



# Security Council

Sixty-fourth year

*Provisional*

**6227**<sup>th</sup> meeting

Monday, 30 November 2009, 10.30 a.m.

New York

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<i>President:</i>	Mr. Ebner . . . . .	(Austria)
<i>Members:</i>	Burkina Faso . . . . .	Mr. Kafando
	China . . . . .	Mr. Liu Zhenmin
	Costa Rica . . . . .	Mr. Urbina
	Croatia . . . . .	Mr. Viločić
	France . . . . .	Mr. Araud
	Japan . . . . .	Mr. Takasu
	Libyan Arab Jamahiriya . . . . .	Mr. Dabbashi
	Mexico . . . . .	Mr. Heller
	Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Dolgov
	Turkey . . . . .	Mr. Apakan
	Uganda . . . . .	Mr. Rugunda
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . . . .	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America . . . . .	Ms. Rice
	Viet Nam . . . . .	Mr. Le Luong Minh

## Agenda

### Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan

Report of the Secretary-General on the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) (S/2009/592)

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09-62291 (E)



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*The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.*

## **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

## **Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan**

### **Report of the Secretary-General on the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) (S/2009/592)**

**The President:** I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Sudan in which he requests to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the consideration of the item without the right to vote, in accordance with relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mohamad (Sudan) took a seat at the Council table.*

**The President:** In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend invitations under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Edmond Mulet, Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, and Mr. Djibril Bassolé, Joint African Union-United Nations Chief Mediator for Darfur.

It is so decided.

I invite Mr. Mulet to take a seat at the Council table.

I invite Mr. Bassolé to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I wish to draw the attention of the members to document S/2009/592, containing the report of the Secretary-General on the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur.

At this meeting the Security Council will hear briefings by Mr. Edmond Mulet and Mr. Djibril Bassolé. I now give the floor to Mr. Mulet.

**Mr. Mulet** (*spoke in French*): I thank you, Mr. President, for giving me the opportunity to brief the Security Council on the security situation in Darfur as well as on the national political and electoral environment, following the issuance of Secretary-General's report of 16 November (S/2009/592). My briefing will also provide an overview of the actions that are required to implement the objectives of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID). Afterwards, the Joint Chief Mediator, Mr. Djibril Bassolé, will provide a complete update on the political process and the efforts of the Mediation to facilitate a political solution in Darfur.

The security situation in Darfur remains unstable. Carjackings and attacks against humanitarian workers have not stopped, and we remain extremely concerned by the fate of two UNAMID employees who were kidnapped in Zalingue 94 days ago. Furthermore, the beginning of a new round of peace talks in Doha on 17 November coincided with an increase in fighting on the ground. That same day, 17 November, in Southern Darfur, combatants affiliated with the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA)/Minni Minawi faction attacked two villages close to Neghea, killing 11 people. On 19 November, the Sudanese Armed Forces reported the deaths of 29 soldiers in an ambush in Sindy, in Northern Darfur, allegedly orchestrated by the rebels belonging to the SLA/Abdul Shafi faction, but for which responsibility was also claimed by the SLA/Abdul Wahid faction. In the same period, UNAMID also reported clashes between SLA/Abdul Shafi and SLA/Abdul Wahid in the Jebel Marra in Western Darfur. These attacks are unacceptable and clearly show — if proof were needed — that the fragmentation of Darfuri rebel movements remains a reality, with obvious consequences for the Mediation and the peace process.

Lastly, as indicated in the Secretary-General's report, over the past three months, UNAMID has had to face significant obstacles to its freedom of movement. Given the extent of the problem, these were brought to the attention of senior Sudanese officials during discussions in New York on 28 September. The Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, Mr. Alain Le Roy, then sent a detailed list of incidents to the Permanent Mission of the Sudan to the United

Nations on 14 October. We are determined to resolve this problem in cooperation with the Sudanese authorities, and we will continue to raise this matter with them in an open and transparent fashion.

It goes without saying that the rebel movements must be held to the same obligations. In mid-November, SLA/Abdul Wahid repeatedly denied UNAMID access to the zones under its control in Northern Darfur and the Jebel Marra area, notably in Sortony and Deribat. That is why the armed movements must be asked to make similar commitments to ensure freedom of movement for UNAMID in the zones under their control if we want the Mission to succeed in its effort to help the parties restore full peace and stability. UNAMID will continue to work with the Government as well as with the movements in pursuing this objective, but it is clear that we will need the support of Security Council members in this undertaking.

*(spoke in English)*

In the national political context, the Government of the Sudan is carrying out registration for the national elections, scheduled to take place in April 2010. As foreseen in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), national elections can play a significant role in building national unity and democratization in the Sudan. To date, significant challenges remain with regard to preparations, including agreement on the census results, clarification of constituency delimitation and completion of the registration process. A transparent and meaningful debate must also take place with regard to what is required to hold inclusive elections in Darfur. To date, a number of Darfur groups, including internally displaced persons and the movements — the Justice and Equality Movement and the SLA/Abdul Wahid — continue to express concerns about the holding of elections before the conclusion of a peace agreement.

In this connection, the start of elections registration on 1 November led to heightened tensions in some areas of Darfur. On 9 November, SLA faction leaders threatened to attack election registration officials who attempted to enter territory they control. On 18 November, assailants attempted to force their way into a voter registration team accommodation near Mornei in Western Darfur. We are investigating these reports, which describe an unacceptable threat to the electoral process in the Sudan. UNAMID is also

working to disseminate a strong message that no group has a right to use violence to disrupt preparations for the elections. We must demand more both of partners in the Government of National Unity and of the Darfur movements in addressing outstanding political and technical issues associated with the elections, with a view to ensuring that they meet the objectives set down in the CPA.

The release of the report of the African Union High-Level Panel on Darfur chaired by President Mbeki represents another major political development for the Sudan. As the Council is aware, the recommendations of the report were endorsed in a 29 October communiqué issued by a summit-level meeting of the African Union Peace and Security Council. In the meantime, we are preparing for forthcoming discussions with the African Union on the next steps.

With regard to the peace process, Joint Chief Mediator Bassolé will provide you with a detailed update on the positions of the parties and his mediation efforts. From our perspective, with the pressure and urgency of the electoral time frame in mind, Mr. Bassolé has been working for over a year to facilitate the resumption of direct talks between the Government and the armed movements, with civil society consultations alongside those talks. In the meantime, the Government and the movements must demonstrate a readiness to give up completely the military option.

In our view, the Sudanese know what they have to do, and the report of President Mbeki's panel highlights the issues that need to be addressed: power-sharing, wealth-sharing, security and compensation. Considerable progress needs to be made on those issues in the coming months in order for the elections to be meaningful in Darfur. If progress is not made, the holding of elections could have significant implications for peace. The challenge for this Council, for the United Nations and for the African Union, is therefore how best to assist the parties in achieving a political solution that addresses these issues.

The report before the Council describes a set of concrete benchmarks and indicators for measuring progress towards the achievement of UNAMID's mandate. Progress in all four areas is long overdue for the people of Darfur: the achievement of a comprehensive political solution; the establishment of

a secure and stable environment; enhancement of the rule of law and a stabilized humanitarian situation. Among the Mission's mandated activities and the efforts of the United Nations in Darfur, none are as important as those aimed at achieving a comprehensive political solution to end Darfur's marginalization and to enable its rightful representation in the national political process.

**The President:** I thank Mr. Mulet for his briefing.

I now give the floor to Mr. Bassolé.

**Mr. Bassolé:** I would like to thank the Council for the constant support that it has have given to the Darfur peace process. Thank you also for this opportunity given to me, as the Joint African Union Chief Mediator, to update the Council on the current state of the process, whose objectives are the establishment of a comprehensive political peace agreement and a popular consensus of opinion to support it.

I would like to start by praising the large majority of Sudanese actors for their engagement in the process of dialogue to find an end to this crisis. Unfortunately, the belligerents' current lack of confidence in each other makes for slow progress in the peace talks and in achieving an end to military hostilities.

On 18 November 2009 in Doha, the Mediation, in partnership with the State of Qatar, launched the Darfur peace talks in the presence of the representatives of all of the different communities living in Darfur, as well as of women's groups, the youth and internally displaced persons. Representatives from the Government of National Unity and the armed movements also attended.

Allow me to thank His Highness the Amir of Qatar and his Government for all the efforts that they have made, diplomatically and organizationally, to make the peace process successful. I would also like to thank Mr. Amre Moussa, Secretary General of the League of Arab States, for his unfailing support. Together, the League of Arab States and the African Union have sponsored the initiative, spearheaded by Qatar, which is supporting the Mediation.

The inclusive peace talks that we have just commenced will include both a dialogue between the different parts of Darfuri society and direct negotiations between the belligerent parties. The aims

are to find a comprehensive resolution of the underlying causes of crisis, to overcome inter-communal hatreds caused by war and to accelerate socio-economic development. Civil society, as well as the principal belligerents, must address the central issues, which include: the socio-economic reintegration of displaced persons and refugees; the promotion of human rights and human security; the fight against poverty and marginalization; the end of military hostilities and political and security arrangements; the 2010 elections and democratic good governance; the resolution of land disputes; and compensation, reconciliation and justice, including an end to criminal impunity.

Civil society has a clear and important role to play in the peace process. Its involvement will be crucial for the promotion of social and inter-communal reconciliation, in order to rid Darfuri society of the germs of chronic conflict that risk prolonging the crisis and affecting the entire subregion. Ending the crisis across Darfur requires addressing varied and complex issues: the pastoral and agrarian use and management of land; environmental degradation and the precarious livelihoods and living conditions of nomads; the new social and political realities of the camps of internally displaced people, et cetera. Civil society must be involved in the search for solutions in order for there to be widespread, sustainable peace.

The process of negotiations between the armed movements and the Government of National Unity has slowed since the signing of the 17 February 2009 Doha Goodwill Agreement. This is due to a crisis of confidence between the principal belligerents, as well as various differences that undermine the cohesion of the movements.

The Mediation has intensified its efforts with the Justice and Equality Movement of Khalil Ibrahim, as well as with the Sudan Liberation Movement of Abdul Wahid al-Nur. Our aim is for these two founding movements of Darfur's rebellion to unite their positions and those of all of the other movements of Darfur. I would like to praise the reunification efforts undertaken by the armed movements and supported by Libya and the United States.

To encourage them in this direction, the Government of National Unity should do its utmost to strengthen the credibility of the peace process. In

particular, it should reduce tensions in Darfur, improve security and advance socio-economic development.

I call upon all of the belligerent parties to agree a cessation of hostilities and to commit themselves to improve significantly the security situation in Darfur. There needs to be an end to hostage-takings, clashes between belligerents, the marauding of armed militias, the recruitment of fighters, the anarchic circulation of arms and above all, impunity.

During the course of the peace talks, the Mediation will encourage the parties to agree and establish a coordination body with the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) that will facilitate the free and safe passage of people and goods across Darfur.

It is also crucial that the Sudan improve its relations with Chad. That is a necessary, although not sufficient, condition for peace in Darfur. The re-establishment of confidence between the two will help to reduce tensions considerably. We should praise the recent initiative taken by Chad and the Sudan to improve their relations. I also ask the Council to continue to encourage the supportive diplomatic efforts of Libya, the Dakar Contact Group, Qatar and the wider international community.

The Darfur peace talks are taking place today in the uncertain and tense environment of the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. The good conduct of the 2010 general elections across the whole of the Sudan, including Darfur, is a key factor for peace. The Mediation therefore strongly urges the parties to the Darfur crisis to reach the political understanding necessary to allow for the holding of elections — elections that will reinforce democracy, peace and stability in Darfur and the whole of the Sudan.

To that end, I would like to commend the excellent work done by the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, in coordination with the Department of Political Affairs and the African Union Commission, to develop an integrated overall approach to peace in the Sudan. It will help the Mediation to take into account the Comprehensive Peace Agreement calendar. It also supports the efforts of the Government of National Unity, the key actor in both the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the Darfur processes, to promote peace across the country.

I would also like to highlight the analysis of the causes of conflict outlined in the report of the African Union High-Level Panel on Darfur. It explains how the conflicts in the East, South and West of the country are related to national political and economic power-sharing arrangements. That is why it is urgent that we come to a political arrangement in Darfur ahead of the electoral deadlines. Those elections should not threaten peace and stability in the Sudan. Rather, they should be an opportunity for the promotion of democracy, good governance and stability in the country.

Arriving at a political accord is essential to ensuring that the electoral process is neither boycotted nor taken hostage. To achieve that, I will invite the Government of National Unity of the Sudan, including the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, to work with the parties to the Darfur conflict during the peace talks in Doha. I hope that, together, they can agree the necessary political arrangements to allow the entire population of Darfur to take part in the elections. That will also offer them the opportunity to resolve, through dialogue, the questions of political representation and democratic good governance. Voting by the whole of Darfur's population in calm, free and fair elections constitutes the legitimate and acceptable means for the selection of its local and national political leaders.

The approach of the joint African Union-United Nations Mediation and of our partner, Minister Al-Mahmoud of Qatar, is adapted to the realities of African countries facing crises. It is also inspired by the values and traditional approach to conflict resolution in Africa, which are based upon the mutual confidence and respect of the parties. A participative and inclusive approach is the best way to establish lasting peace in Darfur. The Mediation is therefore involving representatives of all communities and women's groups, young people and internally displaced persons alongside the belligerents.

The first civil society forum, held in Doha, was an important success. I must thank the Government of National Unity of the Sudan, as well as local administrative authorities in Darfur, for their facilitation of the forum, in collaboration with UNAMID. The popular representatives of Darfur were able to assemble and freely discuss solutions to the crisis.

In the coming days, alongside negotiations between the belligerents, the Mediation will organize a

workshop with representatives of civil society and armed movements. The aim will be to reinforce the internal cohesion essential to the process. The exclusion or marginalization of one of the actors by the Mediation would otherwise certainly entail fratricidal clashes inside Darfur. Such fighting would increase insecurity and decrease stability across the whole subregion. The process of building peace must not exacerbate rivalries between the parties. Rather, it should unite them and help seal social reconciliation.

The Council's support for inclusive peace talks will play a decisive role in encouraging all the parties to join to process in Doha. The Sudanese State and its Administration are the lynchpin for the construction of peace. The international community should support them in the promotion of peace and democratic good governance, as well as socio-economic development in Darfur.

Among the challenges to the process are mistrust arising from the trauma of war and growing political rivalries, which are accentuated by the coming elections. Despite those challenges, however, we have hope that the principal actors in the crisis will come to the negotiation table to agree the modalities for ending the conflict. They need to agree the terms for peace, justice, national reconciliation, human security and economic and social progress in Darfur.

The refusal of some armed movements to take part in political dialogue and the persistent divisions between others should not be allowed to block the establishment of peace in Darfur. That is why the Mediation will, in the near future, submit to the belligerent parties for approval the solutions emerging through consensus from all of Darfur's communities. With the genuine popular support of the inhabitants of Darfur and the assistance of the international community, it will be possible to make significant progress towards durable social peace.

The Mediation recognizes the varying states of readiness of the parties and will not sacrifice the credibility or sustainability of the process. The Mediation will make progress with those who are ready, allowing time for those who are not. It will also simultaneously pursue three tracks: building consensus of opinion among civil society, organizing negotiations between the movements and the Government, and improving Chad-Sudan relations. It will advance as

quickly as possible along each track, which will facilitate progress along the others.

I would like to finish by reiterating my commitment and my determination to fulfil, to the best of my ability, the mission that has been entrusted to me. I will continue to work, with integrity and impartiality, to improve the situation of the population of Darfur and the whole of Sudan. The Mediation will continue to advance, despite the complexity of the crisis and all of the various obstacles in our path.

To succeed in this mission to bring peace, we need now more than ever this Council's support to reinforce the authority and credibility of the Mediation. With the undivided backing of the Security Council and the international community at large, and with the engagement of the parties to the conflict, the population of Darfur will hopefully soon be able to find peace, reconciliation and socio-economic progress.

**The President:** I thank Mr. Bassolé for his briefing.

I now give the floor to the representative of the Sudan.

**Mr. Mohamad (Sudan)** (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, Sir, allow me once again to congratulate you, on this last day of your presidency of the Security Council for this month. It has been a very fruitful month in terms of the activities and varied initiatives undertaken. I would also like to thank Mr. Edmond Mulet, Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, for his presentation at the beginning of this meeting of the Secretary-General's periodic report (S/2009/592) on the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID). I would also like to thank Mr. Djibril Bassolé, Joint African Union-United Nations Chief Mediator for Darfur, for his briefing on the peace process.

In earlier statements, we have said that the peace process remains the only way of ensuring security, stability and lasting peace, particularly since we have now turned the page on military confrontation and there is no longer war in Darfur. Indeed, the desire for peace has won out as the unanimous choice of all of the citizens of Darfur. Only one link in the chain is still missing: the Security Council must breathe new life into the political process by undertaking immediate and decisive action to encourage those who are refusing or

hesitating to participate seriously in the negotiations that are planned.

The Government of Sudan firmly believes that it must focus its efforts on the political process as the top priority. But we are also not neglecting the need to meet the requirements of all the other tracks, particularly the maintenance of peace. Indeed, the report before the Council takes note of the cooperation of the Government of the Sudan, the initiatives it has undertaken and its close coordination with the African Union and the United Nations in the context of the Tripartite Mechanism, which was established to speed up deployment and to resolve all of the problems that still face us. The Tripartite Mechanism holds regular meetings, whose results confirm that the Government of the Sudan is cooperating fully and is positively addressing all the concerns expressed. The most recent such meeting, the seventh, was held in Khartoum on 16 November.

Moreover, three days ago the Peace and Security Council of the African Union organized an important visit to Darfur, during which its delegation affirmed that the situation in Darfur had clearly improved and that the Government of the Sudan was cooperating fully with UNAMID.

With regard to UNAMID contingents already deployed, the report confirms that the Mission is now fully operational and all that remain to be resolved are a few support issues. Deployed military contingents now number 14,638 personnel, the police component 4,449 personnel, and the civilian component 3,921. The report states clearly in paragraph 43 that — while the mission is now fully operational and has been for over a year — it still lacks military support, for example helicopters and transport units. This does not fall within the purview of either the Sudan or the Tripartite Mechanism.

Meanwhile, registration for the upcoming elections in April is proceeding smoothly in all provinces of the Sudan, including in Darfur, and abroad.

Sudan has also undertaken an initiative with regard to the brotherly country of Chad through the important visit by presidential adviser Ghazi Salaheddine to N'Djamena with a view to normalizing relations between our two countries and brotherly peoples.

All of the personnel on the ground in Darfur have been deployed thanks to the unstinting cooperation of the Government of the Sudan, the host country of the Mission. So we were justifiably surprised that the report, in some of its paragraphs, overlooks this reality and gives the impression that there are still certain obstacles facing UNAMID. Reference was made to a few isolated incidents, which are the sort of thing that could happen anywhere in the world, not to mention in an area such as Darfur, where there has been an armed rebellion. For example, if a UNAMID patrol was somewhat delayed, the report indicates, in paragraph 66 for example, that Government officials — in the plural — prevented access to UNAMID patrols.

What is more, a number of paragraphs in the report describing the security situation do not faithfully reflect what is actually happening. There has been an end to fighting and an improvement in the security situation in Darfur, and yet the report highlights a number of isolated incidents, which the Government of the Sudan has already strongly condemned. The Government is seeking to prevent any recurrence of incidents such as the kidnapping of two UNAMID staff members or the killing of an individual by unknown attackers.

The report makes reference to serious developments in the security sphere. This is rather startling to us. We do not want any guest of ours, or any member of the Mission to be harmed, let alone kidnapped or killed, and we condemn such acts. These isolated incidents must not be exaggerated. We must put them into their proper context as the exception, not the rule. We note that the security situation in Darfur is somewhat stable and continues to improve.

During your presidency of the Council, Sir, you have undertaken a number of initiatives, for example on the protection of civilians. But what is missing is that we and the United Nations must be protected against such non-factual reports, drafted by international officials not in the interest of peace in Darfur but to serve particular interests. The reports of the United Nations should be objective and positive, and they should serve the cause of peace, not run counter it.

**The President:** There are no further speakers on my list. In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion of the subject.

*The meeting rose at 11.15 a.m.*