strategy of the proposed peacekeeping operation, they would give equal consideration to the commitment of the parties in the Central African Republic to the implementation of the Bangui Agreements noting that the international community could assist, but not replace, the efforts of the Government to achieve long-term stability. Noting that to be effective, a peacekeeping operation had to be linked to the implementation of fundamental political, economic, and security reforms, he urged the Government to undertake those reforms without delay. He stated his support for sending a special representative and expressed his belief that the prompt appointment of a special representative could help the Central African Republic, United Nations agencies and the international community develop a coordinated transition programme that could resolve the crisis and build a more permanent peace.²²

Several others speakers spoke praising the work of MISAB and the International Monitoring Committee, commending the participant countries and France for their efforts, encouraging all parties to cooperate to work towards a peaceful resolution, underlining the importance of political and economic reform by the government of the Central African Republic and stating their support for the extension of the mandate of MISAB until it could be replaced by a peacekeeping force, based on the subsequent report of the Secretary-General.²³

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1152 (1998), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 1125 (1997) of 6 August 1997 and 1136 (1997) of 6 November 1997,

Taking note of the third report to the Security Council by the International Committee for the follow-up of the Bangui Agreements,

Taking note also of the letter dated 28 January 1998 from the President of the Central African Republic to the President of the Security Council and the letter dated 4 February 1998 from the President of Gabon, on behalf of the members of the

¹⁹ S/PV.3853, pp. 2-3.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 8-9.

²¹ Ibid., p. 9.

²² Ibid., p. 10.

²³ Ibid., p. 3 (China); p. 4 (Japan); pp. 4-5 (Brazil); p. 5 (Bahrain); pp. 5-6 (Kenya); p. 6 (Portugal); p.8 (Slovenia); pp. 6-7 (Gambia); pp. 7-8 (Sweden); p. 8 (Slovenia); and pp. 9-10 (Costa Rica).

International Committee for the follow-up of the Bangui Agreements, to the President of the Security Council,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 23 January 1998, submitted to the Council in accordance with resolution 1136 (1997),

Expressing its appreciation for the neutral and impartial way in which the Inter-African Mission to Monitor the Implementation of the Bangui Agreements has carried out its mandate, in close cooperation with the Central African authorities, and noting with satisfaction that the Inter-African Mission has contributed to stabilizing the situation in the Central African Republic, in particular through the supervision of the surrendering of arms,

Noting that the States participating in the Inter-African Mission and the Central African Republic have decided to extend its mandate in order for it to complete its mission with the prospect of the United Nations establishing a peacekeeping operation,

Stressing the importance of regional stability, and in this context fully supporting the efforts made by the Member States participating in the International Mediation Committee established by the Nineteenth Summit of the Heads of State, Government and Delegation of France and Africa, held at Ouagadougou from 4 to 6 December 1996, and by the members of the International Committee for the follow-up of the Bangui Agreements,

Stressing also the need for all signatories of the Bangui Agreements to continue to cooperate fully in respecting and implementing the Agreements in order to help to foster the conditions for long-term stability in the Central African Republic,

Determining that the situation in the Central African Republic continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security in the region,

1. Welcomes the efforts made by the Member States participating in the Inter-African Mission to Monitor the Implementation of the Bangui Agreements and by those States providing support to them, and their readiness to maintain these efforts;

2. Welcomes also the support provided by the United Nations Development Programme to the International Committee for the follow-up of the Bangui Agreements, and encourages the United Nations Development Programme to continue this support;

3. *Calls upon* the parties in the Central African Republic to complete the implementation without delay of the provisions of the Bangui Agreements, and also calls for the fulfilment of the commitments expressed in the letter dated 8 January 1998 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General;

4. *Approves* the continued conduct by Member States participating in the Inter-African Mission of the operation in a

neutral and impartial way to achieve its objective as set out in paragraph 2 of resolution 1125 (1997);

5. Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, authorizes the Member States participating in the Inter-African Mission and those States providing logistical support to ensure security and freedom of movement of their personnel;

6. *Decides* that the authorization referred to in paragraph 5 above will be initially extended until 16 March 1998;

7. *Recalls* that the expenses and logistical support for the Inter-African Mission will be borne on a voluntary basis in accordance with article 11 of the mandate of the Mission, and encourages Member States to contribute to the Trust Fund for the Central African Republic;

8. Welcomes the intention of the Secretary-General, as expressed in his report of 23 January 1998, to appoint a Special Representative to the Central African Republic, and expresses its belief that the prompt appointment of such a representative could assist the parties in the implementation of the Bangui Agreements and provide support to other activities of the United Nations in the country;

9. *Reiterates its call* to all States, international organizations and financial institutions to assist in post-conflict development in the Central African Republic;

10. *Requests* the Member States participating in the Inter-African Mission to provide a report to the Security Council through the Secretary-General before the end of the period referred to in paragraph 6 above;

11. Requests the Secretary-General to submit a report for its consideration, no later than 23 February 1998, on the situation in the Central African Republic, with recommendations regarding the establishment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation, including the structure, specific goals and financial implications of such an operation, and with information on the implementation of the Bangui Agreements and on the commitments expressed in the letter dated 8 January 1998 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General;

12. Expresses its intention to take a decision by 16 March 1998 on the establishment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation in the Central African Republic on the basis of the report referred to in paragraph 11 above;

13. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 16 March 1998 (3860th meeting): resolution 1155 (1998)

At its 3860th meeting, held on 16 March 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General of 23 February 1998 pursuant to resolution 1152 (1998) in its agenda.²⁴ Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Gambia), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of the Central African Republic, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

In his report the Secretary-General observed that significant progress had been made in implementing the Bangui Agreements and in initiating essential political and economic reforms in the Central African Republic. While most of the credit was due to the Central African Republic itself, progress could not have been achieved without the efforts of regional leaders and MISAB. The situation remained fragile and in order to consolidate this progress, substantial economic and social reforms, substantial assistance for legislative elections, and steps to reform and train the national army, police and gendarmie were necessary. Since MISAB would not be able to continue its presence in Bangui without external financial and logistical support, a credible successor force was necessary to prevent the possibility of the situation rapidly deteriorating with serious implications for the humanitarian situation and peace and security in the region. Therefore, he maintained that the establishment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation to take over from MISAB was the only viable option. He recommended that the Security Council carefully consider the facts in his report to consider the establishment of such an operation. The mission would have to rely heavily on the readiness of all interested countries to remain closely involved in the peace process and to assist in every possible way and he informed the Council that France had agreed to provide logistical and medical support and assist in the evacuation of United Nations personnel in case of emergency. He recommended that the duration of mission be limited to 90 days after the announcement of legislative election results and that the initial mandate be for three months, in order to allow for review of the implementation of the commitments made by the Government of the Central African Republic. He also recommended that the Council approve the special arrangements to allow a smooth transition towards the new operation and authorize the continued conduct of MISAB until 15 April 1998 and stressed the continuing importance of MISAB troop contributors for the success of the United Nations efforts. He informed the Council that he intended to appoint a Special Representative to the Central African Republic, who would assist the parties in the implementation of the Bangui Agreements.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.²⁵

At the same meeting, the President also drew the attention of the Council to the following documents: a letter dated 11 March 1998 from the representative of the Central African Republic addressed to the President of the Security Council,²⁶ informing the Council of the International Mediation Committee's extension of the Inter-African Mission's mandate and requesting the Council to extend their mandate also; and stating his support for a United Nations peacekeeping mission; a letter dated 11 March 1998 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting a letter from the International Monitoring Committee established pursuant to the mandate of MISAB,²⁷ transmitting the report of the Member States pursuant to resolution 1152 (1998); and a letter dated 13 March 1998 from the representative of Gabon addressed to the President of the Security Council, informing the Council of the signing of the National Reconciliation Pact.28

At the same meeting, the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1155 (1998), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 1125 (1997) of 6 August 1997, 1136 (1997) of 6 November 1997 and 1152 (1998) of 5 February 1998,

Taking note of the report of 10 March 1998 of the International Committee for the follow-up of the Bangui Agreements, submitted to the Security Council pursuant to resolution 1152 (1998),

Taking note also of the letter dated 11 March 1998 from the President of the Central African Republic to the President of the Security Council and of the letter dated 13 March 1998 from the President of Gabon, on behalf of the members of the

²⁴ S/1998/148 and Add.10.

²⁵ S/1998/231.

²⁶ S/1998/219.

²⁷ S/1998/221.

²⁸ S/1998/233.

International Committee for the follow-up of the Bangui Agreements, to the President of the Security Council,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 23 February 1998, submitted to the Council in accordance with resolution 1152 (1998),

Expressing its appreciation for the neutral and impartial way in which the Inter-African Mission to Monitor the Implementation of the Bangui Agreements has carried out its mandate, in close cooperation with the Central African authorities, and noting with satisfaction that the Inter-African Mission has contributed significantly to stabilizing the situation in the Central African Republic, in particular through the supervision of the surrendering of arms,

Noting that the States participating in the Inter-African Mission and the Central African Republic have decided to extend the mandate of the Mission until 15 April 1998 in order to ensure a smooth transition to the prospective deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation,

Stressing the importance of regional stability, and in this context fully supporting the efforts of the International Mediation Committee established by the Nineteenth Summit of the Heads of State, Government and Delegation of France and Africa and by the members of the International Committee for the follow-up of the Bangui Agreements,

Stressing also the need for all signatories to the Bangui Agreements to continue to cooperate fully in respecting and implementing the Agreements,

Determining that the situation in the Central African Republic continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security in the region,

1. Welcomes the efforts made by the Member States participating in the Inter-African Mission to Monitor the Implementation of the Bangui Agreements and by those States providing support to them, and their readiness to maintain these efforts;

2. Urges the Government of the Central African Republic to continue to fulfil the commitments expressed in the letter dated 8 January 1998 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General, and calls upon the parties in the Central African Republic to complete the implementation of the provisions of the Bangui Agreements and to implement the conclusions of the National Reconciliation Conference;

3. *Approves* the continued conduct by Member States participating in the Inter-African Mission of the operation in a neutral and impartial way to achieve its objective as set out in paragraph 2 of resolution 1125 (1997);

4. Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, authorizes the Member States participating in the Inter-African Mission and those States providing logistical support to ensure security and freedom of movement of their personnel;

5. *Decides* that the authorization referred to in paragraph 4 above shall be extended until 27 March 1998;

6. *Recalls* that the expenses and logistical support for the Inter-African Mission will be borne on a voluntary basis in accordance with article 11 of the mandate of the Mission, and encourages Member States to contribute to the Trust Fund for the Central African Republic;

7. Affirms that it will take a decision by 27 March 1998 on the establishment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation in the Central African Republic on the basis of the report of the Secretary-General of 23 February 1998;

8. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 27 March 1998 (3867th meeting): resolution 1159 (1998)

At its 3867th meeting, held on 27 March 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Security Council again included the report of the Secretary-General dated 23 February 1998 in its agenda.²⁹ Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Gambia), with the consent of the Council, invited the representatives of the Central African Republic and the Sudan, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.³⁰

The representative of the Central African Republic expressed his gratitude to the international community, the Secretary-General, France and the Security Council for their continued support and reiterated his Government's determination to cooperate fully with the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA) in every way possible and to fulfil all of its commitments and obligations. It was fully determined that peace, once established, would be monitored and the process of free and fair elections safeguarded.³¹

The representative of the United Kingdom, speaking on behalf of the European Union and associated and aligned countries,³² stated that they

²⁹ S/1998/148 and Add.1; see also 3860th meeting.

³⁰ S/1998/268.

³¹ S/PV.3867, p. 2.

³² Ibid., p. 2 (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Slovakia, and Cyprus and Norway).

welcomed the significant steps made towards stabilization in the Central African Republic, including the Bangui Agreements, and the vital contribution of MISAB, regional leaders and France. He noted the President of the Central African Republic's efforts to further reform the social, economic, electoral and security spheres and to continue the process leading to the holding of free and fair elections. The European Union warmly welcomed the establishment of MINURCA and the appointment of a Special Representative to support the coordination and cooperation roles assigned to him, including the responsibility for encouraging assistance from the international community to the Central African Republic. He stated that the European Union would continue to provide development assistance, especially under the European Development Fund, which would include substantial support for the rehabilitation of the transport and health sectors. He expressed his belief that the United Nations, through MINURCA and the Special Representative, could make a significant contribution to building a lasting peace, democracy and development in the Central African Republic.³³

The representative of the Sudan informed the Council that his Government had had the honour of participating in the signing of the historic reconciliation pact in the Central African Republic. He expressed his admiration for the work of the President of Gabon, the Mediation Committee and MISAB. He stated that his Government supported the draft resolution and he reiterated the importance of regional cooperation and integration. He also underlined the importance of those provisions of the draft resolution with regard to the importance of the international community helping the Central African Republic proceed towards the economic development to which it aspired.³⁴

The representative of Kenya noted that many of the goals set by the International Mediation Committee, the International Monitoring Committee and MISAB had been accomplished, which was spelled out in the third periodic report.³⁵ However, the situation remained fragile and MINURCA would provide the needed assurance to the people of the Central African Republic that the international community would support those gains. He noted that the appointment of a Special Representative would boost confidence in the process of national reconciliation and help in the coordination of the United Nations post-conflict peacebuilding effort. He underlined that it was noteworthy that the draft resolution clearly recognized that, for long-term peace and stability in the Central African Republic, a sustained commitment by the international community in support of economic, social and institutional development was indispensable. In that regard, he welcomed the progress in discussions with international financial institutions and called on everyone to contribute to the Trust Fund established by the Secretary-General. However, he noted that a new dependency on United Nations peacekeeping to hold countries together was not one they would "want to see nourished" and stated that he believed that the limited period recommended by the Secretary-General for the mandate of MINURCA would be enough time to lay a solid foundation for the Central African Republic's renaissance. In conclusion, he stated that he would vote in favour of the draft resolution.36

The representative of France, noting that while MISAB had done "tremendous work" in restoring calm in Bangui, disarming groups and implementing the Bangui Agreement, the situation was not yet irreversible. That was why the intervention of the United Nations was necessary and MINURCA was an appropriate response. The mandate of MINURCA went beyond the capabilities of MISAB and involved continuing to monitor and promote the implementation of reforms and commitments made by the Central African authorities. Achievement of these objectives justified recourse to the competence and authority of a United Nations operation headed by a Special Representative of the Secretary-General. He noted that the initial mandate of three months could be extended if the efforts made by the United Nations were met by the efforts of the Central African authorities to fully implement the necessary actions and reforms. He noted that the six countries who participated in MISAB would keep their contingents in MINURCA and would be joined by two other African States, Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. He stated that this demonstrated that there was no need to distinguish between the necessary strengthening of African peacekeeping capacity and the

³³ Ibid., p. 3.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 4.

³⁵ S/1998/86.

³⁶ S/PV.3867, pp. 4-5.

role of the United Nations since they complemented and reinforced each other. In that spirit his Government would continue to provide logistical and medical support to MINURCA. He underlined that MINURCA was a good example of preventative diplomacy and after MISAB had done their job, it would come to offer the Central African Republic and the subregion the opportunity to make solid and lasting their refound peace and security.³⁷

The representative of Brazil commended the valuable work performed by MISAB, the President of Gabon and the International Mediation Committee in the Central African Republic. He maintained that MINURCA would help keep the situation from deteriorating in the lead up to the legislative elections. He stated that the draft before them represented a satisfactory outcome and that MINURCA would operate under the explicit consent of the parties, which placed it in the corresponding legal framework under the Charter. Noting that operative paragraph 13 of the draft resolution affirmed that "MINURCA may be required to take action to ensure security and freedom of movement of its personnel in the discharge of its mandate", it was their understanding that this rule should apply generally to peacekeeping operations under Chapter VI. He urged the President and the parties involved to make the best of the opportunity to ensure lasting peace in the Central African Republic and contribute to greater harmony in the entire region.38

The representative of Japan expressed sincere appreciation to all those involved in efforts to maintain stability in the Central African Republic. Although significant progress had been achieved, several tasks, including the holding of elections, remained. Therefore, his Government would vote in favour of the draft resolution. He informed the Council that his Government had been engaged in the effort to devise a comprehensive and effective strategy for the prevention and early resolution of conflicts, with a particular focus on Africa. They had hosted the Tokyo International Conference on Preventative Strategy, where representatives from more than 20 countries and organizations met and discussed the subject in depth. Main elements of the strategy included an enhanced early warning capability for the United Nations, and greater coordination and cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations such as the Organization of African Unity. In conclusion, he reiterated that MINURCA could not be viewed as a panacea for the problems confronting the Central African Republic. Its mission was simply to support the efforts of the Government to overcome its problems and it was the responsibility of the Central African Republic itself to rebuild the country and strive to achieve prosperity. He also stated that his Government would continue to assist the Central African Republic in its efforts to maintain stability and to enhance the well-being of its people.³⁹

The representative of China praised the work of MISAB, which had shown that through efforts by African countries themselves, with the full and timely support by the Security Council, the stability and development of countries involved could be gradually secured. He maintained that his Government had always supported the view that the Council should respect the reasonable demands of the African countries and render the necessary support. China supported the draft resolution and the establishment of MINURCA, and he expressed his belief that it would follow the good practices of MISAB, and fully respect the Government of the Central African Republic, respond to the specific situation in the country, continue to promote communications and dialogue among all sides and accomplish the tasks set forth in the draft resolution. He expressed his hope that the draft resolution would actively promote national reconciliation and economic reconstruction and help the country to move gradually towards peace, stability, development and prosperity.40

The representative of the Russian Federation stated that his Government was pleased that progress had been achieved in normalizing the situation in the Central African Republic and that this was due to the vigorous work of the International Monitoring Committee and MISAB. However, international assistance was necessary for the consolidation of the process of national reconciliation and to maintain a secure environment conducive to the holding of free and fair elections. The effectiveness of the

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 5-7.

³⁸ S/PV.3867, pp. 7-8.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 10.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 10-11.

international community's assistance depended on the readiness of the Government and all parties in the Central African Republic to demonstrate further political will by strictly implementing the Bangui Agreements and complying with the National Reconciliation Pact. He maintained that the initial mandate for MINURCA, as defined in the present draft resolution, as well as the strength of its military component, was optimal. He noted that the question of the future role of the United Nations in fostering national reconciliation and in preparations for elections could be decided later in the light of developments and on the basis of the recommendations in the subsequent report of the Secretary-General.⁴¹

The representative of the United States of America stated that they were pleased to support a limited but essential peacekeeping mission for the Central African Republic. He stated that the Council's actions would help consolidate the work of the multinational force, which he commended for restoring order to Bangui and initiating an efficient disarmament programme. He stated that the role of the mission was to provide security long enough for the Government of the Central African Republic to undertake the reforms it had promised and provide its own security. He noted that in Council discussions, everyone had agreed that the United Nations would not assume responsibility for security in the Central African Republic indefinitely and that the Government must use the opportunity provided wisely and well. Noting that they had seen more progress by the Government of the Central African Republic in the last several weeks, "as the threat of the Inter-African Mission's departure loomed", than in the previous year, he maintained that progress towards reform had to continue. He stated his strong support for the initiatives of the Bretton Woods institutions to assist the Central African Republic's progress towards financial security, and stated that they would review the reports of those institutions as a measure of the Government's dedication to serious economic reform. He welcomed the three-month initial mandate for the mission, which would allow the Council to review progress made and adjust the mandate of the mission as necessary. He also noted that if the Government of the Central African Republic did not make concrete progress towards the necessary economic, political and security reforms, they would find it difficult to renew this mission for another period. Noting that the role of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General was critical for the transitional period, he stated that they were looking forward to the prompt appointment of a strong representative. The Special Representative would be in charge both of the mission and of overseeing all United Nations activities in the Central African Republic and the coordination of United Nations assistance programs with other international efforts, including those of the Bretton Woods institutions and other donors, which was essential for the ultimate success of that assistance. He stated that elections were another important part of the Central African Republic's democratic reform process and he hoped that election experts, from agencies such as the United Nations Development Programme or international non-governmental organizations experienced in election planning, would provide assistance to the Republic. He welcomed Central African the participation of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in coordinating potential international assistance for the elections but did not think that election assistance was best placed under the military command of the peacekeeping operation; such assistance instead should form a separate building block of the broad programme of assistance that the Secretary-General would coordinate with support from other organizations. He also supported the formation of a "Friends of the Central African Republic" group to help coordinate international economic assistance for the country and to advise the nation as well. In conclusion, he emphasized the support of the United States for what they saw as a regional initiative to help a neighbour, and hoped that the mission would reinforce the Central African Republic's own efforts to enable the re-establishment of a stable and secure Government.42

Several other speakers spoke, stating their support for the establishment of MINURCA and for the draft resolution, praising the work of MISAB, regional leaders and the International Monitoring and Mediation Committee, emphasizing the importance of the appointment of a Special Representative and noting the need for international support for economic and political reforms.⁴³

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 12.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 12-13.

 ⁴³ Ibid., pp. 6-7 (Costa Rica); pp. 8-9 (Portugal); pp. 9-10 (Sweden); p. 11 (Bahrain); and pp. 11-12 (Slovenia).

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1159 (1998), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 1125 (1997) of 6 August 1997, 1136 (1997) of 6 November 1997, 1152 (1998) of 5 February 1998 and 1155 (1998) of 16 March 1998,

Recalling the report of 10 March 1998 of the International Committee for the follow-up of the Bangui Agreements, submitted to the Security Council pursuant to resolution 1152 (1998),

Recalling also the letter dated 11 March 1998 from the President of the Central African Republic to the President of the Security Council and the letter dated 13 March 1998 from the President of Gabon, on behalf of the members of the International Committee for the follow-up of the Bangui Agreements, to the President of the Security Council,

Having further considered the report of the Secretary-General of 23 February 1998, submitted to the Council in accordance with resolution 1152 (1998),

Reiterating its appreciation for the neutral and impartial way in which the Inter-African Mission to Monitor the Implementation of the Bangui Agreements has carried out its mandate, in close cooperation with the Central African authorities, and noting with satisfaction that the Inter-African Mission has contributed significantly to stabilizing the situation in the Central African Republic, in particular through the supervision of the surrendering of arms,

Recognizing that the States participating in the Inter-African Mission and the Central African Republic extended the mandate of the Mission until 15 April 1998 in order to ensure a smooth transition to the deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation,

Stressing the importance of regional stability and the need to consolidate the progress achieved by the Inter-African Mission, and in particular to assist the people of the Central African Republic to consolidate the process of national reconciliation and help to sustain a secure and stable environment conducive to the holding of free and fair elections,

Stressing also the need for all signatories to the Bangui Agreements to continue to implement the Agreements and for the authorities of the Central African Republic to take concrete steps to implement political, economic, social and security reforms as referred to in the report of the Secretary-General of 23 February 1998, including the establishment of an electoral code and preparations for legislative elections scheduled for August/September 1998,

Recognizing the link between peace and development and that a sustained commitment by the international community to assist and support the economic, social and institutional development of the Central African Republic is indispensable for long-term peace and stability in the country, and in that regard welcoming the cooperation between the Government of the Central African Republic and the international financial institutions in developing an economic reform programme,

Determining that the situation in the Central African Republic continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security in the region,

А

1. Welcomes the progress made by the Central African authorities and parties towards the achievement of national reconciliation and sustainable stability in the Central African Republic;

2. Urges the Government of the Central African Republic to continue to fulfil the commitments expressed in the letter dated 8 January 1998 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General, and calls upon the parties in the Central African Republic to complete the implementation of the provisions of the Bangui Agreements and to implement the National Reconciliation Pact;

3. *Reiterates its call* to all States, international organizations and financial institutions to assist in post-conflict development in the Central African Republic;

В

4. Welcomes the efforts made by the Member States participating in the Inter-African Mission to Monitor the Implementation of the Bangui Agreements and by those States providing support to them, and their readiness to maintain these efforts;

5. *Approves* the continued conduct by the Member States participating in the Inter-African Mission of the operation in a neutral and impartial way to achieve its objective as set out in paragraph 2 of resolution 1125 (1997);

6. Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, authorizes the Member States participating in the Inter-African Mission and those States providing logistical support to ensure security and freedom of movement of their personnel;

7. *Decides* that the authorization referred to in paragraph 6 above will end on 15 April 1998;

8. *Recalls* that the expenses and logistical support for the Inter-African Mission will be borne on a voluntary basis in accordance with article 11 of the mandate of the Mission, and encourages Member States to contribute to the Trust Fund for the Central African Republic;

С

9. Decides to establish the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic with effect from 15 April 1998, and decides also that the military component of the Mission shall not exceed 1,350 personnel;

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10. *Decides* that, taking into account the recommendations of the Secretary-General in his report of 23 February 1998, the Mission shall have the following initial mandate:

(a) To assist in maintaining and enhancing security and stability, including freedom of movement, in Bangui and the immediate vicinity of the city;

(b) To assist the national security forces in maintaining law and order and in protecting key installations in Bangui;

(c) To supervise, control storage and monitor the final disposition of all weapons retrieved in the course of the disarmament exercise;

(d) To ensure security and freedom of movement of United Nations personnel and the safety and security of United Nations property;

(e) To assist in coordination with other international efforts in a short-term police trainers program and in other capacity-building efforts of the national police, and to provide advice on the restructuring of the national police and special police forces;

(f) To provide advice and technical support to the national electoral bodies regarding the electoral code and plans for the conduct of the legislative elections scheduled for August/September 1998;

11. Authorizes the Secretary-General to take the measures necessary to ensure that the United Nations Mission is fully deployed by 15 April 1998 in order to carry out its mandate, and to secure a smooth transition between the Inter-African Mission and the United Nations Mission;

12. Decides that the United Nations Mission is established for an initial period of three months until 15 July 1998, and expresses its intention to decide on the extension of the Mission on the basis of the report to be submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 15 below;

13. Affirms that the Mission may be required to take action to ensure the security and freedom of movement of its personnel in the discharge of its mandate;

14. *Welcomes* the appointment by the Secretary-General, within the Mission, of his Special Representative in the Central African Republic:

(a) To assist in the promotion of the reforms necessary to achieve national reconciliation, security and stability in the country;

(*b*) To head the Mission;

(c) To have overall authority over all United Nations activities in the Central African Republic, in support of the mandate of the Mission;

(*d*) To provide good offices and mediation between the Government and political parties;

(e) To provide advice and facilitate technical assistance in the areas of good governance and the rule of law;

(f) To cooperate with other international partners, including international financial institutions, with the objective of supporting activities aimed at establishing the foundations for lasting peace, national reconstruction and development;

(g) To encourage the United Nations agencies and programmes to provide assistance to the Central African Republic, in particular in the areas referred to in the report of the Secretary-General;

15. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council regularly informed and to submit a report to the Council by 20 June 1998 on the implementation of the mandate of the Mission, on developments in the Central African Republic, on progress towards the implementation of the commitments expressed in the letter dated 8 January 1998 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General and on the implementation of the Bangui Agreements and the National Reconciliation Pact, including on commitments related to ensuring the economic recovery of the country;

16. Also requests the Secretary-General to provide information in his report referred to in paragraph 15 above on the progress by the Government of the Central African Republic to adopt an electoral code, set a date for the legislative elections, and develop specific plans for the conduct of the legislative elections, and to make recommendations on the future role of the United Nations in the legislative elections process;

17. Urges Member States to respond positively to the request made to them by the Secretary-General to contribute personnel, equipment and other resources to the Mission in order to facilitate its early deployment;

18. Approves the intention of the Secretary-General to establish a trust fund to enable Member States to make voluntary contributions to support the activities of the Mission and to assist in the financing of the Mission, and urges Member States to contribute to it;

19. *Requests* the Government of the Central African Republic to conclude a status-of-forces agreement with the Secretary-General before 25 April 1998, and recalls that pending the conclusion of such an agreement, the model status-of-forces agreement dated 9 October 1990 should apply provisionally;

20. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of Gabon commended the efforts of the Secretary-General, MISAB, France and the International Mediation Committee in diminishing the turmoil in the Central African Republic. He stated his Government's full support for the objectives assigned to MINURCA to strengthen the national reconciliation process, strictly within the framework of the Bangui Agreements, and to establish the conditions necessary for the future legislative elections in a climate of transparency and with the close cooperation of MINURCA with regional initiatives, notably those of the International Mediation Committee, the International Follow-up Committee and OAU.⁴⁴

The representative of the Gambia stated that while MISAB had done a lot to improve the security situation in the Central African Republic, it remained precarious. He noted that the key provisions of the resolution, establishing a peacekeeping force, calling on States to contribute to the trust fund and for international organizations to assist in post-conflict development in the Central African Republic, requesting Member States to contribute resources to MINURCA and having the Secretary-General report on the progress made by the Central African Republic in developing plans for legislative elections, were steps in the right direction and they, therefore, had supported the resolution.⁴⁵

Decision of 14 July 1998 (3905th meeting): resolution 1182 (1998)

At the 3905th meeting of the Security Council, held on 14 July 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General dated 19 June 1998, submitted pursuant to resolution 1159 (1998), in its agenda.⁴⁶ Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Russian Federation), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of the Central African Republic, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

In his report, the Secretary-General observed that following the transfer of authority from MISAB to MINURCA on 15 April 1998, MINURCA had succeeded in maintaining security and stability in Bangui, and his Special Representative had been actively promoting the reforms necessary to achieve lasting national reconciliation, peace and development. All Central African parties and countries of the region had welcomed the deployment of MINURCA, and it was widely acknowledged that its establishment had contributed to maintaining international peace and security in the region. Some progress had been made in implementing the major reforms outlined in his previous report.47 However, urgent action was still needed in the following priority areas: the restructuring of the defence and security forces; in the organization of free and fair legislative elections; and in economic and social recovery. He called upon traditional donors, Member States and regional organizations to provide the required assistance. Only when the minimum requirements, including an agreement with the Bretton Woods institutions and a detailed operational plan for the elections, were met would he be able to formulate recommendations on a future role of the United Nations in the legislative elections process. In the light of the current situation, he recommended that the Security Council extended the mandate of MINURCA until 15 September 1998 and noted that if the necessary electoral preparations were complete he would be prepared to submit detailed recommendations on possible United Nations involvement before the expiry of the mandate.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.⁴⁸ The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1182 (1998), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 1125 (1997) of 6 August 1997, 1136 (1997) of 6 November 1997, 1152 (1998) of 5 February 1998, 1155 (1998) of 16 March 1998 and 1159 (1998) of 27 March 1998,

Welcoming the report of the Secretary-General of 19 June 1998, and noting the recommendations contained therein,

Noting with satisfaction the rapid and effective deployment of the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic,

Stressing the importance of regional stability and the need to consolidate the progress achieved so far and, in particular, to assist the people of the Central African Republic to consolidate the process of national reconciliation and to help to sustain a secure and stable environment conducive to the holding of free and fair elections,

Welcoming the inauguration of the Electoral Commission with a neutral and independent Chairman, and stressing the need

⁴⁴ S/PV.3867, pp. 13-14.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 14.

⁴⁶ S/1998/540.

⁴⁷ S/1998/148 and Add.1.

⁴⁸ S/1998/637.

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for all signatories to the Bangui Agreements to cooperate to ensure the effective functioning of the Commission,

Reiterating the need for the authorities of the Central African Republic to continue to take concrete steps to implement political, economic, social and security reforms as referred to in the report of the Secretary-General of 23 February 1998 and to fulfil the commitments expressed in the letter dated 8 January 1998 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General, including continued cooperation with the international financial institutions,

1. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic until 25 October 1998;

2. *Calls upon* the Government of the Central African Republic to adopt, as soon as possible, a plan for the effective restructuring of the armed forces of the Central African Republic based on the proposals submitted by the Commission on the Restructuring of the Defence and Security Forces;

3. Urges the international community to lend its support to the restructuring of the security forces of the Central African Republic, including the gendarmerie, through bilateral and multilateral assistance programmes, and recognizes the role of the Mission of providing advice and technical assistance for the initial steps in restructuring those security forces and, in this connection, coordinating and channeling international support to this end;

4. *Recognizes* that the Mission, in implementing its mandate, may conduct reconnaissance missions of limited duration outside Bangui, and other tasks involving the security of United Nations personnel in accordance with paragraph 10 of resolution 1159 (1998);

5. *Calls upon* the authorities of the Central African Republic to adopt rapidly an operational plan for the organization of the legislative elections and so enable the United Nations and international organizations to make arrangements for the provision of the necessary assistance;

6. Encourages the Mission to continue to consult with the United Nations Development Programme regarding the provision of advice and technical assistance to all relevant electoral bodies, and urges the Secretary-General to provide, as soon as possible, recommendations for United Nations assistance for the legislative election process;

7. Urges Member States to provide the required technical, financial and logistical assistance for the organization of free and fair elections;

8. Also urges Member States to support the efforts of the authorities of the Central African Republic in the economic and social development of the country, and, in particular, encourages international financial institutions to cooperate with the Central African Republic in this regard;

9. Requests the Secretary-General to submit a report to the Security Council by 25 September 1998 on the implementation of the mandate of the Mission, on developments in the Central African Republic, on progress towards the implementation of the commitments expressed in the letter dated 8 January 1998 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General and on the implementation of the Bangui Agreements and the National Reconciliation Pact, including on commitments related to ensuring the economic recovery of the country;

10. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the Central African Republic noted that the deployment of MINURCA, which had made a great difference in the preservation of peace and security in the Central African Republic, was a record for any United Nations peace operation and thanked the Secretary-General for his efforts. He stated that the enlargement of the mandate of the Mission to cover the whole country would enable the beneficial effect of its presence to be felt countrywide and therefore further accelerate the restoration of national peace, security and development. He informed the Council that his Government had exerted itself to ensure the fulfillment of their commitment to a transparent and accountable system of governance and taken steps to improve the performance of the various ministries, particularly those concerned with responsibility for finance and economic development. He hoped that the Bretton Woods institutions would encourage those efforts. He stated that his Government was determined to cooperate fully with the independent and mixed Electoral Commission and with MINURCA and that the Council's action concerned not only the Central African Republic but also the entire subregion of Central Africa, which required a period of stability and peace so that it could fully contribute to the development of the continent.49

Decision of 15 October 1998 (3935th meeting): resolution 1201 (1998)

At its 3935th meeting, held on 15 October 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Security Council included in its agenda the second report of the Secretary-General on MINURCA dated 21 August 1998, submitted pursuant to resolution 1182 (1998).⁵⁰ Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (United Kingdom), with the

⁴⁹ S/PV.3905, p. 3.

⁵⁰ S/1998/783 and Add.1.

consent of the Council, invited the representative of the Central African Republic, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

In his report, the Secretary-General observed that substantial progress had been made by the Central African authorities in the preparations for the 1998 legislative elections. However, the operational activities of the Commission were well behind schedule and they had announced that the elections would be delayed. They would set a new date after the completion of certain key preparatory steps and once the role it expected the United Nations to play in the electoral process had been determined. He noted that any proposed United Nations assistance could only be complementary to the Commission's work and so it was essential that the Electoral Commission take the necessary steps for the timely delivery of electoral material to end its timely retrieval from all polling stations. He also stressed that the Central African authorities would be responsible for the maintenance of law and order throughout the country during the election process. With respect to the proposed international electoral observation, he informed the Council that the monitoring of the electoral process in Bangui and at the six selected sites would encompass at least 25 per cent of all polling stations which would enable his Special Representative to issue an overall assessment of the results. Despite the recent conclusion of an agreement with the Bretton Woods institutions, the situation remained fragile and successful elections were necessary to help further the peace process. Therefore, he recommended that the Security Council approve the proposals for United Nations assistance in the electoral process, including the redeployment of MINURCA troops to the provinces.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.⁵¹ The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1201 (1998), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 1125 (1997) of 6 August 1997, 1136 (1997) of 6 November 1997, 1152 (1998) of 5 February 1998, 1155 (1998) of 16 March 1998, 1159 (1998) of 27 March 1998 and 1182 (1998) of 14 July 1998,

Welcoming the report of the Secretary-General of 21 August 1998 and noting the recommendations contained therein,

Stressing that the complete implementation of the Bangui Agreements and of the National Reconciliation Pact is essential to peace and national reconciliation in the Central African Republic, and recognizing the significant progress made by the Government of the Central African Republic in implementing the Bangui Agreements and initiating major political and economic reforms,

Recalling the importance of regional stability and the need to consolidate the progress achieved so far and, in particular, to assist the people of the Central African Republic to consolidate the process of national reconciliation and to help to sustain a secure and stable environment conducive to the holding of free and fair elections,

Emphasizing that the authorities of the Central African Republic and the mixed and independent Electoral Commission are responsible for the organization and conduct of the legislative elections,

Noting with satisfaction the adoption of an operational plan for the organization of the legislative elections by the Central African Republic and the mixed and independent Electoral Commission, and welcoming donor pledges made in support of the electoral process,

Recognizing the importance of the support already given by the United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic to the mixed and independent Electoral Commission in the preparations for the elections,

1. Welcomes the announcement by the authorities of the Central African Republic and the mixed and independent Electoral Commission to hold legislative elections on 22 November and 13 December 1998;

2. Decides that the mandate of the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic shall include support for the conduct of legislative elections as described in section III of the report of the Secretary-General of 21 August 1998 and, in particular:

(a) The transport of electoral materials and equipment to selected sites and to the sous-préfectures, as well as the transport of United Nations electoral observers to and from electoral sites;

(b) The conduct of a limited but reliable international observation of the first and second rounds of the legislative elections;

(c) Ensuring the security of electoral materials and equipment during their transport to and at the selected sites, as well as the security of the international electoral observers;

3. *Approves* the recommendation contained in paragraph 25 of the report of the Secretary-General regarding the provision of security during the legislative election process,

⁵¹ S/1998/948.

taking into account the need to ensure the stability and security of Bangui and in accordance with the cost estimate associated with this recommendation contained in the addendum to that report;

4. Welcomes the establishment of a joint committee of the Government of the Central African Republic and the Mission to address the restructuring of the Central African Armed Forces, and reiterates its call upon the Government of the Central African Republic to adopt as soon as possible a plan for the effective restructuring of the Armed Forces;

5. *Welcomes* the deployment of up to 150 troops of the Central African Armed Forces to the selected sites, operating under United Nations rules of engagement applicable to the Mission;

6. *Calls upon* the Central African authorities to provide the necessary assistance, including the security arrangements, that will enable the Central African Republic and the mixed and independent Electoral Commission to prepare adequately and freely for the legislative elections;

7. Urges all parties in the Central African Republic to assume fully their responsibilities in the legislative elections and to participate in them in a manner that will strengthen the democratic process and contribute to national reconciliation;

8. Urges Member States to provide the required technical, financial and logistical assistance for the organization of free and fair legislative elections;

9. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the Mission until 28 February 1999;

10. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council regularly informed and to submit by 20 December 1998 the report called for in resolution 1182 (1998) on the implementation of the mandate of the Mission, on developments in the Central African Republic, on progress towards the implementation of the commitments expressed in the letter dated 8 January 1998 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General and on the implementation of the Bangui Agreements and the National Reconciliation Pact, including on commitments related to ensuring the economic recovery of the country and the restructuring of the security forces;

11. *Expresses its intention* to terminate the Mission no later than 28 February 1999, with its drawdown beginning no later than 15 January 1999, and requests the Secretary-General to make recommendations on this basis in his report referred to in paragraph 10 above;

12. *Expresses its appreciation* to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the personnel of the Mission for their efforts to promote peace and national reconciliation in the Central African Republic;

13. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 18 February 1999 (3979th meeting): statement by the President

By a letter dated 9 February 1999 addressed to the President of the Security Council,⁵² the President of the Central African Republic, noting that the implementation of the remainder of the Bangui Agreements had to be accompanied by a formal return to constitutional legality, transmitted documents noting the normal functioning of the three levels of government and providing details of the establishment of the Provisional Bureau and the progress of structural adjustment and other reforms.

At the 3979th meeting of the Security Council, held on 18 February 1999 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Canada), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of the Central African Republic, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting, the President made the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁵³

The Security Council, noting the letter dated 9 February 1999 from the President of the Central African Republic to the President of the Council, notes with satisfaction the commitment expressed by the President of the Central African Republic to maintain peace in the Central African Republic through dialogue and consultation. In this context, it strongly reaffirms that the complete implementation of the Bangui Agreements and of the National Reconciliation Pact is essential to peace and national reconciliation in the Central African Republic.

The Council calls upon the Government of the Central African Republic to continue to take concrete steps to implement political, economic, social and security reforms as referred to in the report of the Secretary-General of 23 February 1998 and to fulfil the commitments expressed in the letters dated 8 January 1998 and 23 January 1999 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General. It recalls that the success, the future mandate and the ongoing presence of the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic are closely linked to the fulfilment of these commitments, in particular the immediate resumption of a constructive political dialogue.

The Council expresses its concern about the consequences that the current political tensions have for the stability and the functioning of the institutions of the Central African Republic. It reaffirms that the Government, the political leaders and the people of the Central African Republic bear the primary

⁵² S/1999/132.

⁵³ S/PRST/1999/7.

responsibility for national reconciliation, the maintenance of a stable and secure environment and the reconstruction of their country. It emphasizes the importance of continuing efforts in the Central African Republic to settle outstanding contentious issues peacefully and democratically in accordance with the Bangui Agreements. It stresses the need for both the "mouvance présidentielle" and the opposition parties to cooperate closely and work actively with the aim of achieving the political consensus indispensable to stability in the Central African Republic.

The Council considers that a smooth preparation of free and fair presidential elections, for which proper steps should be taken as soon as possible, requires a certain level of political consensus and the opening of a genuine dialogue between all the constituent parties of the National Assembly. It also considers that consensual preparation for the presidential elections can only reinforce the legitimacy of the next President of the Republic and also secure a sustainable civil peace. It fully supports the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in his call to the Central African political leaders and authorities to resolve the political impasse so the country can move forward, and welcomes the current efforts undertaken to this end.

The Council will remain seized of the matter.

Decision of 26 February 1999 (3984th meeting): resolution 1230 (1999)

At its 3984th meeting held on 26 February 1999 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Security Council included the third and fourth reports of the Secretary-General dated 18 December 1998 and 29 January 1999, respectively, submitted pursuant to resolution 1201 (1998), in its agenda.⁵⁴ Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Canada), with the consent of the Council, invited the representatives of the Central African Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Egypt, Japan, Kenya, Senegal and Togo, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

In the third report, the Secretary-General observed that the establishment of MINURCA had been crucial for stability and allowed the successful holding of legislative elections under effective international monitoring. However, the results of the elections suggested that strong divisions continued to exist in the country along ethnic and regional lines and the post-electoral period might require close monitoring. In addition, there had been a broad-based appeal to the international community to maintain its assistance to the country during the period leading to the presidential elections. Considering the fundamental issues of reforms, elections and security, he stated that there was still a need for the presence of a credible neutral military force. Therefore, he asked the Security Council to consider extending the mandate of MINURCA with the existing structure and overall strength but with the following changes to its mandate: MINURCA would closely monitor the developments in the National Assembly, provide advice and limited training for the restructuring of the security forces and offer technical assistance and observation for the presidential elections; the Mission would be terminated no later than 60 days after the announcement of the results of the Presidential election. He also intended to discuss the possibility of a progressive reduction of the MINURCA military component, commensurate with the advances in the training and restructuring of the armed forces.

In his fourth report, the Secretary-General provided additional clarifications and commitments from the Government of the Central African Republic in the light of recent developments as provided by his Personal Envoy. He maintained that MINURCA had been a source of much-needed stability in the subregion as a whole and that the withdrawal of MINURCA would seriously jeopardize the progress He therefore confirmed his made so far. recommendations that its military component be retained at its current strength and that it remain to assist the Government in preparing for the Presidential elections. He recommended that in order to facilitate a continuing close review of the situation, the Council might wish to decide on an initial extension of the mandate for a period of six months, until 31 August 1999, subject to a further determination by the Council after three months that the Government had made acceptable progress in carrying out the reforms outlined in the letter dated 23 January 1999 from the President of the Central African Republic addressed to the Secretary-General.55

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution submitted by Canada, Côte d'Ivoire, Egypt, France, Gabon, Japan, Kenya, Senegal, Togo and the United States.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ S/1998/1203 and Add.1 and S/1999/98.

⁵⁵ S/1999/98, annex. ⁵⁶ S/1999/122.

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At the same meeting the President also drew attention of the Council to letters dated 22 December 1998 and 4 February 1999, respectively, from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council,⁵⁷ transmitting a letter from the President of the Central African Republic informing the Council of the progress of reforms and requesting the extension of the mandate of MINURCA until the Presidential elections, and to a letter from the President of the World Bank addressed to the President of the Security Council informing the Council of the progress in agreements between the Bretton Woods institutions and the Central African Republic and expressing his belief that the withdrawal of MINURCA as currently scheduled would adversely effect the prospects for continued security and economic improvement. The President further drew the attention of the Council to letters dated 9 February 1999 and 24 February 1999 from the representative of the Central African Republic addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting,⁵⁸ respectively, a letter from the President of the Central African Republic informing the Council of ongoing political reforms and a press communiqué the Mouvement de libération du peuple bv centrafricaine, National Political Council, of the Central African Republic requesting the Security Council to extend the mandate of MINURCA until the Presidential elections.

Speaking before the vote, the representative of France stated that MINURCA and the Central African Republic had made important progress. The successful holding of legislative elections was an important stage in the reestablishment of national institutions. The formation of the first restructured unit of the armed forces and the continuation of the United Nations Development Programme-supported demobilization programme were also encouraging signs of the will of the authorities to restructure their military forces. However, he maintained that it would be a grave mistake to believe that the simple presence of MINURCA would make it possible to resolve all the problems that the country had to deal with. This was both because the mandate of MINURCA was timelimited and because the responsibility for national reconciliation devolved on the Central Africans themselves. He expressed his belief that the achievement of the commitments made by the President of the Central African Republic was essential. Since the mandate for the continued presence of MINURCA was linked to implementation of those commitments, the observable progress in their implementation would be reviewed every 45 days, as set forth in the draft resolution. He expressed his belief that the adoption of this resolution and the extension of the mandate of MINURCA would provide an outstanding opportunity for the authorities and political parties to make progress in their dialogue and in national reconciliation.⁵⁹

The representative of Gambia noted that all of the parties involved, as well as the World Bank, had supported the retention of MINURCA and stated that the progress made so far would not have been possible without it. Considering the fact that the overall situation was still volatile and was exacerbated by the conflict in the neighbouring Democratic Republic of the Congo, his Government was of the strong view that it would be premature to wind up the mandate of MINURCA and agreed with the recommendations of the Secretary-General to extend the mandate until 15 November 1999.⁶⁰

The representative of the Netherlands stated that he would vote in favor of the draft resolution both to express his firm support for the positive contribution of MINURCA to the political process in the Central African Republic and to welcome the fact that the draft resolution integrated in a comprehensive way essential aspects of peacebuilding and reconstruction. In this approach it was essential for the Government of the Central African Republic to continue to work closely with the Economic and Social Council, UNDP and the Bretton Woods institutions. He stated his expectation that important lessons could be learned and applied elsewhere from the implementation of this comprehensive approach in the Central African Republic and that his Government was looking forward to the progress reports of the Secretary-General.⁶¹

The representative of China noted that despite the conflict breaking out in many areas of Africa, the Central African Republic had maintained relative stability and had smoothly carried out legislative

⁵⁷ S/1999/116 and S/1999/121.

⁵⁸ S/1999/132 and S/1999/200.

⁵⁹ S/PV.3984, pp. 2-3.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 3.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 4.

elections. That had been the result of the effort and cooperation of the Government and people of the Central African Republic and MINURCA. He maintained that the Bangui Agreements and the National Reconciliation Pact were the bases for bringing about peace and stability in the Central African Republic, stated his full support for the reforms in the political, economic, social and security areas and urged the international community to provide the necessary assistance. However, he also expressed his belief that such reforms, especially the restructuring of the armed forces, were the internal affairs of a country, and the Security Council should not intervene too much. He hoped that, in future consultations, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General would fully seek and respect the views of the host Government. In conclusion he emphasized the importance of operative paragraph 16 of the draft resolution and again appealed to the international community to help bring about sustainable economic and social development so as to achieve genuine and lasting peace and stability.62

The representative of the United States stated that they would vote to extend the mandate of MINURCA despite their deep misgivings concerning the pace of reform and the need for Government-coordinated programmes to improve the political, economic and military situation in the Central African Republic and its abilities to meet its commitments under this resolution. However, he stated that they were aware of the need not to abandon African peacekeeping at this time of increased conflict on the continent and to strengthen democracy in the Central African Republic, so he had agreed to one further extension of the mandate of MINURCA until 15 November 1999. He stated that they had two main concerns in agreeing to this extension. The first was that the Government of the Central African Republic needed to "energetically avail itself of this renewed opportunity to institute the kind of reforms that engender long-term stability". The second was that since the draft resolution clearly stated that MINURCA would end on 15 November the Security Council and the Secretariat had to begin work immediately to ensure a smooth transition from peacekeeping to non-assessed peacebuilding and could not delay in beginning to formulate a mechanism to ensure that economic restructuring, good-governance

reforms, demobilization and military restructuring continued after the peacekeeping forces departed.⁶³

The representative of Canada stated that MINURCA had successfully provided vital assistance in ensuring the security necessary to allow peace to take root firmly in the Central African Republic and played a crucial role in the legislative elections. However, many of the economic and political problems were unresolved and the vital step of the presidential elections remained. The view of his Government was that MINURCA would likely remain necessary until those elections and they anticipated remaining in MINURCA until its core objectives were realized. He underlined that the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace, economic recovery and the conduct of free and fair elections remained with the Government, leaders and people of the Central African Republic and he expected the President to honor his commitment and comply with the Bangui Agreements and the National Reconciliation Pact. He concluded by expressing his belief that MINURCA was a tangible demonstration of the commitment of the United Nations and the international community to peace and security in Africa, and that Canada as a member of the Friends of the Central African Republic as well as a troop contributor to MINURCA was proud to be a part of the effort.64

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1230 (1999), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 1125 (1997) of 6 August 1997, 1136 (1997) of 6 November 1997, 1152 (1998) of 5 February 1998, 1155 (1998) of 16 March 1998, 1159 (1998) of 27 March 1998, 1182 (1998) of 14 July 1998 and 1201 (1998) of 15 October 1998,

Welcoming the holding of free and fair legislative elections on 22 November and 13 December 1998,

Welcoming also the report of the Secretary-General of 18 December 1998 and the addendum thereto, of 14 January 1999, and the report of the Secretary-General of 29 January 1999, and taking note of the recommendations contained therein,

Taking note of the request of 8 December 1998 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-

⁶² Ibid., p. 4.

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 4-5.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 5-6.

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General, and the letter dated 23 January 1999 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General,

Reiterating the importance of the work done by the joint committee of the Government of the Central African Republic and the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic to address the restructuring of the Central African Armed Forces, and stressing the necessity quickly to adopt the draft law and decrees on national defence and the structure of the defence forces,

Reaffirming the link between socio-economic progress and the consolidation of peace in the Central African Republic, and in that context taking note of the letter dated 23 December 1998 from the President of the World Bank to the Secretary-General,

Recalling the importance of regional stability and the need to consolidate the progress achieved so far, and in particular to assist the people of the Central African Republic to consolidate the process of national reconciliation taking into account the need to maintain a secure and stable environment conducive to economic recovery and to the holding of free and fair presidential elections,

Stressing the importance of cooperation and understanding by the Government of the Central African Republic, the newly elected legislators and the political groupings, so as to ensure the effective functioning of the National Assembly,

Emphasizing the need for the Government of the Central African Republic to set the presidential election dates as soon as possible, in accordance with article 23 of the Constitution of the Central African Republic,

1. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic until 15 November 1999;

2. *Expresses its intention* to commence the reduction of Mission personnel fifteen days after the conclusion of the presidential elections in the Central African Republic, with a view to full termination of the Mission no later than 15 November 1999;

3. Decides to review every forty-five days, on the basis of reports of the Secretary-General, the mandate of the Mission in the light of the progress achieved towards implementation of the commitments made by the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General in his letter dated 23 January 1999;

4. Welcomes the intention of the Secretary-General to discuss with the President of the Central African Republic plans for a possible progressive reduction of the military component of the Mission in anticipation of the 15 November 1999 termination date of the Mission, commensurate with the advances in the restructuring of the Central African Armed Forces and taking into account the need to ensure the stability and security of Bangui;

5. Urges the international community to lend its support to the restructuring of the security forces of the Central African Republic, including the gendarmerie, through bilateral and multilateral assistance programmes, and reaffirms the role of the Mission in providing advice in the restructuring of the security forces and, in this connection, in coordinating and channelling international support to this end;

Strongly reaffirms 6. that the complete implementation of the Bangui Agreements and of the National Reconciliation Pact is essential to peace and national reconciliation in the Central African Republic, and urges the Government of the Central African Republic to continue to take concrete steps to implement political, economic, social and security reforms as referred to in the report of the Secretary-General of 23 February 1998 and to fulfil the commitments expressed in the letter dated 8 January 1998 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General and in the letter dated 23 January 1999 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General;

7. *Calls upon* all parties in the Central African Republic, with the assistance of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, to take the necessary measures to resolve the current political impasse, with a view to enhancing the national reconciliation process;

8. *Calls upon* the Government of the Central African Republic to establish the new electoral commission as soon as possible in order to organize the presidential elections, and to establish and adhere to a timetable for the holding of those elections;

9. Authorizes the Mission to play a supportive role in the conduct of the presidential elections, in conformity with the tasks previously performed during the legislative elections of 22 November and 13 December 1998, recognizing the major responsibility that the United Nations Development Programme will have in the coordination of electoral assistance;

10. Also authorizes the Mission to supervise the destruction of confiscated weapons and ammunition under its control, as recommended in paragraph 29 of the report of the Secretary-General of 18 December 1998;

11. Encourages an increased role for an increased number of troops of the Central African Armed Forces to support the presidential elections process, to include the deployment of troops of the Central African Armed Forces to electoral sites to assist Mission personnel in the provision of security and logistical support, and notes in this exceptional case that those troops of the Central African Armed Forces assisting the Mission in this context would operate during that time under United Nations rules of engagement;

12. Welcomes the commitments made by the President of the Central African Republic in his letter to the Secretary-General dated 23 January 1999, and urges the Government of the Central African Republic to fulfil these commitments, in particular: (a) To expedite the legislative process regarding national defence and the structure of defence forces with a view to adopting draft laws and decrees as prepared by the joint committee of the Government of the Central African Republic and the Mission, by 15 April 1999;

(b) To take steps to limit the mission of the Special Force for the Defence of the Republican Institutions to the protection of the republican institutions and of high-level authorities, excluding all police and maintenance of law and order tasks;

(c) To continue to implement with the support of the Mission the demobilization and reintegration programme funded by the United Nations Development Programme;

(d) To establish no later than 1 April 1999 an implementation programme in accordance with the timetable established by the joint committee of the Government of the Central African Republic and the Mission which should specify the key elements of the restructuring programme of the Central African Armed Forces to be implemented, among them the need to create well-balanced geographical and multi-ethnic recruitment, the improvement of working conditions, including the payment of salary and salary arrears, the provision of adequate infrastructure, equipment and support materials, and the redeployment of some of the restructured units outside Bangui;

13. Urges the Government of the Central African Republic to meet the requirements of the financial consolidation and economic reform programmes agreed upon with the international financial institutions;

14. *Requests* the Government of the Central African Republic to refrain from any involvement in external conflicts, in conformity with the commitment expressed in the letter dated 23 January 1999 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General;

15. Urges Member States to support financially and materially the restructuring programme of the Central African Armed Forces so as to facilitate its prompt implementation, and expresses its appreciation to those that have already done so;

16. Emphasizes that economic rehabilitation and reconstruction constitute important tasks facing the Government and people of the Central African Republic and that significant international assistance is indispensable for sustainable development in the Central African Republic, stresses the commitment of the international community to a long-term programme of support for the Central African Republic, and further urges the Economic and Social Council, the United Nations Development Programme, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the appropriate regional financial institutions to contribute to the designing of such a programme;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General to consider, in keeping with the statement by its President of 29 December 1998, what role the United Nations might play in the transition from peacekeeping to post-conflict peacebuilding in the Central

African Republic, and further requests him, in consultation with the Government of the Central African Republic, to submit recommendations in this regard, by 31 May 1999 on a possible United Nations presence in the Central African Republic after the 15 November 1999 termination of the Mission;

18. Also requests the Secretary-General to submit by 15 April 1999 and every forty-five days thereafter a report on the implementation of the mandate of the Mission, on developments in the Central African Republic, in particular on the election process, on progress towards the implementation of the commitments expressed in the letters dated 8 January 1998 and 23 January 1999 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General and on the implementation of the Bangui Agreements and the National Reconciliation Pact, including on commitments related to ensuring the country's economic recovery, the restructuring of the security forces and the functioning of the Special Force for the Defence of Republican Institutions;

19. *Commends* the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the personnel of the Mission to promote peace and national reconciliation in the Central African Republic;

20. *Recalls* the urgent need for Member States to contribute voluntarily to the trust fund established by the Secretary-General to support the activities of the Mission;

21. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the Central African Republic stated that while in a democracy it was important for the Government and the opposition to work together and to cooperate in furthering the interests of the State, micromanaging the Government and attempting to distribute ministerial and/or parliamentary posts was not helpful. He informed the Council that the Constitutional Court had rendered its decision that those opposition members who had defected to the Government side had every right to do so and that, therefore, the majority of the President's party in government was now official. The Bretton Woods group that had been in his country had concluded its work and had indicated to the Government its agreement to re-establish economic cooperation with his country. He also informed the Council that the first vice-presidency of the National Assembly had been offered to the opposition. In conclusion, he expressed his gratitude to the Council for all the help rendered to them and reiterated their determination to fulfil all their obligations under the Bangui Agreement and those commitments made by the President in his letter to the Council.⁶⁵

Decision of 22 October 1999 (4056th meeting): resolution 1271 (1999)

At its 4056th meeting, held on 22 October 1999 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Security Council included in its agenda the eighth report of the Secretary-General, dated 7 October 1999, on the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic, submitted pursuant to resolution 1230 (1999).⁶⁶ Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Russian Federation), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of the Central African Republic, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

In his report the Secretary-General observed that in spite of high levels of tension during the electoral campaign, high numbers of Central African voters went to the polls in a peaceful and calm manner and demonstrated their desire for peace, stability and development. Credit was also due to the considerable efforts of the international community and the assistance provided by Canada, China, Egypt, France, Gabon, Japan, Nigeria, the United States, the European Union and the United Nations Development Programme. He recommended that the assistance of the international community proceed from the peacekeeping phase to post-conflict peacebuilding. Noting that he was aware of the risks involved in a transition that might not give the Central African Republic enough time to fully prepare itself for the next challenging phase, he recommended that the Security Council authorize a gradual reduction of MINURCA during a three-month transition period ending on 15 February 2000. He trusted that the international community would continue to encourage and support positive developments in the Central African Republic and called upon donors to provide much-needed financial assistance and to support the restructuring of the armed forces as well as the process of economic and social reform and development.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.⁶⁷

Speaking before the vote, the representative of the United States stated that while the work of MINURCA was essentially complete much work remained to be done by the Government and the people of the Central African Republic. He encouraged further military restructuring, demobilization and strict adherence to the International Monetary Fund programme, which included the regular payment of salaries to soldiers and other Government employees. He maintained that the need for a smooth transition to non-assessed post-conflict institution building was paramount and that thus the troops of MINURCA needed to begin withdrawing immediately. Departure could not be delayed until the end of the current extension and the United Nations needed to take steps as soon as possible to formulate a programme for the United Nations and other international donors to support reform after MINURCA departed. It was equally important that the Central African Republic use the next three months to complete the implementation of stabilizing reforms. Noting that his Government had opposed extensions of the mandate of MINURCA in the past, he stated that they were joining the consensus today because they were committed to promoting peace and security throughout Africa as a means for enhancing development and economic growth.68

The representative of China observed that since the Council had authorized MINURCA the situation in the Central African Republic had remained peaceful and stable, national reconciliation had achieved positive results and work on various fronts had proceeded in a smooth and orderly manner. He also noted that various destabilizing factors remained and that work on national economic reconstruction and the restructuring of the Central African Armed Forces had yet to begin. He maintained that the continued presence of MINURCA in the Central African Republic for a period of time was highly necessary and they therefore supported the recommendations of the Secretary-General to extend the mission. He expressed his belief that the extension of the Mission and the future establishment of a United Nations office in Bangui

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

⁶⁶ S/1999/1038.

⁶⁷ S/1998/1078.

⁶⁸ S/PV.4056, pp. 2-3.

would contribute to national reconciliation and economic reconstruction in the Central African Republic.⁶⁹

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1271 (1999), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming all its relevant resolutions, in particular resolutions 1159 (1998) of 27 March 1998, 1201 (1998) of 15 October 1998 and 1230 (1999) of 26 February 1999,

Noting with satisfaction the successful conclusion of the presidential elections held on 19 September 1999,

Commending the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on the support provided to the electoral process,

Affirming the commitment of all States to respect the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of the Central African Republic,

Welcoming the report of the Secretary-General of 7 October 1999, and noting with approval the recommendations contained therein,

Recalling the importance of the process of national reconciliation, and urging all the political forces of the Central African Republic to continue their efforts towards cooperation and understanding,

Emphasizing the necessity of proceeding speedily to the restructuring of the Central African Armed Forces,

Reaffirming the importance of regional stability and of the consolidation of the climate of peace in the Central African Republic, which constitute essential elements for the restoration of peace in the region,

Reaffirming also the link between socio-economic progress and the consolidation of the stability of the Central African Republic,

Recalling the relevant principles set out in the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel, adopted on 9 December 1994,

Noting the desire expressed by the Government of the Central African Republic for an extension of the presence of the Mission beyond 15 November 1999,

1. Decides to extend the mandate of the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic until 15 February 2000 with a view to ensuring a short and gradual transition from United Nations peacekeeping involvement in the

Central African Republic to a post-conflict peace-building presence with the aid of the relevant United Nations agencies and programmes and of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development;

2. *Welcomes* the recommendation of the Secretary-General in paragraph 58 of his report of 7 October 1999 that the reduction of the military and civilian strength of the Mission be conducted in three stages;

3. Calls firmly once again upon the Government of the Central African Republic to continue to take tangible measures to implement the political, economic, social and security reforms mentioned in the report of the Secretary-General of 23 February 1998 and to honour the commitments set forth, inter alia, in the letter dated 23 January 1999 from the President of the Central African Republic addressed to the Secretary-General, and reaffirms the role of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Central African Republic in assisting the promotion of reforms and national reconciliation;

4. *Strongly encourages* the Government of the Central African Republic to coordinate closely with the Mission in the progressive transfer of the functions of the Mission in the security field to the local security and police forces;

5. Urges the Government of the Central African Republic to complete, with the advice and technical support of the Mission, the initial steps of the restructuring programme of the Central African Armed Forces and of the demobilization and reintegration programme of the retired military personnel, appeals to the international community to give its support to those programmes, and welcomes the proposal of the Secretary-General to convene a meeting in New York in the coming months to solicit funds in order to finance those programmes;

6. Welcomes the proposal of the Secretary-General to despatch a small multidisciplinary mission to Bangui in order to examine, in accordance with the wishes expressed by the Government of the Central African Republic, the conditions for the maintenance of the United Nations presence beyond 15 February 2000 in accordance with the recommendations made by the Secretary-General and contained in his reports of 28 May 1999 and 7 October 1999, and requests the Secretary-General to inform the Council as soon as possible concerning his detailed proposals in this regard;

7. *Reaffirms* the importance of the role of the Mission in supervising the destruction of confiscated weapons and ammunition under its control;

8. Requests the Secretary-General to submit by 15 January 2000 a report on the implementation of the mandate of the Mission and, in particular, on the progressive transfer of the functions of the Mission in the security field to the local security and police forces, on the evolution of the situation in the Central African Republic, on the progress achieved in the implementation of the commitments set forth in the letters dated 8 December 1998 and 23 January 1999 from the President of the Central African Republic addressed to the Secretary-General,

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 3

and on the implementation of the Bangui Agreements and the National Reconciliation Pact, including the commitments relating to economic recovery, the restructuring of the security

forces and the functioning of the Special Force for the Defence of the Republican Institutions;

agreement on an interim government of national unity and a

Secretary-General to its President drawing attention to the

The Council recalls the letter dated 20 June 1997 from the

9. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

13. The situation in the Republic of the Congo

Initial proceedings

Decision of 13 August 1997 (3810th meeting): statement by the President

At its 3810th meeting, held on 13 August 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Security Council included in its agenda without objection the item entitled "the situation in the Republic of the Congo".

Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (United Kingdom), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of the Republic of the Congo, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting the President made the following statement on behalf of the Council:¹

The Security Council is deeply concerned about the situation in the Republic of the Congo following the outbreak of factional fighting in Brazzaville on 5 June 1997. The Council is particularly concerned at the plight of civilians caught up in the fighting, which has resulted in widespread loss of life, displacement of the population and severe humanitarian conditions in Brazzaville. The Council considers that the situation in the Republic of the Congo is likely to endanger peace, stability and security in the region.

The Council expresses its full support for the efforts of the International Mediation Committee, under the chairmanship of the President of Gabon, and the National Mediation Committee, under the chairmanship of the Mayor of Brazzaville, to persuade the parties involved to reach agreement on a ceasefire and a peaceful settlement of the current crisis. It also affirms its support for the important and constructive role of the joint United Nations/Organization of African Unity special Representative for the Great Lakes region in these negotiations.

The Council expresses its grave concern at the recent recurrence of fighting in Brazzaville, calls upon the two parties to the conflict to halt all acts of violence immediately and underlines the need to respect the ceasefire agreement signed on 14 July 1997. It also calls upon the two parties to resolve the crisis on the basis of the proposals submitted by the President of Gabon currently under discussion in Libreville, including

request by the President of Gabon for deployment of an appropriate force to Brazzaville, and the relevant letters to the

timetable for the holding of presidential elections.

appropriate force to Brazzaville, and the relevant letters to the Secretary-General from the President of the Republic of the Congo and the Secretary-General of the Organization of African The Council endorses three conditions for the establishment of such a force set by the Secretary General, namely, complete adherence to an agreed and viable ceasefire, agreement to the international control of the Brazzaville airport and a clear commitment to a negotiated settlement covering all political and military aspects of the crisis.

The Council is of the view that, despite some positive political developments, these conditions have not yet been fulfilled and calls upon the parties to them fulfil them without delay. The Council intends to take a decision on this matter once the Secretary-General has submitted a report to it on the question of the fulfilment of these conditions and containing recommendations on further United Nations involvement in the Republic of the Congo.

The Council also calls upon both parties to respect relevant provisions of international humanitarian law and to ensure safe and unimpeded access by international humanitarian organizations to persons in need of assistance as a result of the conflict, and in any other way to facilitate the effective implementation of humanitarian programmes.

The Council will remain seized of the matter.

Decision of 16 October 1997 (3823rd meeting): statement by the President

At the 3823rd meeting of the Security Council, held on 16 October 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Chile), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of the Republic of the Congo, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

¹ S/PRST/1997/43.