

## 20. The situation in Côte d'Ivoire

### Initial proceedings

#### **Decision of 20 December 2002 (4680th meeting): statement by the President**

At its 4680th meeting,<sup>1</sup> on 20 December 2002, the Security Council included in its agenda the item entitled "The situation in Côte d'Ivoire", and extended invitations to the representatives of Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal to participate in the discussion. The President (Colombia) drew the attention of the Council to a letter dated 19 December 2002 from the representative of Senegal,<sup>2</sup> in his capacity as representative of the Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), transmitting the text of the final communiqué of the extraordinary summit of ECOWAS on Côte d'Ivoire, adopted at Dakar on 18 December 2002. Referring to paragraph 18 of the communiqué, in which ECOWAS appealed to the Council to provide assistance in its efforts to find a solution to the Ivorian crisis, the representative of Senegal requested the Council to consider without delay the specific forms and modalities of United Nations support for the efforts of ECOWAS.

At the meeting, the President made a statement on behalf of the Council,<sup>3</sup> by which the Council, *inter alia*:

Expressed its grave concern at the situation in Côte d'Ivoire and its serious consequences for the population of the country and the region;

Stressed that the crisis in Côte d'Ivoire could be resolved only through a negotiated political solution;

Strongly supported the efforts of ECOWAS, currently chaired by Senegal, to promote a peaceful resolution of the conflict;

Expressed its full support for the deployment in Côte d'Ivoire of the ECOWAS Monitoring Group force, under Senegalese command, by 31 December 2002;

Expressed its deepest concern at reports of mass killings and grave violations of human rights in Côte d'Ivoire;

Called on all parties to ensure full respect for human rights and international humanitarian law;

Also expressed its concern at the humanitarian consequences of the crisis in Côte d'Ivoire;

Called upon the international community to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to those in need in all the countries of the subregion that were affected by the Ivorian crisis.

#### **Decision of 4 February 2003 (4700th meeting): resolution 1464 (2003)**

At its 4700th meeting, on 4 February 2003, in which the representative of Côte d'Ivoire was invited to participate, the Council included in its agenda a letter dated 27 January 2003 from the representative of France, transmitting copies of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement signed by Ivorian political forces on 23 January 2003 and the Conclusions of the Conference of Heads of State on Côte d'Ivoire held in Paris on 25 and 26 January 2003.<sup>4</sup>

At the meeting, at which the Secretary-General was present, the President (Germany) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution;<sup>5</sup> it was put to the vote and adopted unanimously and without debate as resolution 1464 (2003), by which the Council, determining that the situation in Côte d'Ivoire constituted a threat to international peace and security in the region, *inter alia*:

Endorsed the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement and called on all Ivorian political forces to implement it fully and without delay;

Called on all Ivorian political forces to work towards the establishment of a balanced and stable government; and noted the provisions in the Agreement for the establishment of a Monitoring Committee;

Requested the Secretary-General to submit recommendations to the Council on how the United Nations could support the implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement;

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<sup>1</sup> During this period, in addition to the meetings covered in this section, the Council held one meeting in private with the troop-contributing countries to the United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire, pursuant to resolution 1353 (2001), annex II, sections A and B (4854th meeting, held on 7 November 2003).

<sup>2</sup> S/2002/1386.

<sup>3</sup> S/PRST/2002/42.

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<sup>4</sup> S/2003/99.

<sup>5</sup> S/2003/140.

Welcomed the intention of the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative for Côte d'Ivoire;

Condemned violations of human rights and international humanitarian law; requested ECOWAS to report to the Council periodically;

Called upon all States neighbouring Côte d'Ivoire to support the peace process by preventing any action that might undermine the security and territorial integrity of Côte d'Ivoire;

Welcomed the deployment of ECOWAS forces and French troops;

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, authorized ECOWAS forces and French forces supporting them to take necessary steps to guarantee the security and freedom of movement of their personnel and to ensure the protection of civilians, for a period of six months.

**Decision of 13 May 2003 (4754th meeting):  
resolution 1479 (2003)**

At its 4746th meeting,<sup>6</sup> on 29 April 2003, the Council heard statements by the Secretary-General, the members of an ECOWAS ministerial delegation comprising the Foreign Ministers of Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea and Nigeria, and the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS.<sup>7</sup>

In his opening remarks, the President (Mexico) noted that the Council favoured strengthening cooperation and coordination between the United Nations and ECOWAS in order to create a process leading to peace and stability in Côte d'Ivoire and in the West African region.<sup>8</sup>

The Secretary-General informed the Council that his Special Representative had taken up the role of chairing the follow-up committee established in

accordance with the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement and welcomed the progress that the Prime Minister, Seydou Diarra, had made in establishing the new Government of National Reconciliation. He noted that the various Ivorian parties had at last begun taking important steps to implement the Agreement and that ECOWAS had found it necessary to substantially increase the size of the ECOWAS force at this critical time. He appealed to the Council and the broader international community to quickly provide ECOWAS with the additional financial resources required to sustain the ECOWAS force in the next six months. Finally, the Secretary-General recalled that he had recommended the establishment of a small United Nations operation in Côte d'Ivoire, which would comprise military liaison components as well as human rights, civil affairs and media components, to complement the peacekeeping efforts launched by ECOWAS and France. It was his hope that the Council would shortly authorize that mission so that the United Nations could strengthen its role in the Ivorian peace process.<sup>9</sup>

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana and Chairman of ECOWAS noted that, since the outset of the Ivorian crisis, ECOWAS had assisted the concerned parties in negotiating a ceasefire and forming a new Government of National Reconciliation. Now that such a Government was in place and the country was apparently returning to the path of normalcy and peace, ECOWAS considered it essential to give the peace process the maximum amount of support. Mindful of that, the Defence and Security Commission of ECOWAS had decided to expand the ECOWAS force from a force of around 1,200 soldiers to one of some 3,200 soldiers. In addition to its original mandate of monitoring the ceasefire, the enlarged ECOWAS force would assume several other responsibilities, including protecting the new Government, patrolling the borders, demobilizing and disarming the various militias in the country and creating conditions conducive for the Government to have full control of the national territory. The Minister remarked that since the West African States lacked the necessary financial means to support an expanded ECOWAS force, ECOWAS had dispatched this ministerial delegation to visit the United Nations and certain major capitals to seek support. Stressing that Côte d'Ivoire was one of the most important States in West Africa, the Minister urged the international community to fully support the

<sup>6</sup> At the 4747th meeting, held in private on 29 April 2003, the members of the Council, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana and Chairman of ECOWAS, the Minister of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Côte d'Ivoire, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guinea, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, the representative of Senegal and the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS had a constructive discussion. The Council members welcomed the action taken by ECOWAS with a view to resolving the crisis in Côte d'Ivoire. They strongly supported the appeal addressed by the ECOWAS ministerial delegation to Member States to provide logistical and financial support for the ECOWAS force deployed in Côte d'Ivoire.

<sup>7</sup> The representative of Senegal was invited to participate in the meeting but did not make a statement.

<sup>8</sup> S/PV.4746, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

ongoing peace process initiated by the Ivorians themselves in order to create conditions that would allow Côte d'Ivoire to return to full normalcy and peace, and to be able to conduct free and fair elections in October 2005.<sup>10</sup>

The Minister of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Côte d'Ivoire held that the political developments in his country had been satisfactory since the signing of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement. The Government of National Reconciliation, whose members were drawn from all the political spheres, had been established and was functioning. While its first decisions focused on the restoration of security in the country, the Government had taken steps to revitalize trade and human exchanges with its neighbours in the region. Stating that it was determined to abide by all of its international commitments in order to regain the confidence of its people and its neighbours, the Minister held that the Government was especially concerned about the situation in the western part of the country where rebels from Liberia and Sierra Leone were operational. In that regard, he recalled that the recent meeting between the Presidents of Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire in Togo had resulted in a decision to deploy military forces, composed of contingents from Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, the ECOWAS force and the French forces, to patrol along the long border between the two countries. At the same time, the Minister opined that the flow of small weapons in the subregion constituted a factor of destabilization, cautioning that what was occurring in Côte d'Ivoire could take place in any country if nothing was done to control the dissemination of such weapons. In conclusion, the Minister emphasized the critical role of ongoing assistance of the Council and the entire international community in order for Côte d'Ivoire to emerge from the serious situation and for peace and stability to be restored to Côte d'Ivoire and to the subregion. He stressed that the ECOWAS force needed to remain in Côte d'Ivoire until the holding of the elections in 2005.<sup>11</sup>

The Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Guinea noted that the peacekeeping and peacebuilding experience of ECOWAS in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau and Côte d'Ivoire had shown that the required logistical and financial

resources were not always within reach of the West African States. However, he was convinced that with continued support from the Council, as well as assistance from bilateral and multilateral partners, the action that ECOWAS had undertaken in Côte d'Ivoire would be successful.<sup>12</sup>

The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Nigeria underlined the need for the Council and the regional partners to take the issue of Côte d'Ivoire seriously, underlining that the international community could not stand by and watch the situation in Côte d'Ivoire deteriorate to the level of that in Sierra Leone before the intervention of the ECOWAS Monitoring Group and the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone. Noting that the various conflicts in the subregion should be tackled in a holistic manner, he believed that the settlement of the Ivorian crisis would contribute greatly to the resolution of all other problems in the subregion.<sup>13</sup>

For his part, the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS held that while ECOWAS had shown the political will to act and intervene in conflicts in West Africa, its capacity had been restricted due to the lack of financial wherewithal. In that respect, he encouraged the Council to find ways to support worthy subregional efforts to maintain peace and security. He stressed that the Council should encourage ECOWAS to continue to play a leading role in addressing the Ivorian conflict, while also creating the right synergy and collaborative working relationships with ECOWAS.<sup>14</sup>

On 26 March 2003, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on Côte d'Ivoire.<sup>15</sup> In that report, the Secretary-General reflected on the root causes of instability in Côte d'Ivoire, notably the power struggle among the leadership and the controversies over nationality laws and eligibility conditions for national elections. Recalling the various international efforts aimed at restoring peace to Côte d'Ivoire, the Secretary-General held that the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement offered the best chance for the Ivorian people to peacefully resolve the conflict that threatened to plunge their country into a crisis of the proportions of those that had devastated Liberia and

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp. 4-5.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 5-6.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp. 6-7.

<sup>15</sup> S/2003/374 and Corr.1 and Add.1, submitted pursuant to resolution 1464 (2003).

Sierra Leone. In that respect, he urged the Ivorian parties to overcome their differences to allow the new Government of National Reconciliation to start functioning without further delay and to address the bigger challenge of implementing the work programme set out in the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement. The Secretary-General commended the French and ECOWAS forces for their partnership and invaluable work in preventing the escalation of the conflict and appealed to donor countries to redeem their pledges of assistance.

The Secretary-General, alarmed by the disturbing regional dimension of the Ivorian crisis, underlined the urgent need for the international community to pay more attention to the linkages between the conflict in Liberia and the developments in Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone. Stressing the need for an integrated and common approach by the United Nations system, the Secretary-General noted that his Special Representative for Côte d'Ivoire would devise, in consultation with the humanitarian and development agencies, an appropriate coordination mechanism that would ensure an enhanced effectiveness of the United Nations system's response to the Ivorian crisis and linkages with regional dimensions. Finally, the Secretary-General recommended that the Council approve the proposed arrangements for United Nations support to the Ivorian peace process and that a United Nations mission in Côte d'Ivoire be established for that purpose.

At its 4754th meeting, on 13 May 2003, the Council included the above-mentioned report of the Secretary-General in its agenda and extended an invitation to the representative of Côte d'Ivoire to participate in the discussion. The President (Pakistan) drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution;<sup>16</sup> it was put to the vote and adopted unanimously and without debate as resolution 1479 (2003), by which the Council, inter alia:

Decided to establish, for an initial period of six months, a United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI), with a mandate to facilitate the implementation by the Ivorian parties of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement and including a military component;

Approved the establishment of a small staff to support the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on political, legal, civil affairs, civilian police, elections, media and public

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<sup>16</sup> S/2003/539.

relations, humanitarian and human rights issues, and the establishment of a military liaison group;

Requested that special attention be given to the gender component within the staff of MINUCI and to the situation of women and girls, consistent with resolution 1325 (2000);

Renewed its appeal to all Ivorian political forces to implement fully and without delay the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement and invited the Government of National Reconciliation to this end to develop a timetable for implementing the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement and to communicate this timetable to the Monitoring Committee;

Emphasized again the need to bring to justice those responsible for the serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law that had taken place in Côte d'Ivoire since 19 September 2002;

Stressed the importance of an early start to the process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration;

Requested all Ivorian parties to cooperate with MINUCI in the execution of its mandate, to ensure the freedom of movement of its personnel throughout the country and the unimpeded and safe movement of the personnel of humanitarian agencies, and to support efforts to find safe and durable solutions for refugees and displaced persons.

**Decision of 25 July 2003 (4793rd meeting):  
statement by the President**

At its 4793rd meeting, on 25 July 2003, at which the Secretary-General was present, the Council heard a briefing by the Prime Minister of the Government of National Reconciliation of Côte d'Ivoire,<sup>17</sup> following which all members of the Council made statements.

The Prime Minister of Côte d'Ivoire outlined the progress that had been made in the implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement since the establishment of the Government of National Reconciliation. While the Ministers of Defence and Security remained to be appointed, their respective functions were being carried out and the Government as a whole was working normally. On the military front, the integral ceasefire agreement between the Forces armées nationales de Côte d'Ivoire (FANCI) and the Forces nouvelles had been signed and subsequently the ceasefire was extended westward to the border with Liberia. Meanwhile, a buffer zone between FANCI and the Forces nouvelles had been

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<sup>17</sup> At the request of the Prime Minister, his Special Adviser was also given the floor to provide a briefing on the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme in Côte d'Ivoire.

defined and the cantonment areas for the two forces had been designated. Recently, the two forces also issued a joint statement declaring the end of the war following which the Government adopted an amnesty bill and submitted it to the National Assembly for adoption. With regard to the relations with neighbouring countries, the Prime Minister referred to several high-level visits from Burkina Faso and Mali, resulting in the opening of safe transportation corridors between Côte d'Ivoire and its neighbours. As to the assistance from the international community, the Prime Minister stressed the need to finance the ECOWAS Mission in Côte d'Ivoire, the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme and the redeployment of State administration throughout the national territory. Moreover, the Prime Minister noted that his Government would seek United Nations support for the holding of fair, transparent and open elections by 2005 involving all Ivoirians, as well as financial help in health and education, humanitarian assistance and job training and creation for young people. The Prime Minister emphasized that for Côte d'Ivoire to return to peace and stability, the Liberian conflict must be settled in the subregional context and with the support of the international community. He further stressed that poverty in the subregion must be robustly addressed. Finally, the Prime Minister reiterated that the goal of his Government was to hold fair, transparent and open elections by 2005. To that end, the most important thing was to avoid exclusion by involving all Ivoirians, including non-winning minorities, in the electoral process.<sup>18</sup>

The Special Adviser to the Prime Minister provided a detailed overview of the national disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme in Côte d'Ivoire and elaborated on the plans for its full implementation, including a step-by-step agenda for action in the four phases of the process, namely grouping, disarmament, demobilization, cantonment and reintegration. He held that the process could be successfully implemented following the establishment of the Government of National Reconciliation and by reunifying the army to make it a force devoted to republican values.<sup>19</sup>

The Council members welcomed the progress that had been made in the Ivorian peace process, as

evidently noted by the Prime Minister. Many attached particular importance to the joint statement of 4 July 2003 by FANCI and the Forces nouvelles declaring an end to the war, which constituted an important step forward towards national reconciliation.<sup>20</sup> They reiterated the importance of fully implementing the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement and expressed their support for the Prime Minister in that regard. At the same time, they underlined that much remained to be done, particularly with regard to the implementation of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme, the restoration of State administration throughout the country and the revival of the economy. In the light of those challenges, the Council members called on the international community and particularly donor countries to continue to provide generous support to the Government and people of Côte d'Ivoire in their search for lasting peace, as well as to assist ECOWAS in its efforts to restore peace to Côte d'Ivoire.

As a matter of priority, a number of members called for a prompt settlement of the issues concerning the appointment of the Ministers of Defence and Security and the adoption of the amnesty law by the National Assembly so as to make the Government of National Reconciliation fully operational and to promote national reconciliation.<sup>21</sup> Meanwhile, many stressed the need for the Ivorian parties to carry out the national disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme without delay.<sup>22</sup> Several drew attention to the regional dimension of the Ivorian crisis, with the representatives of Angola and Chile cautioning against the negative repercussions of the situation in Liberia for the stability of Côte d'Ivoire.<sup>23</sup> Finally, the representatives of China and Mexico noted that the proliferation of small arms and the rampant activities of mercenaries in the subregion must be curbed.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8 (China); pp. 9-10 (Syrian Arab Republic); p. 10 (Mexico); p. 12 (Angola); p. 13 (Guinea); p. 15 (Russian Federation); and p. 16 (Cameroon).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7 (United Kingdom); p. 8 (China); p. 11 (Mexico); p. 12 (Angola); p. 15 (Russian Federation); p. 17 (United States); and p. 18 (Spain).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6 (France); p. 7 (United Kingdom); p. 9 (Germany); p. 11 (Mexico); p. 13 (Angola); p. 15 (Chile); and p. 16 (Russian Federation).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8 (China); p. 10 (Mexico); p. 13 (Angola); p. 15 (Chile); and p. 17 (United States).

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8 (China); and p. 11 (Mexico).

<sup>18</sup> S/PV.4793, pp. 2-4, 6 and 18-21.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4-6.

At the end of the meeting, the President (Spain) made a statement on behalf of the Council,<sup>25</sup> by which the Council, *inter alia*:

Reiterated the need for Ivorian political forces to implement fully and without delay all the provisions of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement, as well as those of the agreement signed in Accra on 8 March 2003, with a view to open, free and transparent elections being held in 2005;

Emphasized, however, that much remained to be done to achieve the full implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement; endorsed the recommendations of its mission to West Africa;

Renewed its support and encouragement to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Côte d'Ivoire; asked him to keep the Council closely informed of developments towards the full implementation of the above objectives;

Stated that it was pleased that MINUCI was now operational and hoped it would soon be fully staffed, including in such crucial areas as the political and human rights components;

Reiterated its full support for the efforts of ECOWAS and France in contributing to a peaceful solution to the crisis;

Invited donor countries to contribute to the reconstruction of Côte d'Ivoire in compliance with their commitments;

Expressed its concern at the continued existence of regional factors of instability, particularly the use of mercenaries and child soldiers, and the spread of small arms and light weapons which prevented a lasting solution to the crisis in the region.

**Decision of 4 August 2003 (4804th meeting): resolution 1498 (2003)**

At its 4804th meeting, on 4 August 2003, the Council again included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General of 26 March 2003<sup>26</sup> and invited the representative of Côte d'Ivoire to participate in the discussion. The President (Syrian Arab Republic) then drew the attention of the members of the Council to a draft resolution;<sup>27</sup> it was put to the vote and adopted unanimously and without debate as resolution 1498 (2003), by which the Council, reaffirming its resolution 1464 (2003), *inter alia*:

Decided to renew for a period of six months the authorization given to Member States participating in ECOWAS forces together with French forces supporting them;

Requested ECOWAS, through the command of its force, and France to report to the Council periodically, through the Secretary-General, on all aspects of the implementation of their respective mandates; and decided to remain actively seized of the matter.

**Decisions of 13 November 2003 (4857th meeting): resolution 1514 (2003) and statement by the President**

On 4 November 2003, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his second report on MINUCI.<sup>28</sup> In his report, the Secretary-General noted with concern that the Ivorian peace process had encountered serious difficulties since early August 2003. The country had plunged into a political stalemate, mainly due to the boycott by the Forces nouvelles of the Government of National Reconciliation, leaving the latter effectively unable to implement the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement. The Secretary-General particularly expressed concern at the outstanding differences among the Ivorian political actors over their interpretation of the power-sharing concept and the delay in the restructuring process of the Ivorian Defence and Security Forces as provided for in the Agreement. He held that the current difficult situation was further compounded by the activities of hardliners on both sides. While the "militarists" within the Forces nouvelles stressed that the crucial issues pertaining to nationality and article 35 of the Constitution concerning eligibility criteria for the Presidency must be resolved before they surrendered their weapons, some key figures in the ruling party, feeling that they had already made major concessions, questioned the sincerity of the Forces nouvelles' commitment to the peace process. In that context, the Secretary-General urged the Ivorian leaders to cooperate with the ongoing efforts of ECOWAS leaders to convene a meeting between President Gbagbo and the signatories to the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement, with a view to reaching agreement on a number of fundamental issues as well as on a calendar for addressing them. Those key benchmarks would include the following: (a) the acceptance by all parties of the Government of National Reconciliation as fully constituted after the appointment of the Defence and Security Ministers on 12 September 2003; (b) the immediate return of the Forces nouvelles to the

<sup>25</sup> S/PRST/2003/11.

<sup>26</sup> S/2003/374 and Corr.1 and Add.1.

<sup>27</sup> S/2003/783.

<sup>28</sup> S/2003/1069, submitted pursuant to resolution 1479 (2003). For the first report, dated 8 August 2003, see S/2003/801.

Government; (c) the immediate commencement of the disbanding of all militias; (d) the earliest and simultaneous cantonment of both the Forces nouvelles and FANCI, and the commencement of their disarmament; (e) the immediate restoration of State authority throughout the territory; and (f) the adoption by the National Assembly, before the end of 2003, of the Government's proposed programme for the implementation of provisions of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement relating to nationality, article 35 of the Constitution, electoral reforms, the media and human rights.

The Secretary-General fully shared the assessment of the recent mission of the International Organization of la Francophonie to Côte d'Ivoire that, without an early reunification of the country, the holding of elections in 2005 would not be possible. He was confident that the implementation of the above benchmarks would facilitate the reunification of Côte d'Ivoire. Once the current stalemate was resolved and the parties agreed on timelines for those benchmarks and opened up the country for free movement, the United Nations would be ready to dispatch an electoral assessment mission to Côte d'Ivoire to determine how best the Organization could support the elections of 2005, as requested by the Government. The Secretary-General urged the Council to support the efforts aimed at resolving the ongoing political stalemate and looked forward to an early decision by the Council on possible reinforcement of MINUCI. Meanwhile, he recommended that the mandate of MINUCI be extended for another six months. He implored the international community to provide the necessary logistical and financial support to the ECOWAS Mission, which was playing an indispensable role in stabilizing the situation on the ground. Finally, noting that the international community faced a unique opportunity to pursue an effective regional approach in its efforts to bring lasting stability to Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia and Sierra Leone, the Secretary-General urged all stakeholders to make the best use of the opportunity and avoid the dangers of failing to address adequately any one of the situations in the three countries.

At its 4857th meeting, on 13 November 2003, the Council included the above-mentioned report of the Secretary-General in its agenda and invited the representative of Côte d'Ivoire to participate in the discussion. The President (Angola) drew the attention

of the members of the Council to a draft resolution;<sup>29</sup> it was put to the vote and adopted unanimously and without debate as resolution 1514 (2003), by which the Council, *inter alia*:

Decided that the mandate of MINUCI should be extended until 4 February 2004;

Requested the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council by 10 January 2004 on the efforts of the Mission to facilitate peace and stability in Côte d'Ivoire, including how those efforts might be improved and in particular the possible reinforcement of the United Nations presence in Côte d'Ivoire.

After the adoption of resolution 1514 (2003), the President made a statement on behalf of the Council,<sup>30</sup> by which the Council, *inter alia*:

Urged all Ivorian political forces to implement fully, without delay or precondition, all the provisions of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement as well as those of the agreement reached in Accra on 8 March 2003 with a view to open, free and transparent elections being held in Côte d'Ivoire in 2005;

Emphasized the urgent need to begin reforming land law and electoral rules, restore public services and the authority of the State throughout the territory of Côte d'Ivoire, and end the use of mercenaries and the illicit purchase of weapons in violation of national laws;

Condemned firmly the grave human rights violations;

Further condemned the murder of a French journalist on 21 October in Abidjan;

Further condemned the hostile acts against United Nations personnel in Bouaké and Man on 24 and 25 October, and recalled that all the parties were obliged, by resolution 1479 (2003), to cooperate with MINUCI and to ensure freedom of movement of its personnel;

Reiterated its full support for the efforts of ECOWAS, France and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General with a view to stabilizing the country and seeking a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

**Decision of 4 December 2003 (4875th meeting):  
statement by the President**

At its 4873rd meeting, on 24 November 2003, the Council heard a statement by the Secretary-General, as well as briefings by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana and the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS.

The Secretary-General voiced deep concern at the political stalemate created by the withdrawal of the

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<sup>29</sup> S/2003/1083.

<sup>30</sup> S/PRST/2003/20.

Forces nouvelles from the Government of National Reconciliation on 23 September 2003. Unless urgent steps were taken to resolve the impasse, he cautioned, the tenuous security situation in the country could deteriorate still further. In that regard, he pointed to the increased tensions between FANCI and the Forces nouvelles, as well as to signs indicating that the situation in some parts of the territory controlled by the Forces nouvelles was degenerating into lawlessness. In view of those alarming developments, the Secretary-General was reassured by the recent meeting of ECOWAS leaders held in Accra on 11 November 2003 where the President and the Prime Minister of Côte d'Ivoire had worked closely together to ensure the effective implementation of the Government's work programme developed on the basis of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement. The Secretary-General reiterated his call on the Ivorian parties to swiftly address the fundamental issues behind the stalemate as identified in his report of 4 November 2003,<sup>31</sup> and reaffirmed the commitment of the United Nations to work closely with ECOWAS in the pursuit of peace in Côte d'Ivoire. He noted his intention to send an assessment mission to Côte d'Ivoire soon to prepare recommendations on the United Nations role in facilitating the Ivorian peace process, including through the possible reinforcement of the United Nations presence in the country. He implored the Council and the international community to remain engaged in Côte d'Ivoire and to provide the necessary support to enable ECOMICI to continue its useful work in Côte d'Ivoire.<sup>32</sup>

Speaking on behalf of the visiting ECOWAS ministerial delegation, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana and Chairman of ECOWAS noted that serious difficulties remained in the restoration of peace in Côte d'Ivoire, notably the suspension by the Forces nouvelles of their participation in the Government and the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme. To find a rapid solution to the deadlock, a summit was recently convened in Accra among the Heads of State and Government of some ECOWAS Member States. In addition to stressing the need for all Ivorian parties to work together towards lasting peace, the participating leaders had concluded that the presence of a robust peacekeeping force, capable of securing the entire territory of Côte d'Ivoire, would

contribute greatly to the implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement. Since ECOWAS did not dispose of the means required to raise and maintain such a force, the leaders requested the Council to consider the possibility of establishing a full-fledged United Nations peacekeeping force in Côte d'Ivoire and of transforming the ECOWAS Mission into part of that force. The Minister noted that all the principal actors of the Ivorian crisis appeared to be supportive of such a decisive step aimed at restoring peace to their country. In the light of the allegations that the various parties were strengthening their positions militarily in the eventuality of a resumption of hostilities, he reiterated that insecurity remained the real threat to the peace process in Côte d'Ivoire and highlighted that all measures should be taken to secure the ceasefire and to implement the security provisions of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement. For its part, ECOWAS had continued to work closely with the French forces to secure the line of separation between the belligerents while deciding to augment the personal security of the Ministers of the Government.<sup>33</sup>

Elaborating on the enormous impact of the Ivorian conflict on the overall economic conditions in West Africa, the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS underlined that the restoration of peace and stability to Côte d'Ivoire was a sine qua non for the stability and development of the rest of the subregion. However, despite the considerable efforts by ECOWAS, there were troubling signs of deterioration of the situation in Côte d'Ivoire. Of particular concern was the existence of bands of armed groups whose activities extended beyond the Ivorian borders and threatened the successful efforts of the international community to bring peace to Sierra Leone, Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire. The Executive Secretary therefore urged the international community to adopt a comprehensive regional approach to simultaneously tackle the conflicts in the three countries. To that end, he encouraged the Council to join ECOWAS in a concerted effort to restore peace and stability to Côte d'Ivoire, which would in turn consolidate the gains recently made in Sierra Leone and Liberia. In closing, he noted that to create an enabling environment for dialogue, national reconciliation and the speedy and full implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement in Côte d'Ivoire, the international community should back political action by the

<sup>31</sup> S/2003/1069.

<sup>32</sup> S/PV.4873, pp. 2-3.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-5.



presence of a robust peacekeeping force in Côte d'Ivoire.<sup>34</sup>

At the 4875th meeting,<sup>35</sup> on 4 December 2003, in which the representative of Côte d'Ivoire was invited to participate, the President (Bulgaria) made a statement on behalf of the Council,<sup>36</sup> by which the Council, *inter alia*:

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>35</sup> At the 4874th meeting, held in private on 24 November 2003, the members of the Council, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, members of the ministerial delegation and the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS had a constructive exchange of views.

<sup>36</sup> S/PRST/2003/25.

Reiterated its full support for the ECOWAS and French forces;

Called on all parties to refrain from any act that might compromise the respect of the ceasefire and implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement;

Reiterated urgent need for all parties to take all possible measures to accelerate implementation of the Agreement;

Reiterated also its intention to consider the Secretary-General's recommendations on the means of facilitating peace and stability in Côte d'Ivoire;

Welcomed commitments undertaken by President Laurent Gbagbo in his speech on 27 November 2003 and called on all parties in Côte d'Ivoire and countries of the region to guarantee safety and full access of humanitarian agencies personnel.

## **21. Letter dated 2 October 2003 from the Permanent Representative of the Sudan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council**

### **Initial proceedings**

#### **Decision of 10 October 2003 (4839th meeting): statement by the President**

At its 4839th meeting, on 10 October 2003, the Security Council included in its agenda a letter dated 2 October 2003 from the representative of the Sudan,<sup>1</sup> transmitting the text of the Framework Agreement on Security Arrangements during the Interim Period between the Government of the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army, signed on 25 September 2003 in Naivasha, Kenya. The representative of the Sudan stated that the agreement on security arrangements was an important breakthrough and key step in reaching a comprehensive settlement.

The representative of the Sudan was invited to participate in the meeting. The President (United States) made a statement on behalf of the Council,<sup>2</sup> by which the Council, *inter alia*:

Welcomed the agreement on security arrangements reached in Naivasha (Kenya) between the Government of the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army; reiterated its welcome for the signing of the Machakos Protocol which represented a viable basis for a resolution of the conflict in the Sudan;

Also welcomed the continuation of the ceasefire and the establishment of the Verification and Monitoring Team, the Joint Military Commission and the Civilian Protection Monitoring Team, and encouraged Member States in a position to do so to contribute financial and logistical resources.

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<sup>1</sup> S/2003/934.

<sup>2</sup> S/PRST/2003/16.