

Distr.: General 20 August 2003

Original: English

# Letter dated 20 August 2003 from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council

I have the honour to enclose the assessment of the Pakistan presidency of the Security Council for May 2003 (see annex). This has been prepared on my own authority, but I have consulted other members of the Council before submitting it.

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter and its annex circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(*Signed*) Munir **Akram** Ambassador/Permanent Representative

03-47428 (E) 080903 \***0347428**\*

# Annex to the letter dated 20 August 2003 from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council

# Assessment of the work of the Security Council during the presidency of Pakistan (May 2003)

# Introduction

During the presidency of Pakistan in May 2003, the agenda of the Security Council was dominated by Iraq and Africa, while issues of peace and security in Asia, Europe and the Middle East received active consideration.

The Council maintained its focus on the humanitarian situation in Iraq and developments relating to the oil-for-food programme. The Council also adopted resolution 1483 (2003), by which it ended all the non-military sanctions imposed on Iraq since 1990 and dealt with various aspects of the post-conflict situation and administration of Iraq. Besides effecting necessary adjustments in the oil-for-food programme with a view to its termination by 21 November, the Council underlined a vital role for the United Nations in Iraq. The unanimous adoption of resolution 1483 (2003) reflected the return of Council unity and the members' will to move forward on the Iraq issue in a constructive spirit.

In the case of Africa, the Security Council's focus was broad and multifaceted. The Council inter alia supported the political transition in Burundi, closely followed developments on Western Sahara, reviewed and reimposed sanctions on Liberia, established a United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire, constantly monitored the rapidly deteriorating situation in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and authorized the deployment of an Interim Emergency Multinational Force in Bunia in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

In a wrap-up session, the Council took a strategic, continent-wide look at Africa and its conflicts. On the eve of two separate Security Council missions, to the Central and West African subregions, the Council reflected on the role of Security Council missions and other United Nations mechanisms in promoting peace and security on the continent. At a time when Iraq was the predominant issue on the international scene, the Security Council emphasized that it was equally attentive to priority issues of peace and security in Africa.

Moreover, the Council received regular briefings on the situation in Afghanistan and the Middle East. The Council also renewed two peacekeeping mandates, those of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor and the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara.

The Council held two thematic debates: on combating terrorism, and on the role of the Security Council in the pacific settlement of disputes. The fifth annual retreat of the Secretary-General with Council members was also held in May. The retreat discussions focused on the theme "meeting the new threats to international peace and security".

Consistent with the objective of enhanced transparency in its work, the Security Council held 19 formal meetings during the month, 17 public and 2 private

(with troop-contributing countries). In addition, 17 sessions of informal consultations were held.

During the month, the Council adopted eight resolutions and three presidential statements (see appendix I). The President was authorized to make statements to the press on seven occasions (see appendix II). The presidency regularly briefed non-members on Council deliberations in the informal consultations. Information relating to the programme of work and outcome of open meetings was made available on the presidency's web site.

# Africa

#### Burundi

The Security Council adopted a presidential statement (S/PRST/2003/4) on 2 May, welcoming the peaceful transfer of the presidency in Burundi as a major milestone towards full implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement of 2000. The Council stressed the need to follow up this positive development with the implementation of the outstanding portions of the Arusha Agreement, including meaningful security sector and judicial reforms. The Council condemned the attacks carried out by the forces of CNDD-FDD (Nkurunziza) on Bujumbura and other cities in April. The Council called on all Burundian parties to observe the terms of the ceasefire agreements; reiterated its demand that FNL (Rwasa) lay down its arms immediately and enter into a ceasefire agreement with the Government of Burundi without preconditions; and urged all relevant regional parties and actors to continue their efforts for a lasting peace in Burundi. The Council appealed for adequate and sustained international assistance to the African Mission in Burundi (the first such peacekeeping mission by the African Union). The Council urged the Burundian parties to take serious, meaningful steps to address human rights and accountability issues, including the devastating impact of impunity. The Council also requested the Secretary-General to continue to support the peace process.

On 27 May, the Council held informal consultations on Burundi. The Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Kieran Prendergast, briefed the members on the situation since the transition of power on 1 May. The Council members welcomed the reported positive developments and further encouraged the political actors and armed groups in Burundi to opt for dialogue and to eschew violence. They supported the proposed regional summit and urged all Burundian parties to cooperate fully with a view to reaching agreement on all outstanding issues. The Council members again urged FNL (Rwasa) to cease hostilities, immediately join the peace process, and start negotiations with the transitional government. Welcoming the deployment of the African Mission in Burundi, Council members appealed to donor countries to make resources available for its deployment and sustainment. They also commended the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank for their timely decision to release the second tranche of their respective postconflict programmes for Burundi. The President made a statement to the press.

## Côte d'Ivoire

In informal consultations on 12 May, the Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, Hédi Annabi, provided an update on the political and security situation in Côte d'Ivoire. The Secretary-General's Humanitarian Envoy, Carolyn McAskie, who had visited Côte d'Ivoire and neighbouring countries in the last week of April, gave a briefing on the humanitarian situation.

The Council members were informed that recent encouraging developments in Côte d'Ivoire included, on the security side, a new comprehensive ceasefire signed by the government forces and the Forces nouvelles on 3 May, following which an agreement had been reached to discuss the arrangements for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration. At the regional level, the meeting in Togo of the President of Liberia, Charles Taylor, and the President of Côte d'Ivoire, Laurent Gbagbo, on 26 April was seen as a positive move. The two sides agreed on measures to enhance security on the borders to curb cross-border activities. On the political side, the Government of National Reconciliation was meeting regularly. The cabinet was, however, still incomplete as the stand-off continued on the appointments of the three Ministers, those for Defence, the Interior and Women's, Children's and Family Affairs. It was also crucial for governmental authority to be extended to all parts of the country, particularly the north. The preparation of a timetable for the implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement and the granting of amnesty to all political prisoners were other important steps to be taken.

The briefing by the Humanitarian Envoy focused on the humanitarian impact of the crisis in Côte d'Ivoire and its implications for the entire West African region. There was a large-scale regional humanitarian crisis characterized by lack of resources, access problems for relief efforts, and disrespect for the humanitarian workers: some had been killed and many were reported lost. She stressed that the humanitarian issue should be a critical element of the peace processes. The need for a flexible resource allocation mechanism to handle humanitarian crises of such magnitude was underlined.

The Council members noted that in general the developments on the ground were encouraging and positive, though the progress was slow and not without problems. Certain areas of concern — related to the functioning of the Government, enforcement of the ceasefire, funding for the peacekeeping forces of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and humanitarian relief effort — remained to be addressed. There was general agreement that the progress achieved needed to be consolidated with proper follow-up and continued engagement of the Security Council. Members expressed the view that the Council's forthcoming visit to West Africa was taking place at the right time and would be an ideal occasion to properly gauge the situation with a view to adopting a regional and comprehensive approach to the crisis in West Africa.

On 13 May, the Council adopted resolution 1479 (2003), authorizing the establishment of the United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI) for an initial period of six months, inter alia, with a mandate to facilitate the implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement. The resolution also envisaged a "military liaison group" as part of MINUCI to advise the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on military matters, establish links with the French and ECOWAS forces, and provide input to forward planning on disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and other future tasks.

#### **Democratic Republic of the Congo**

During May, the security situation and the humanitarian conditions rapidly deteriorated further in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo —

characterized by killings, unspeakable human rights abuses and significant outflows of refugees and internally displaced persons. The Council constantly monitored the situation, with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations providing regular updates.

During informal consultations on 5 May, the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, Jean-Marie Guéhenno, briefed the Council members on the latest developments in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Council members expressed concern at the situation in the Ituri region and urged all parties to support the process initiated by the Ituri Pacification Commission, stressing that the parties must refrain from any activity that could undermine the process. They reiterated that foreign forces must be withdrawn from the Ituri area.

Expressing full support for the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), the Council members condemned in the strongest terms all threats against and harassment of MONUC personnel on the ground. They expressed condolences at the death of MONUC personnel from China and the Russian Federation and injuries to a Romanian member of the Mission. The Council members also condemned the violence in the Kivus and demanded that such acts of violence cease immediately. They reiterated that the leaders of all the warring factions should be held personally accountable for human rights violations committed in Ituri and other regions. Council members welcomed progress towards the establishment of the transitional government. The President made a statement to the press along these lines.

On 9 May, the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations briefed the Council members again, following the mob attack against MONUC headquarters in Bunia. He gave details of the attack, provided an initial assessment of the extent of the damage, and outlined steps taken to enhance the safety and security of MONUC personnel through further assistance from the Uruguayan contingent. He added that the Secretary-General was extremely concerned at the turn of events and had contacted regional leaders, including the President of Uganda, Yoweri Museveni. The Under-Secretary-General also reported that Bunia was on the verge of a humanitarian catastrophe as a result of continued fighting between rival militia groups. Efforts by the United Nations to broker a ceasefire had thus far remained unsuccessful.

For their part, the Council members strongly condemned the attacks against MONUC headquarters and called upon all the parties to immediately cease aggression and acts of violence, especially against the civilian population and MONUC. They called on the parties to respect the resolutions of the Security Council and the agreements already signed. The Council members reiterated that the political process, especially the work of the Ituri Pacification Commission, should continue. They agreed to keep the situation under review and decide on effective steps to stop the violence. The President made a statement to the press.

On 15 May, the Secretary-General, in a letter to the President (S/2003/574), stressed that the international community must act decisively to address the rapidly deteriorating situation in and around Bunia. He called upon the Security Council to consider his proposal for the rapid deployment to Bunia of a highly trained and well-equipped multinational force, under the lead of a Member State, to provide security at the airport as well as to other vital installations in the town and to protect the

civilian population. The Secretary-General added that the proposed force should be authorized under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, and deployed for a limited period until a considerably reinforced United Nations presence could be deployed. The President made a statement to the press, acknowledging receipt of the Secretary-General's letter.

On 16 May, the Security Council adopted a presidential statement (S/PRST/2003/6) welcoming the ceasefire agreement signed at Dar es Salaam for the Ituri region, and called on the parties to implement it fully and without delay. The Council condemned the killings, the violence, the human rights violations and atrocities, and the attacks against MONUC personnel and internally displaced persons taking refuge on MONUC premises. The Council reiterated that there would be no impunity for the perpetrators. Declaring that the fighting was unacceptable, the Council demanded that all hostilities in the Ituri area cease immediately. The Council expressed concern at the deteriorating humanitarian situation, demanding that all parties grant full and unimpeded access for humanitarian aid and guarantee the safety and security of humanitarian personnel. The Council appealed to the donor community to continue to support the humanitarian organizations. The Council welcomed the Secretary-General's efforts to address the urgent humanitarian and security situation in Bunia and urged him to complete his consultations on options for sending an emergency international force.

On 16 May, in a letter to the President (S/2003/562), the Secretary-General informed the Council about the appointment of William Lacy Swing (United States of America) as his Special Representative for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, succeeding Amos Namanga Ngongi (Cameroon) with effect from 1 July 2003. The Secretary-General expressed his deep appreciation for the outstanding work of Mr. Ngongi during nearly two years of distinguished service.

The Council held further consultations on 28 May, the Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations providing another update on the latest situation. The Council members condemned the continuing violence and atrocities, especially the brutal murder of two military observers in MONUC — from Jordan and Malawi — as well as the looting of humanitarian and medical equipment. They called for full cooperation and restraint by all parties and urged them and the neighbouring States to refrain from arming the belligerents. The Secretary-General attended the consultations. The Council members expressed unanimous support for the Secretary-General's proposal for the deployment of a multinational force in Bunia. A draft resolution was circulated, envisaging the Council's authorization of such a force. The President made a statement to the press.

On 30 May, by resolution 1484 (2003), the Council authorized the deployment until 1 September 2003 of an Interim Emergency Multinational Force in Bunia, with a mandate under Chapter VII, to inter alia contribute to the stabilization of the security conditions and the improvement of the humanitarian situation in Bunia. The Council stressed that the Force was to be deployed on a strictly temporary basis to allow the Secretary-General to reinforce the MONUC presence in Bunia. France became the lead nation in the multinational force that was later deployed within the framework of a European Union operation.

# Liberia

In consultations held on 5 May, the Council members conducted the second 6monthly review of sanctions under resolution 1408 (2002), taking into consideration the Secretary-General's report (S/2003/466) and the report of the Panel of Experts on Liberia (S/2003/498). The President, in his other capacity as Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1343 (2001) concerning Liberia, presented a report on the Committee's work.

The Council members expressed concern about the continuing conflict and instability in Liberia, the rapidly deteriorating security and humanitarian situation and its serious implications for the subregion. They called on the Government of Liberia, LURD and all other armed rebel groups to immediately and without preconditions enter into ceasefire talks under the auspices of ECOWAS. The members appreciated the continuing peace efforts of ECOWAS and the International Contact Group on Liberia and in particular welcomed the appointment of General Abdulsalam Abubakar, former President of Nigeria, as a mediator in the Liberian conflict.

The Council members noted with regret that the Government of Liberia had not fully complied with the demands in resolution 1343 (2001) and had also continued to violate the sanctions, particularly the arms embargo. They also reiterated the demand to all States in the region to cease support for armed rebel groups in the neighbouring countries. Recognizing the regional dimensions of the Liberian problem, the members emphasized the need for a regional, integrated and comprehensive approach for its resolution. In this regard, they considered the Council's forthcoming mission to West Africa to be a timely initiative. The Council members also discussed a draft resolution on the renewal of sanctions, on which a broad agreement had already been reached at the expert level. The President made a statement to the press, indicating the Council's intention to renew sanctions and extend them to include a ban on timber.

On 6 May, the Council adopted resolution 1478 (2003) renewing the travel ban and the arms and diamonds embargo on Liberia for a further period of 12 months. The Council imposed an embargo on round logs and timber products originating in Liberia for a period of 10 months with effect from 7 July 2003 unless the Council decided otherwise. The Panel of Experts was re-established for a period of five months.

# Security Council missions to West and Central Africa

On 5 May, the President formally communicated to the Secretary-General by a letter (S/2003/525) the Council's decision to send a mission to the West African subregion from 15 to 23 May 2003. The mission's agreed terms of reference were also transmitted. The mission was to be led by Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock of the United Kingdom, and would visit Nigeria, Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia, Guinea-Bissau and Sierra Leone. On 13 May, following informal consultations among the Council members, it was agreed to temporarily postpone the Council mission to West Africa and to reschedule it as soon as possible. An understanding was later reached that the mission would be conducted from 25 June to 5 July 2003.

On 21 May, the President formally conveyed to the Secretary-General by a letter (S/2003/558) the Council's decision to send a mission to Central Africa from 7 to 16 June 2003, which would be led by Ambassador Jean-Marc de La Sablière of France. The agreed terms of reference for the mission's visit to Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo were transmitted. Overall, the mission was to visit South Africa, Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Rwanda, the United Republic of Tanzania and Uganda.

#### Western Sahara

On 2 May, the Secretary-General's Personal Envoy, James Baker III, briefed the Council members on the responses of the parties to his peace plan for selfdetermination of the people of Western Sahara. The Personal Envoy exchanged views with the Council members on a possible way forward.

In informal consultations on 28 May, the Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations introduced the report of the Secretary-General on Western Sahara (S/2003/565 and Corr.1). A private meeting of the Council with the troop-contributing countries for the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) was held prior to the consultations.

The Council members expressed initial views on different aspects of the Secretary-General's report. There was a general sense that adequate time was required before the Council could enter into a substantive discussion on the report. Nevertheless, the report evoked some preliminary but important comments from the members. An understanding was reached on a draft resolution for a technical roll-over of the mandate of MINURSO for two months, until 31 July 2003, to provide time to consider further the Secretary-General's report. Resolution 1485 (2003) was adopted by the Council on 30 May.

#### Wrap-up session on Africa

In a wrap-up session on 30 May, the Council held wide-ranging public debate on Conflicts in Africa: Security Council missions and United Nations mechanisms to promote peace and security. The presidency, in a non-paper, had proposed that on the eve of the two Council missions due to visit the Central and West African subregions in June 2003, the Council should take a strategic, continent-wide look at the United Nations involvement with Africa. Specifically, apart from discussing the instrument of Council missions, the participants were encouraged to focus on the efficacy of other mechanisms for United Nations engagement with Africa, the imperative of moving from conflict "management" to conflict "prevention" and final resolution, the need to find further ways to deepen engagement with Africa, and the desirability of a comprehensive and integrated approach including closer coordination between the main organs of the United Nations.

The leaders of the two missions, Ambassadors de La Sablière and Greenstock, highlighted the objectives and intended approaches of their visits to the Central and West African subregions, respectively. The Secretary-General's Special Adviser on Africa, Ibrahim Gambari; the Chairman for May of the Group of African States, Ambassador Koonjul (Mauritius), and the chair of the African Union, Ambassador Kumalo (South Africa), shared their perspectives. The Council members and other United Nations Member States reviewed the issues of peace and security and complex crises in Africa from multiple angles and made wide-ranging general and specific suggestions.

Among other things, the participants emphasized the regional and global dimensions of African conflicts, the importance of political will to follow up the decisions taken and agreements reached, the responsibility of the parties themselves for the restoration of peace, the African ownership of the process, the need for a partnership between the Security Council and African regional and subregional organizations, and the strengthening of African capabilities in the fields of conflict prevention, management and resolution. The need for addressing the root causes was stressed, and specific suggestions were made relating to the exploitation of natural resources, proliferation of small arms, illegal armed groups, sanctions, peacekeeping operations, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, human rights and humanitarian situations, the link between peace and development, and the need for increased intra-United Nations coordination. The presidency, after consulting the Council members, later circulated a summary of the suggestions made during the Council debate (S/2003/705).

# Asia

# Afghanistan

At an open briefing on 6 May, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Lakhdar Brahimi, told the Council that security continued to cast a long shadow over the whole peace process and the future of Afghanistan. He noted that, while specific aspects of the Bonn process were proceeding, the process as a whole was challenged by the deterioration in the security environment. The deterioration stemmed, he said, from daily harassment and intimidation, inter-ethnic and interfactional strife, and increase in the activity of elements linked to the Taliban, Hekmatyar, and the drug economy. The process was also challenged by the fact that the national security institutions were perceived perhaps by a majority as not serving the broad national interests of all the people of Afghanistan.

The Special Representative noted myriad activities in the constitutional process, preparation for elections, drug control, return of refugees, reopening of schools, judicial and public administration reform, economic recovery and reconstruction, and human rights. He pointed out that the issue of security arises at every turn, calling the prevailing level of security "unstable and insufficient". He stated that rivalries among factions and local commanders, impunity with regard to human rights, and daily harassment of ordinary Afghan citizens by local commanders were all too common. There was a real risk that the Bonn process would stall if security was not extended to the regions and the Afghans would lose confidence in the central government if it could not protect them.

Noting that the ultimate solution lay in the creation of Afghan security forces, the Special Representative pointed out that the nascent security institutions (national army and police) could not be expected soon to provide the security that was desperately needed. He underlined the need for effective disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and reform of the Defence Ministry, stressing that those efforts would be successful only if there was confidence among all Afghans that the new security structure would have room for them and would serve the interests of the whole nation. The Special Representative urged the Council to carefully consider what international measures were available to help ensure the security needed for the Bonn process to proceed effectively. He reiterated his belief, also advocated by the Secretary-General, that the expansion of ISAF beyond Kabul was part of a potential response. The provincial reconstruction teams could also play an important role in that context.

During informal consultations after the briefing, the Council members expressed serious concern at the deterioration of security. They underlined the importance of maintaining peace and stability and called on all actors in Afghanistan to work together with the international community to ensure the success of the peace process. The Council members emphasized that the Afghan Transitional Authority must receive adequate international support in the reform of the security sector, the extension of central government authority, the building of the new national army and national police, a national disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme, the constitutional process, and the registration of voters in advance of the national elections in 2004. The Council members also called on Afghanistan's neighbours and all other Member States to support the peace process effectively. They urged donors to support the reconstruction programmes as well as the Judicial Commission, the Independent Human Rights Commission, the Constitutional Commission and the electoral process. The President made a statement to the press stressing these elements.

## Iraq/Kuwait

#### Humanitarian situation

Iraq figured prominently in the Council's work during the month — with a continuous focus on the humanitarian situation, the oil-for-food programme, and other aspects of the post-conflict situation.

During informal consultations on 8 May, the Deputy Secretary-General updated Council members on the humanitarian situation and United Nations activities on the ground in Iraq. Council members were informed, inter alia, that the key humanitarian priorities remained security and reactivation of essential services. Food supply, health, sanitation and education services were identified as major priority areas. While progress in re-establishing the public distribution system of food was encouraging, the situation in the health sector remained difficult. The deterioration in electric and water supply and the unstable security situation had affected hospitals, health care centres and sanitation services. The reopening of schools was hampered by insecurity, fuel shortages, lack of water and sanitation and lack of funds, salaries and other costs.

On the implementation of resolutions 1472 (2003) and 1476 (2003), Council members were informed that, by 3 June, a total of \$665 million worth of priority humanitarian supplies could be shipped to Iraq. So far, against the total of \$2.2 billion of the Secretary-General's Flash Appeal, the United Nations was able to confirm pledges and contributions of \$667 million. Of this, \$559 million were for food assistance. Although the large-scale displacement of population anticipated by the United Nations agencies when the Flash Appeal was first issued had not occurred, the United Nations had to deal with unanticipated urgent needs, particularly those resulting from the widespread looting of essential supplies and

equipment. In their comments, the Council members commended the United Nations for its efforts to improve the humanitarian situation. Some expressed concerns at the deteriorating security situation, which was hampering humanitarian activities on the ground. The Council members also urged donors to respond generously to the Secretary-General's Flash Appeal.

During the consultations, the delegation of the United States of America indicated its intention to table a draft resolution on Iraq on 9 May.

On 22 May, the Council held an open briefing on the response to the humanitarian situation in Iraq. The Deputy Secretary-General gave an overall United Nations perspective. The Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme, Mark Malloch Brown; the Executive Director of the World Food Programme, James Morris; the Executive Director, Sustainable Development and Healthy Environments, of the World Health Organization, David Nabarro; the Director of Emergency Programmes of UNICEF, Nils Kastberg; and the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Jakob Kellenberger, briefed the Council on the activities of their respective organizations and bodies in Iraq and on the general humanitarian situation in the country.

The Deputy Secretary-General described the humanitarian situation as very serious, compounded by the breakdown of essential services and law and order. She stressed that the United Nations agencies — committed to help the Iraqi people in their time of need — were working throughout the country, providing food, water, medicine and other emergency assistance. The overarching priority of the United Nations remained the reactivation of essential services. While a major humanitarian crisis had thus far been averted, the civilian population — children in particular — remained at risk if the security situation did not improve substantially. The United Nations ability to respond to the urgent humanitarian needs also depended greatly on the availability of resources. So far, \$700 million had been received as a response to the Appeal. The United Nations would continue to conduct comprehensive assessments and re-prioritize response plans, and would launch a revised humanitarian appeal in the second half of June 2003.

The Council members, in their comments, generally noted that the United Nations system was responding well to the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people. Many underlined their concern at the security situation and stressed the need for effective measures to improve law and order. The coalition members emphasized that every effort was being made to bring the security situation under control, including through reduction of the availability of arms, law enforcement, more police advisers, and payment of salaries. They also noted the steps being taken by the coalition countries to provide humanitarian assistance from their own resources. The representatives of United Nations agencies and ICRC responded to questions and comments made by Council members.

## Oil-for-food programme and other issues

Important decisions were taken during the month regarding the future of the oil-for-food programme and in respect of various other aspects of post-conflict Iraq.

During consultations on 9 May, the United States, the United Kingdom and Spain introduced a draft resolution on post-conflict Iraq. The sponsors explained the contents of the draft, which inter alia envisaged the lifting of non-military sanctions, the appointment of a United Nations Special Coordinator, the administration of the oil-for-food programme by the Secretary-General for another four months, and the winding down of that programme. The sponsors emphasized that this was not an "omnibus" resolution. In their preliminary comments, other Council members expressed their intention to work constructively on the draft resolution. They sought several clarifications, including with regard to the political process, the role of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the phasing out of the oil-for-food programme, and the legal issues relating to the administration of the economic affairs of Iraq. The sponsors provided some initial responses. It was agreed to discuss the draft at the expert level and later at the ambassadorial level.

On 14 May, two sessions of informal consultations were held at the ambassadorial level to further consider the draft resolution, which had been modified after the expert meetings. The Executive Director of the Iraq Programme, Benon Sevan, and the Legal Counsel, Hans Corell, participated. The sponsors provided further clarifications on some questions raised on various provisions of the draft. Among the issues discussed were the obligations of the coalition under the Geneva and Hague Conventions, the Council's authority vis-à-vis the two Conventions, the need for clarity in the political process and transparency in the management of Iraq's economic affairs, the overall role of the United Nations, and the nomenclature and scope of work of the proposed Special Coordinator.

The Legal Counsel spoke about the realities on the ground in Iraq, and emphasized the Council's responsibility to act in the interest of the Iraqi people. The Council had to take a pragmatic, albeit cautious, approach to resolve the issues at hand. In response to observations by other Council members, the sponsors inter alia indicated that they did not envisage any role for UNMOVIC at present and would report on weapons of mass destruction in Iraq at an appropriate time.

In consultations held on 19 May, the sponsors tabled a further revised text and requested that it be circulated in provisional form. They noted that their initial draft had been amended significantly to reflect the views and concerns expressed by other Council members. Some members proposed further modifications in several places relating, among others, to the role of the proposed Special Representative, the financing of the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, coordination between the United Nations and the Authority, the role and functioning of the International Advisory and Monitoring Board, immunity issues, the time frame for the resolution, reporting requirements, and disarmament.

The text continued to evolve as further consultations were held on 20 May. The members noted the amendments introduced by the sponsors in the revised text and proposed further modifications. The sponsors agreed to accommodate some of the "practical" concerns of the member States. It was agreed to put the draft resolution to a vote on 22 May.

On 22 May, the draft resolution was adopted by the Council, by 14 votes to none, as resolution 1483 (2003). The representative of the Syrian Arab Republic indicated later that his delegation would have voted in favour if given more time to consult its capital.

Resolution 1483 (2003) is wide-ranging in its scope. It reaffirms the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq and stresses the right of the Iraqi people

to determine their own future and control their natural resources. It expresses the Council's resolve that the day when Iraqis govern themselves must come quickly. The resolution lifts all the non-military sanctions imposed on Iraq since 1990. It outlines a vital role for the United Nations in humanitarian relief, reconstruction, and the restoration and establishment of national and local institutions for representative governance in Iraq. The resolution establishes the position of a Special Representative of the Secretary-General with independent responsibilities in the post-conflict processes. The resolution winds down the oil-for-food programme over a period of six months, while providing for the continuing delivery of priority civilian goods under the programme to meet the immediate needs of the Iraqi people.

In other important provisions of resolution 1483 (2003), the Council called upon Member States to assist the Iraqi people in the efforts to reform their institutions and rebuild their country and to contribute to conditions of stability and security in Iraq. The Council underlined its intention to revisit the mandates of UNMOVIC and IAEA under the relevant resolutions. The Council also requested the Secretary-General to report at regular intervals on the implementation of the resolution, encouraged the United States and the United Kingdom to inform the Council at regular intervals of their efforts, and decided to review the implementation of the resolution within 12 months of its adoption and to consider further steps that might be necessary.

Speaking after the vote, Council members stressed that the near-unanimous support for the resolution had re-established the unity and sense of purpose of the Security Council, thus enabling the body to carry out its mandated responsibility of guaranteeing international peace and security. The Secretary-General, present at the adoption of resolution 1483 (2003), expressed his satisfaction that the Council had come together to chart the way forward in Iraq.

On 23 May, the Secretary-General, in a letter to the President (S/2003/570), informed the Council that pursuant to resolution 1483 (2003) he was appointing Sergio Vieira de Mello as his Special Representative for Iraq for a period of four months.

#### Situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question

During informal consultations on 2 May, the United States delegation referred to the issuance of the Quartet's road map and underlined the need for a presidential statement welcoming that development. Expert-level consultations were proposed to consider the United States draft. The matter was not pursued further in view of divergent views expressed at the expert-level meeting on the draft statement.

On 19 May, the Secretary-General's Personal Representative and Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process, Terje Roed-Larsen, briefed the Council at an open meeting on the latest developments in the peace process. The Special Coordinator noted that, since the last briefing to the Council in April, there had been a tentative budding of a new and fragile Middle East peace process. He referred to the confirmation of Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) as the first Palestinian Prime Minister and the subsequent presentation to the Government of Israel and the Palestinian Authority of the Quartet's road map for Middle East peace. The Special Coordinator pointed out that the road map's goals included a viable, sovereign and democratic Palestine; a secure and prosperous Israel; and a comprehensive, just and

lasting peace in the region. There was a need to temper optimism and hopefulness with the realistic understanding that the road map would be strewn with obstacles. Success would depend upon the good faith and performance of the parties and on the determination of the Quartet, key regional actors, and the broader international community.

According to the Special Coordinator, the road map represented the best chance to achieve peace and might well be the last chance to achieve a two-State solution for a very long time. He called upon the parties themselves to follow the road map, cooperate with each other in its implementation, and endure the challenges to its vision.

As for the situation along the Blue Line, the Special Coordinator reported that despite the tension the parties had acted with restraint and maintained an overall calm in the area. He nonetheless drew attention to continued breaches of the Blue Line reflected in Israeli air violations and anti-aircraft fire by Hizbullah. He called upon the Governments of Israel and Lebanon to cease the violations and fully respect the Blue Line.

In the consultations following the Special Coordinator's briefing, the Council members underlined the importance of the Quartet's road map as an internationally recognized and balanced framework for a lasting settlement. They hailed the meeting of Prime Minister Abbas and Prime Minister Sharon, noting that it was not coincidental that the latest violence had occurred in its wake. The Council members stressed that the new process under way should not be allowed to be derailed. They called upon the parties to implement the road map by taking the necessary steps, including the end of violence on the Palestinian side and the freezing of settlement activity on Israel's part. As for the situation relating to Lebanon, the Council members echoed the Special Coordinator's call and urged the parties to cease violations of the Blue Line.

## Tajikistan

In a letter to the President dated 8 May (S/2003/542), the Secretary-General informed the Council about the activities of the United Nations Tajikistan Office of Peace-building (UNTOP) during the past year. He noted that, in line with its terms of reference, UNTOP had inter alia focused on the consolidation of peace and national reconciliation, the promotion of the rule of law, the strengthening of democratic institutions, and support for national capacity in the area of human rights. The Secretary-General also informed the Council that, in view of the important and very positive role being played by UNTOP, and Tajikistan's continued need for support in post-conflict peace-building, he had decided to continue — with the concurrence of the Government of Tajikistan — the activities of UNTOP for a further period of one year, until 1 June 2004.

#### **Timor-Leste**

On 19 May, the Council adopted resolution 1480 (2003), extending the mandate of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) until 20 May 2004. While doing so, the Council inter alia recognized the importance of continued efforts to transfer skills and authority from UNMISET to the Government of Timor-Leste in a coordinated and structured manner in the run-up to the withdrawal of the Mission, with the aim of ensuring the long-term security and

stability of Timor-Leste. The Council also stressed the need for continued international support for Timor-Leste and encouraged continued bilateral and multilateral development assistance. The adoption of resolution 1480 (2003) was preceded by a private meeting of the Council with the troop-contributing countries of UNMISET on 16 May.

# Europe

## Abkhazia, Georgia

In informal consultations on 21 May, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Georgia, Heidi Tagliavini, introduced the Secretary-General's latest report (S/2003/412). She described the situation as relatively calm but rather precarious. Her own efforts during the reporting period had focused on reinvigorating the peace process and overcoming the political impasse with the aim of initiating negotiations between the two parties on the basis of the paper on competences and its transmittal letter. The determination of the political status of Abkhazia within the State of Georgia remained the core issue of the peace process. The Abkhaz side had continued to refuse to discuss the status issue and reject the paper on competences as a basis of substantive negotiations.

As for developments in reinvigorating the peace process, the Special Representative referred to the brainstorming session of senior representatives of the Group of Friends of the Secretary-General at Geneva on 19 and 20 February. Among other things, it was recommended to the two sides to move in parallel in three task forces on economic cooperation, return of refugees and internally displaced persons, and political and security matters. The Abkhaz side had not yet formulated its final position on the Geneva recommendations. These and related matters would be pursued with the new authorities on the Abkhaz side and it was hoped that they would adopt a constructive approach.

Another impetus to the reinvigoration efforts had come from the Sochi summit of 6 and 7 March of President Vladimir Putin and President Eduard Shevardnadze, with the participation of the Abkhaz de facto Prime Minister, Gennadii Gagulia. As a result, one of the working groups (dealing with energy) had already commenced its work. The United Nations was ready to provide constructive support to the process initiated by those agreements, as requested by the parties.

The Special Representative added that the security assessment mission in the Gali and Zugdidi sectors had finalized its report and sent her a set of recommendations. The good cooperation of both sides with the mission indicated a genuine desire on their part to improve security in the area and the United Nations involvement in the process. The recommendations with proposed actions would be submitted by the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia later for the Council's consideration. As for security in the Kodori valley, the situation had been generally calm. To address oft-repeated allegations of the Abkhaz side, it would be a useful confidence-building measure and possibly a preventive action to send a Special Mission to ascertain the facts and make a thorough evaluation of the situation in the valley. The Special Representative emphasized that all confidence-building measures had to be connected to the political process and at the end a credible negotiation process would be the best confidence-building measure.

The members of the Council expressed support for the peace process, the Geneva brainstorming session, the Sochi summit, and the need for improving the human, economic and security situation. Some members stressed the need for the Abkhaz side to be more forthcoming on the competences paper. It was also observed that both the bilateral and multilateral approaches were complementary for the peaceful solution of the issue.

# **International tribunals**

The working group on international tribunals continued its work during the month. Following consultations among members, two separate resolutions were adopted by the Council on 19 May, relating to an amendment to the statute of the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and an extension of the terms of non-elected judges of the International Tribunal for Rwanda. By resolution 1481 (2003) the Council amended the statute of the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia to allow ad litem judges to also adjudicate in pre-trial proceedings in cases other than those for which they are appointed on the Tribunal. By resolution 1482 (2003) the Council extended the terms of office of non-elected judges of the International Tribunal for Rwanda to enable them to dispose of ongoing cases which had started before the expiry of their elected terms.

# **Other issues**

# Retreat

On 9 and 10 May, the fifth annual retreat of the Secretary-General with members of the Security Council was held in Tarrytown, New York. The retreat focused on the theme "Meeting the new challenges to international peace and security: current experiences". Discussions were held on five sub-themes, namely, (i) civil wars and complex emergencies; (ii) proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; (iii) terrorism; (iv) organized crime; and (v) strengthening of collective mechanisms. Council members shared perspectives on these issues in the informal setting of the retreat.

#### **Protection of humanitarian personnel**

During consultations on 30 May, the Mexican delegation introduced a draft resolution on the protection of humanitarian personnel in armed conflict and highlighted its main elements. Following a brief discussion, the draft resolution was circulated in provisional form at the sponsor's request (S/2003/581).

# **Thematic debates**

#### **Combating terrorism**

On 6 May, an open meeting of the Council was held to consider threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts. The Prime Minister of Spain, José María Aznar, addressed the Council. The Secretary-General was present.

The Prime Minister stated, "Terrorism has never been, and will never be, a solution. It is the problem." He described terrorism as a threat against civilization, democracy, and also international peace and security. It concerned all countries and cast a long shadow over the future. Terrorism posed an ethical and a strategic challenge. The response to the first challenge required the development of a democratic culture of opposition to terrorism. The strategic challenge required the articulation of more ambitious collective responses. He stressed the need for active commitment and broad-based cooperation on the part of all countries. He underlined the need for providing the Counter-Terrorism Committee with the means and capacity for supervising and facilitating assistance to countries to fight terrorism. Besides emphasizing coordination with other international and regional organizations on counter-terrorism strategies, the Prime Minister inter alia called for initiatives to foster dialogue between civilizations, religions and cultures.

The Council members discussed the threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts, including the threat of terrorists acquiring weapons of mass destruction. They highlighted the role of the Counter-Terrorism Committee in fighting terrorism and providing assistance to Member States to enhance their counter-terrorism capacity. The need to strengthen and coordinate international efforts to fight terrorism was emphasized. It was also observed that the fight against terrorism must always be legitimized under international law, and that it must also respect national and international law, human rights and the Charter of the United Nations. Some members emphasized the need to address the underlying causes of terrorism and also to distinguish terrorism from legitimate freedom struggles. The need for dialogue among civilizations was also underlined.

## Role of the Security Council in the pacific settlement of disputes

In a special event organized by the presidency on 13 May, the Council held an open debate on the role of the Security Council in the pacific settlement of disputes. The meeting was chaired by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan, Khurshid M. Kasuri. The Secretary-General also attended.

The Council, under rule 39 invited three eminent personalities to participate in the meeting, namely, Sir Brian Urquhart, former Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs; Ambassador Jamsheed K. Marker, former Personal Representative of the Secretary-General for East Timor; and Nabil Elaraby, Judge of the International Court of Justice. They explored the theme from the institutional, historical and legal perspectives.

Council members and other Member States explored the potential for promoting the pacific settlement of international disputes through the means and framework set forth in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations. The Secretary-General described Chapter VI as being at the heart of the Organization's system of collective security. Noting that recourse to Chapter VII may have increased in the past decade, the Secretary-General said that did not lessen the importance of Chapter VI. He pointed to the many tools at the disposal of the Council to play a key peacemaking role inter alia through direct involvement with the parties, pressing them for a peaceful resolution. The Council could also help to identify and address root causes early, when the opportunities for constructive dialogue and other peaceful means were greatest. In a presidential statement (S/PRST/2003/5) adopted at the conclusion of the debate, the Council rededicated itself to the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Council reiterated its commitment to making a wider and effective use of the procedures and means enshrined in Chapter VI, particularly Articles 33 to 38, as one of the essential components of its work to promote and maintain international peace and security.

# Appendix I

# **Resolutions and statements adopted in May 2003**

# Resolutions

| Resolution number | Subject   |
|-------------------|---|
| 1478 (2003)       | The situation in Liberia                                      |
| 1479 (2003)       | The situation in Côte d'Ivoire                                |
| 1480 (2003)       | The situation in Timor-Leste                                  |
| 1481 (2003)       | International Criminal Tribunal for the Former<br>Yugoslavia  |
| 1482 (2003)       | International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda                    |
| 1483 (2003)       | The situation between Iraq and Kuwait                         |
| 1484 (2003)       | The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo |
| 1485 (2003)       | The situation concerning Western Sahara                       |

# Statements by the President

| Presidential statement number | Subject  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| S/PRST/2003/4                 | The situation in Burundi   |
| S/PRST/2003/5                 | The role of the Security Council in the pacific settlement of disputes |
| S/PRST/2003/6                 | The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo          |

# **Appendix II**

# Statements to the press made by the President of the Security Council in May 2003

# Democratic Republic of the Congo (5 May)

The members of the Council expressed their concern on the situation in Ituri. They urged all Congolese parties and all States in the region to support the process initiated by the Ituri Pacification Commission and to refrain from any activity which could undermine the process. They reiterated that Uganda must fulfil its commitment to withdraw its forces from the Ituri area.

The members of the Council commended the efforts of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the region and expressed their full support for MONUC in this regard. They condemned in the strongest terms all threats and harassments to MONUC personnel on the ground.

The members of the Council condemned the violence which had occurred recently in the Kivus and demanded that such acts of violence cease immediately. The members of the Council stressed that actions such as support to armed militias and fuelling of ethnic tensions were totally inconsistent with national and local efforts at peace, unification and reconciliation, and must end immediately. The members of the Council reiterated that the leaders of all the warring factions should be held personally accountable for human rights violations committed in Ituri and other regions of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The members of the Council expressed their condolences at the deaths of MONUC personnel from China and the Russian Federation and the injuries received by a Romanian member of the Mission.

The members of the Council welcomed progress towards the establishment of the transitional Government.

The members of the Council noted the need to address these urgent issues during the upcoming Security Council mission to the region.

# Liberia (5 May)

The Council members considered the situation in Liberia and conducted their six-monthly review of the sanctions, as laid down in resolution 1408 (2002), taking into consideration the Secretary-General's report of 22 April on Liberia (S/2003/466) and the report of the Panel of Experts of 24 April (S/2003/498).

The Council members reiterated their strong concern at the deteriorating security and humanitarian situation in Liberia and its effects on the subregion. They called on the Government of Liberia, LURD and all armed rebel groups to enter into ceasefire talks without preconditions and to allow free access for humanitarian agencies.

The Council members regretted that the Government of Liberia had not fully complied with the Council's demands in resolution 1343 (2001) and expressed their intention to renew the sanctions imposed on Liberia and to extend them to include a ban on timber exports, with effect from 7 July, unless the Council decided otherwise.

The Council members hoped that their mission to West Africa later in the month would offer new opportunities to make progress towards peace and stability in the subregion. Council members look forward to the day when all the requirements in the resolutions are met and Liberia is no longer subject to sanctions.

# Afghanistan (6 May)

The members of the Council reiterated their support for the efforts of the Afghan Transitional Administration and the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan to implement the Bonn process.

The Council members expressed their serious concern at the deterioration of security in many areas of Afghanistan, and at the recent attacks on United Nations and other personnel of aid organizations. The members of the Council underlined the importance of maintaining peace and stability in Afghanistan and called on all actors in Afghanistan to work together with the international community to ensure the success of the peace process.

The members of the Council stressed that the Afghan Transitional Authority must receive adequate support from the international community in this regard. The members of the Council noted that there were a number of important tasks which are part of the Government's agenda in the current year that needed to be supported and completed successfully, in particular:

(a) Reforms in the security sector, starting with the Ministry of Defence and of the intelligence institutions;

(b) The extension of central government authority to all parts of Afghanistan;

(c) The building of the new national army and national police, which should be supported by all Afghan actors, along with the beginning of a national disarmament, demobilization and reintegration campaign;

(d) The constitutional process, which should culminate with the holding of the Constitutional Loya Jirga in October and the adoption of the constitution which will be the basis for a new Afghan State;

(e) The registration of voters in advance of the holding of national elections in 2004.

The members of the Council called on the neighbours of Afghanistan and all other Member States to support effectively the peace process in Afghanistan. The Council members also called on donors to support generously the reconstruction programmes, as well as the work of the Judicial Commission, the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission, the Constitutional Commission and the electoral process. The members of the Council also supported the objective of enhancing Afghanistan's economy, including the implementation of various projects agreed with neighbouring countries.

The members of the Council noted that human rights abuses continued to occur in Afghanistan and appealed to all actors in Afghanistan to promote national reconciliation and respect for human rights, as called for by the Bonn Agreement.

# **Democratic Republic of the Congo (9 May)**

The Security Council was briefed by the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations on the deteriorating situation in Bunia in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The Council members strongly condemned the attacks against MONUC headquarters in Bunia. They expressed concern at the situation and called upon all the parties to immediately cease aggression and acts of violence, especially against the civilian population and MONUC.

The members of the Council also called on the parties to respect the resolutions of the Security Council and the agreements already signed. The Council members reiterated that the political process, especially the work of the Ituri Pacification Commission, should continue.

The members of the Council highly commended the performance by MONUC personnel, in particular the Uruguayan contingent.

The Council will continue to closely monitor the situation and will meet again on Monday to discuss the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and to decide on effective measures to stop the violence.

#### Democratic Republic of the Congo (16 May)

The Security Council received a letter from the Secretary-General calling for the deployment of a possible emergency international force. Some Member States have been approached by the Secretary-General to participate in this force. The Council members demanded that all States in the region express their commitment to extending support for the possible deployment of that force.

# Burundi (27 May)

The members of the Security Council:

(a) Welcomed the positive developments which had occurred in Burundi and further encouraged the political actors and armed groups in Burundi to opt for dialogue and to eschew violence;

(b) Supported the proposed regional summit and urged all Burundian parties to cooperate fully with the region and the facilitation with a view to reaching agreement on all outstanding issues;

(c) Urged Agathon Rwasa's FNL to cease hostilities, to join immediately the peace process and to start negotiations with the transitional government;

(d) Welcomed the deployment of the African Mission in Burundi, and appealed to donor countries to make resources available for its deployment and sustainment;

(e) Supported the round-table conference planned for next month to mobilize financial resources for Burundi, and urged donors to respond generously;

(f) Commended the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank for their timely decision to release the second tranche of their respective post-conflict programmes for Burundi; (g) Recognized the work done by the United Nations Office in Burundi in the framework of the peace process in that country.

#### Democratic Republic of the Congo (28 May)

The Council had a very important meeting on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The Council members condemned the recent violence and atrocities committed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, especially the brutal murder of two military observers (from Jordan and Malawi) in MONUC, as well as the looting of humanitarian and medical equipment.

The Council members called for full cooperation and restraint by all parties and urged all parties, including neighbouring States, to refrain from arming the belligerents. The Council members expressed their gratitude to MONUC and especially the Uruguayan contingent stationed in Bunia.

A draft resolution was circulated on the authorization of a multinational force to be deployed in Bunia in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo. There was unanimous support in the Council for the Secretary-General's proposal to deploy such a force. The draft resolution would be adopted as soon as the conditions were fulfilled.

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