



# Security Council

Sixty-eighth year

**7046**<sup>th</sup> meeting

Monday, 21 October 2013, 10.30 a.m.

New York

*Provisional*

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<i>President:</i>	Mr. Mehdiyev . . . . .	(Azerbaijan)
<i>Members:</i>	Argentina . . . . .	Mrs. Perceval
	Australia . . . . .	Mr. Quinlan
	China . . . . .	Mr. Zhao Yong
	France . . . . .	Mr. Araud
	Guatemala . . . . .	Mr. Rosenthal
	Luxembourg . . . . .	Ms. Lucas
	Morocco . . . . .	Mr. Loulichki
	Pakistan . . . . .	Mr. Sahebzada Ahmed Khan
	Republic of Korea . . . . .	Mr. Sul Kyung-hoon
	Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Iliichev
	Rwanda . . . . .	Mr. Gasana
	Togo . . . . .	Mr. Menan
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . . . . .	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America . . . . .	Ms. Power

## Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region (S/2013/569)

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/2013/581)

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*The meeting was called to order at 10.30 am*

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo**

#### **Report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region (S/2013/569)**

#### **Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/2013/581)**

**The President:** In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Martin Kobler, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Head of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, to participate in this meeting.

On behalf of the Council, I welcome Mr. Kobler, who is joining today's meeting via video-teleconference from Entebbe.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Ms. Mary Robinson, Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes Region of Africa, to participate in this meeting.

On behalf of the Council, I welcome Mrs. Robinson, who is joining today's meeting via video-teleconference from Addis Ababa.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2013/569, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region.

I also wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2013/581, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

I now give the floor to Mr. Kobler.

**Mr. Kobler** (*spoke in French*): It is an honour and pleasure to address the Council today to introduce the second report of the Secretary-General (S/2013/581) following the adoption of resolution 2098 (2013). Before I address the most recent developments concerning the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, I wish to underscore my regret for being unable to be physically present in the Council Chamber today, due to the ongoing talks in Kampala. I am addressing members from Kampala itself, having participated as an observer in the talks into the small hours of this morning.

*(spoke in English)*

As the Council has just returned from its visit to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, let me focus on three topics: the Kampala talks, the mission Priorities and the endeavours to align the Mission structures to the revised Mission priorities.

At the request of the Facilitator, the Ugandan Minister of Defence, Mr. Kiyonga, I joined the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General to the Great Lakes Region, Mary Robinson, as well as the other special envoys to the region, in the Kampala talks on 16 October. The previous week, I had extensive exchanges with the Congolese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Raymond Tshibanda N'tungamulongo, as well as other members of the Congolese Government, asking them to attend the talks in person. The Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo ultimately decided to send a high-level delegation, including Foreign Minister Tshibanda.

The five envoys, led by Special Envoy Mary Robinson, closely followed the proceedings of the negotiations and tried to instil the negotiating parties with a sense of urgency, given the unique momentum. Intensive talks on the margin of the plenary sessions ensued. The Special Envoy of the Secretary-General will give more detail.

The objective was to bring the Kampala talks to an end by concluding a comprehensive agreement between the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Mouvement du 23 mars (M-23) to end the rebellion, disband the M-23 and allow its transformation into a political movement within the limits of the Constitution and the laws of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. As of this morning, that objective has not been reached.

I do not want to conceal my slight disappointment that, after four long days and nights of negotiations until the early morning hours of today, it has not been possible to reach a comprehensive deal despite the pressure of the five envoys as supportive observers. A joint meeting with President Paul Kagame on 18 October, the constructive attitude of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in particular its Minister for Foreign Affairs, International Cooperation and Francophony, Raymond Tshibanda N'tungamulongo, and the incessant and patient efforts of the Facilitator, the Minister of Defence of Uganda, Mr. Crispus Kiyonga.

My main role in the process was to pledge the support of MONUSCO to any agreement, as such an accord would enable MONUSCO to fulfil its mandate to disband the M-23, to protect civilians and to bring peace to eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo. Thus, in outlining any potential MONUSCO role in the implementation of the Kampala accord, I was fully aware of the dilemma — one also raised by some Council members — not to be complicit to an imperfect agreement or to be part of the negotiations, on the one hand, while contributing to effectively shape the details of the agreement on a potential role for MONUSCO is concerned, on the other. In so doing, I was guided by the following principles.

First, only a fair agreement — not necessarily a perfect one — would form the basis for a sustainable solution and effective implementation. MONUSCO could not support an agreement at any price.

Secondly, as the implementation of the agreement would fully depend on the goodwill of the parties, the overall responsibility had to remain with the negotiating parties.

Thirdly, MONUSCO's role would mainly consist of providing support to the four phases of the transitional security arrangements and the subsequent disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process. Thus, despite not being party to the agreement, MONUSCO needed to agree on the practicalities mentioned in the annex relating to the transitional security arrangements, as the negotiating parties could not decide on those issues without MONUSCO's consent.

Fourthly, the arrangements detailing MONUSCO's potential role would remain subject to the approval of the Security Council.

Those guiding principles were communicated to both the Facilitator and the negotiating parties. With the permission of Council members, we will continue in that line during the ongoing negotiations here in Kampala.

Last night ended with the Facilitator initialling eight out of the 11 paragraphs with the consent of the parties. Considerable progress has been made on the question of amnesty for M-23 combatants and on the security arrangements. I believe that the remaining gaps can be bridged; that is why it is all the more regrettable that this unique opportunity could not be seized upon to reach an overall deal. I urge the M-23 in particular to use the dynamics of the past two days to move more constructively and without delay to resolve the remaining issues in the next few days in order to restore peace to the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo. I welcome the assurances of Minister for Foreign Affairs Raymond Tshibanda N'tungamulongo that the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo remains committed to concluding the remaining points of the agreement, and that he will be ready to return to the negotiation table once the negotiation teams clarify the outstanding issues.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt gratitude to and admiration for the President of Uganda, Mr. Yoweri Museveni, and of his Minister of Defence, Mr. Crispus Kiyonga, who left no stone unturned to make minds and intractable positions converge. In addition, I would like to thank in particular Minister for Foreign Affairs, International Cooperation and the Francophony, Raymond Tshibanda N'tungamulongo, for his exceptional patience and unrelenting perseverance in leading the Congolese delegation towards the peaceful settlement of the conflict with an illegal armed group.

Regardless of the progress in Kampala, the situation on the ground remains volatile and of great concern. In recent days, we have observed a considerable military build-up on both sides of the front line. At the same time, the M-23 has fired twice at unarmed United Nations helicopters, and has strengthened its offensive positions threatening United Nations peacekeepers. The Special Envoy and myself have condemned those military attacks on peacekeepers in the strongest terms. However, for the sake of safeguarding an environment conducive to a negotiated settlement, I decided not to retaliate, in accordance with the rules of engagement.

In an attempt to verify allegations that the M-23 is reinforcing its military positions in areas along the borders with Rwanda and Uganda, I have requested the Expanded Joint Verification Mechanism to investigate a suspected ammunition site in M-23-controlled territory. The inspection was supposed to take place on 18 October. The military command of the M-23, however, prevented the inspectors from fulfilling their duties. The mission had to be aborted. It is not acceptable that the M-23 defies the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region, which established the confidence-building mechanism to reduce potential regional tensions. Information gathered indicates that the M-23 has also strengthened its front line in the South, near Goma.

Another issue of deep concern is the persistent reports on the return of several hundred refugee families that have crossed the border into M-23-controlled areas, where apparently they are being constrained to settle. Reportedly, young men among the returnees are being recruited for training for the M-23. Since the emergence of the M-23, the Mission has sheltered almost 200 surrendering combatants, who consistently and credibly claim to have been recruited on Ugandan but mainly on Rwandan territory. I have myself spoken to those who stay in our disarmament, demobilization and reintegration camp in Goma.

That and other kinds of external involvement must stop. Those developments also underscore the urgent need to seek a viable political solution. That process has to be accompanied by regional confidence-building measures. I have gone to Kigali several times in the past two months since taking up office, and I will continue to do so. It is important to strengthen confidence-building between MONUSCO and the Government of Rwanda. I feel encouraged that it is the view of the Government of Rwanda that peace and stability and the restoration of State authority in the east is better for the whole region than continued military confrontation, human suffering and illegal exploitation of mineral resources. I would be grateful if the Security Council could lend its full support in bringing the Kampala negotiations to a swift end and foster a sustainable and irreversible solution to the conflict.

Those situations are never easy, and the implementation of the agreement depends on the political will of the parties. But the M-23 is not our only concern. The Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda (FDLR), the Allied Democratic Forces, and many Mayi-Mayi groups that terrorize the population

in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo also continue to represent a significant threat to civilians and to State authority.

Let me take this opportunity to brief the Council on the priorities of the Mission as I see them after my first two months in office.

Resolution 2098 (2013) has given the Mission new tools and a renewed determination with which to address those challenges and grasp those opportunities. The Mission's organizational structure and core priorities must be better aligned with the mandate. The Mission priority must also be aligned to support all six national commitments of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region. Finally, the military and civilian structure in the eastern region also have to be aligned. As we move to redefine priorities, reconfigure the Mission's structure and align the resources needed, the Mission's senior management and I have identified the following drivers of change to guide our decision-making and planning.

First, the restoration of State authority and the protection of civilians are central to all our efforts to stabilize eastern Congo. MONUSCO aims to help the Congolese State reclaim control of areas that armed groups and criminal networks have dominated, in some cases for decades. Building on integrated planning, a new concept is being developed to assist the Government in restoring State authority and stabilizing areas cleared of armed groups, known as islands of stability.

Second, the military posture of the force must adapt to the new realities. The entire MONUSCO force must be deployed and operate with a proactive stance to deter violence and ensure the security of civilians, the core of our mandate. The operations in support of the Forces armées de la République démocratique du Congo (FARDC) assault on Kibati were a clear illustration of the approach of "one mandate, one mission, one force".

We engage all our forces and assets with the objectives of protecting civilians and maintaining military pressure in support of reviving the political process. We aim to increase the force's flexibility so that it is able to deter violence by intervening in advance rather than reacting after events. We are also improving information gathering in support of proactive operations. Force Commander General Dos Santos Cruz, Deputy Force Commander General Jean

Baillaud, who is with me today, and I are in contact with the troop-contributing countries on this threat.

Third, security sector reform (SSR), and especially army reform, are critical to the Mission, in terms of the implementation of both resolution 2098 (2013) and the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. The benchmarks for security sector reform are clearly defined. Our approach must be practical. At the national level, the Mission is focused on providing good offices, coordination and technical advice. That way, we hope to advance the implementation of policies, build political will, and support dialogue between the Government and partners. During a meeting chaired by Deputy Special Representative Soumaré on 11 October, international partners agreed to coordinate their SSR initiatives via an expanded SSR coordination working group, to be chaired by the Congolese Minister of Defence and supported by MONUSCO. That coordination structure should considerably accelerate defence and security reforms.

Fourth, the Mission will focus on the benchmarking of the national commitments under the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. The Government is committed to an agenda of progress. In that context, MONUSCO supports the national oversight mechanism for the Framework. Stakeholders discussed and validated benchmarks for three of the commitments: security sector reform, consolidation of State authority and decentralization. On 19 September, President Kabila convened for the first time the steering committee of the national oversight mechanism to approve that set of benchmarks. We encourage the Government to integrate those approved benchmarks into national planning processes so as to ensure coherence and full implementation. Despite a boycott by part of the opposition, the Security Council presence at the closing ceremony of the national consultations on 5 October emphasized strong support for the process. Both security sector reform and oversight over the national benchmarks are among the priorities of my Deputy, Mr. Moustapha Soumaré.

Fifth, the priority is to stimulate regional cooperation. As trust is still low, MONUSCO is working in close partnership with the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes Region, Ms. Mary Robinson, to encourage regional confidence-building. Rebuilding relations of trust among neighbouring States is paramount to hope for a prosperous and stable Great Lakes region. Military

action and strengthening civilian capacities in the east will have to be supported by countries of the Great Lakes region.

Sixth, with the appointment of Abbot Apollinaire Malu Malu Muhlongu at the helm of the Independent National Electoral Commission, the electoral process seems to be revived. Consultations with donor partners and national stakeholders have gradually brought forward a consensus on a road map and subsequent sequencing of the different elections. That road map will pave the way for the adoption of an electoral calendar and the development of a realistic budget, which together would be a clear signal that the electoral process is again on track.

The seventh priority is zero tolerance for sexual terrorism and child recruitment. Over the past year, there have been some notable advances in the fight against impunity for sexual crimes, including cases involving some undisciplined elements of the national security forces. Between May and June, Congolese judicial authorities issued 13 arrest warrants against senior M-23 officers and political leaders, for war crimes, crimes against humanity and participation in an insurrection.

However, a number of important cases remain stalled. One example is the case of serious human rights violations, including mass rape, committed by FARDC soldiers in November 2012 in and around Minova as the Congolese Army retreated from the front lines. I recognize the steps taken by the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. However, the military justice investigation has so far registered limited progress. My colleagues and I are in regular contact with the Government to provide regular updates.

With regard to child recruitment, in the coming days I will publicly present our report on child soldiers of the major armed groups, namely, Mayi-Mayi Nyatura, the FDLR and the M-23. Almost 1,000 cases of child recruitment were documented between January 2012 and August 2013. The human misery behind those statistics remains staggering, moving and unacceptable under any circumstances. One child soldier is one child soldier too many.

To better respond to the priorities that I have outlined, I intend to restructure the Mission along the following three lines.

First, we need a strengthened operational presence in the east. For greater impact in stabilization activities,

the Council will observe in the near future a major shift of our civilian staff in the east to deploy them closer to communities affected by conflict, in tandem with the force's deployment. The Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Abdallah Wafy, has already been permanently reassigned to Goma as Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General for operations in the east. The operational substantive units still based in Kinshasa will follow him.

Secondly, we are reconsidering MONUSCO's presence in the areas not affected by armed conflict. MONUSCO's presence will be reduced. The weight of the country team should be increased.

Thirdly, the future of the United Nations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo belongs to the country team. The cooperation of the Government in the road map for handing over responsibilities to the country team is of the utmost importance. To that effect, the establishment of a joint intersectoral task force will closely guide and monitor planning and implementing commitments. Those ideas will become part of the mission concept in the next few weeks and will be submitted to Headquarters.

Before concluding, allow me to express my deepest appreciation and respect to the Governments of all troop-contributing countries of MONUSCO for their commitment to peace, stability and the protection of civilians in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I met courageous men and women among the troops. I thank the troop-contributing States for their endeavours.

I would also like to present my sincerest condolences to the families of Major Mshindo Hatibu Shaaban and Private Munga Hugo Barnabas, members of the Tanzanian contingent who lost their lives during the fighting at Kibati.

*(spoke in French)*

As the Council will have understood, the Mission is in full swing. It is evolving at this very moment in order to fully respond to the mandate the Council has entrusted to it. I would like to take this opportunity to thank my predecessor, Roger Meese, for his immense knowledge and for having entrusted to me a well organized Mission. I am particularly impressed by and filled with admiration for the Congolese staff, who are often exposed to security risks greater than what we experience at the international level. Both men and women in all sections are working with impressive

devotion and expertise. They are the backbone and the very flesh and blood of the Mission.

The Mission is evolving. It is adapting to the situation and to the new vision of the international community. For that change to take place effectively, I am happy to be able to rely on the support of the Council and all our partners. I would particularly like to thank all the Permanent Representatives of the Council for their recent visit to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Their determination and energy are important evidence of the commitment of the international community for sustainable peace.

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

I now give the floor to Ms. Robinson.

**Ms. Robinson:** I am pleased for this opportunity to brief the Security Council today. First, allow me to thank the Council for its continuous and valuable support to Special Representative of the Secretary — General Martin Kobler and myself in the implementation of our respective mandates. The Council's recent visit to the region, on which the Council received a report today, has sent a strong signal about the Council's commitment to supporting the long-term stability of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Great Lakes region. Furthermore, the Council's participation at the second meeting of the regional oversight mechanism held on 23 September in New York, preceded by the 25 July high-level ministerial meeting on the Great Lakes region, presided over by Secretary of State John Kerry, are concrete demonstrations of that strong commitment.

My briefing will focus on the following elements: the Kampala dialogue, the progress on the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework, as well as the priorities and next steps in the implementation of my mandate.

I arrived here in Addis Ababa after spending four days in Kampala, where I led a team of envoys comprising Special Representative of the Secretary-General Martin Kobler, United States Special Envoy Russ Feingold, African Union Special Representative Boubacar Diarra and European Union Senior Coordinator Koen Vervaeke. We arrived in Kampala in the wake of alarming reports of a military build-up around Goma and the areas held by rebels of the Mouvement du 23 mars (M-23). That situation highlighted the urgency of reaching a political agreement to prevent a return to hostilities and the escalation of tensions in the region. It was also

important to conclude the Kampala dialogue in order to shift the focus towards addressing the deeper and long-term causes of instability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region, including through the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. At my request, the group of envoys agreed to travel to Uganda to collectively provide assistance in the conclusion of an agreement among the parties.

We arrived in Kampala on 16 October. Prior to that, I obtained the assurance of Foreign Minister Raymond Tshibanda that he would lead the Democratic Republic of the Congo delegation, which was crucial for significant progress to be achieved. He also assured me that the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo was willing to negotiate an agreement with the M-23 in good faith, which was evident during the recent dialogue process.

In Kampala, we met with the parties several times on the margins of the talks, to listen to their views and concerns as well as to encourage them to adopt a constructive approach. From the outset, we made it clear that we were not there to convene the process but to assist the facilitator and the parties to reach a negotiated solution to the process, which had been ongoing for far too long. We stressed the need to adopt of a principled approach towards the issues of amnesty and integration. As Special Representative of the Secretary — General Kobler has explained, we concurred with the parties on the crucial role that the Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) will have in facilitating the implementation of the security arrangements and in building confidence among the parties on the ground, especially during the disengagement, cantonment and disarmament process of the M-23. We were also clear that any role envisaged for MONUSCO in the peace agreement should remain within the Mission's mandate and should receive the consent of the Security Council.

The facilitator of the talks, Mr. Crispus Kiyonga, Minister of Defence of Uganda, very much welcomed our presence. I think we provided him with morale and a certain backup that up to then he had in a way been lacking in his approach as a one-man facilitator. On the margins of the process, we worked closely with him, advised him and reinforced his facilitation efforts, including in reducing the gaps among the parties, keeping the talks alive and the parties present at the negotiation table, and in generating regional and

international pressure on the parties in support of the conclusion of an agreement.

While in Kampala, I spoke by telephone to President Kabila, who demonstrated goodwill and agreed to extend the presence of his Foreign Minister and Head of Intelligence for several additional days in order to increase the chances of reaching an agreement. Furthermore, on 18 October, the group of envoys went to Kigali to speak with President Kagame and provide him with an update on the ongoing negotiations. We wanted to seek his support for a quick conclusion of an agreement.

We told President Kagame that the Kampala process had run its course and that it was now the moment to conclude in order to provide the required attention to the broader challenges at hand in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region. We emphasized that a peace agreement would enable the Force Intervention Brigade to deal with other armed groups in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, including the Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda and the Allied Democratic Forces.

President Kagame saw the presence of the envoys in Kampala as very useful. The President believed that while the M-23 was not Rwanda's issue, a peace agreement between the rebel group and the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo would benefit the entire region. He further assured the envoys of his support and commitment to encouraging a peace agreement. He issued a public statement and privately communicated his strong support for an agreement.

Let me now provide a brief overview of the negotiations and content of the draft agreement, to supplement that provided by Special Representative Kobler.

Despite a very difficult resumption on 17 October, the talks gained some speed on 18 October. On 19 October, the parties reached consensus on eight out of the 11 articles of the draft agreement under discussion. These are the release of prisoners; the end of M-23 as a rebel movement, and the possibility to re-establish itself as a political party; the return and resettlement of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs); the question of the properties that were extorted and looted during the M-23's brief occupation of Goma in November 2012; the establishment of a national reconciliation commission; governance and socioeconomic reforms; the implementation of the

provisions of the March 23 2009 peace agreement that were partially or not implemented and are still relevant; and the implementation, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms of the Kampala Agreement.

However, regrettably the parties found it difficult to agree on certain contentious and difficult issues that had remained problematic throughout the talks, namely, the amnesty, disarmament and integration of M-23.

As will be evident to experts, several articles discussed and agreed upon in Kampala are similar — at least in spirit — to those of the 2009 peace agreement between the Democratic Republic of the Congo Government and the Congrès national pour la défense du peuple rebel movement. In this regard, one should also be mindful that this process carries with it some of the limits of the 2002 peace agreement, particularly with some provisions that could be easily interpreted as general commitments.

However, I am also glad to stress that the parties and the Facilitator considered positively our strong message that the Kampala Agreement should be based on certain principles, including sustainability, accountability and, related to that, there should be no amnesty for those who have committed crimes against humanity or war crimes. I believe it is the big picture that we should have in mind, including the fact that continuous direct and indirect pressure on the M-23, and the determination of the Democratic Republic of the Congo Government and the Facilitator to draw lessons from the 2009 peace process, resulted in a principled approach in negotiating the provisions on amnesty and integration.

In the draft under consideration, amnesty and integration would be granted to

“all members of M-23 for all acts of war and insurrection covering the period from 1 April 2012 to the date of signature of the Agreement, except for individuals indicted for war crimes, crimes against humanity, acts of genocide or gross violations of human rights, including sexual violence, recruitment of child soldiers”.

Moreover, amnesty would “be subject to each beneficiary making a written personal commitment to permanently refrain from acts of rebellion”. It would also “be automatically withdrawn in the event of the commitment being violated”.

The integration or reintegration process of commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers and

troops of M-23 would take place on a case-by-case basis and be subject to conditions. Key among them would be to “swear allegiance to the state and Constitution of the Democratic Republic of the Congo” and to “commit themselves, individually and unconditionally, to serve in any part of the country”.

While the parties have made progress in the negotiations, they have not been able to reach an agreement on the issues of amnesty, integration, disengagement and security arrangements. They have agreed to reconvene soon in order to overcome their differences. It will be critical that the parties and the Facilitator remain committed to a swift conclusion of the Kampala process. The E-Team will continue to be helpful with the view to achieving that goal. I join with Special Representative Kobler in also looking for the support of the Security Council for the finalization of the Kampala Dialogue.

The conclusion of the Kampala Dialogue will pave the way for the end of the conflict in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo. I know that some Council members have expressed doubts about the usefulness and legitimacy of these talks. I am also aware that some have expressed concerns about United Nations support to this process, for fear of being associated with a bad deal. I fully understand and share these concerns.

But as we all know, there is no perfect agreement. There is also no certainty that even with the best possible peace agreement there will be lasting peace and stability in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Great Lakes Region. Sustainable peace, development and justice in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region require the political will of all stakeholders, including the international community, to make it happen.

For the first time in years, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the region and the international community have decided to tackle the root causes of instability in this part of the world in a genuine and concerted manner. The Kampala talks are not meant to address all the root causes of the conflict, but if an agreement is reached it would have immediate value in ending the fighting and the unacceptable sufferings of the people in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, and it would pave the way for progress in our collective work to fully implement the commitments made under the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework.



I would like to pay tribute to the Facilitator, Mr. Crispus Kiyonga, for his tireless efforts in support of the process. I would also acknowledge the commitment shown by the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and in particular by Foreign Affairs Minister Raymond Tshibanda N'tungamulongo, who has demonstrated a great sense of leadership and patience throughout the process, despite other pressing commitments. Obviously, the progress in the talks would have not been possible without the good faith and political will of Presidents Kabila, Museveni and Kagame, who have on several occasions assured me of their determination to do whatever would be possible for peace in the region. I would also like to thank Special Representative Kobler, my Special Adviser Modibo Touré, who are still in Kampala on my behalf, for the support that they have provided to the peace talks.

As much as we all look forward to the rapid conclusion of the Kampala talks, we should also acknowledge that peace should not be achieved to the detriment of justice. As I have said privately and publicly, and as former High Commissioner for Human Rights, that we should no longer tolerate impunity in the Great Lakes Region. There should be accountability, not only for the M-23 members, but also for those of other armed groups found responsible for war crimes, crimes against humanity, acts of genocide, or gross violations of human rights, including sexual violence and the recruitment of child soldiers. The minimum we can do for the memory of the millions of victims and their families is to ensure that a fair judicial process is carried out against the perpetrators of those atrocities at the appropriate time.

Let me now say a few words on the progress in the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework.

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, with regards to the National Dialogue, which was opened by President Joseph Kabila on 7 September and ended on 5 October, a list of recommendations was developed, focusing on the six reform areas outlined by the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. President Kabila presented these recommendations to the two houses of the Parliament on 15 October, and Special Representative Kobler has provided the Council with further details on this issue. I feel increasingly conscious that we will have to somehow match progress at the national level with progress at the regional level. The two are connected under the Peace, Security and

Cooperation Framework, and we will have to ensure that we make progress at both levels.

At the regional level, the Chiefs of Defence Staff of the International Conference for the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) met in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, on 7 October and agreed on the modalities to strengthen existing security mechanisms, in particular the Expanded Joint Verification Mechanism (EJVM) as decided at the last extraordinary Summit in Kampala on 5 September. The EJVM will now include MONUSCO and the African Union representatives, which will significantly help overcome some of its current shortcomings. Although a divergence of opinions exists among Member States, the security mechanisms of the ICGLR remain useful confidence-building tools and are essential to advancing collective security efforts in the region. The support of the international community to the strengthening of those mechanisms is crucial, and I count on its support in that regard.

I would like now to highlight some of the next steps and outline the priority areas that I plan to focus on in the next few months in the context of the need to address a mediated high-level political process.

At the regional level, the regional oversight mechanism has tasked its technical support committee with preparing a plan of action for the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. The committee will meet on 24 and 25 October in Nairobi to discuss, and hopefully finalize, a plan of action. I will personally go to Nairobi and take part in those discussions in the coming days.

Furthermore, it is my intention to propose modalities for the monitoring and evaluation of the plan of action upon finalization by the technical support committee. In addition, I will follow up with the committee on the establishment of a multi-donor trust fund to support the implementation of regional priority programmes and projects as requested by the regional oversight mechanism at the meeting in New York in September. The establishment of the trust fund will be essential for the implementation of the Framework.

I also plan to engage the international partners in the coming weeks, with the view to finalizing the international benchmarks. In that regard, I would also like to discuss areas of collaboration between international partners and the member States of the Great Lakes region.

I intend to use the platform offered by the upcoming joint summit between the ICGLR and the Southern African Development Community to promote the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. I also plan to use existing political platforms, such as the Oyo quadripartite process and the tripartite framework between the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Africa and Angola to support peace initiatives in the region.

I would like to conclude by outlining elements of the road map that should guide my engagement for the period of 2013 to 2014.

In line with my mandate and with resolution 2098 (2013), the road map seeks to, first, address the immediate obstacles that could hamper the implementation of the Framework; secondly, encourage measures to address the root causes of instability in the region; and, thirdly, continue advocacy to promote confidence-building and regional cooperation, as defined by the Framework. The sequenced political approach I propose is articulated around six priorities.

The first priority is to continue supporting the Kampala dialogue. Since July, I have been supporting the facilitator, in close collaboration with Special Representative of the Secretary-General Kobler and now with the other envoys. We will continue to encourage a quick conclusion of the process and continue to assist in that regard.

Secondly, in order to rebuild trust and confidence between countries in the region, I will continue to work with Governments, particularly the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Rwanda, to bolster the ongoing peace process with the inclusion of active participation by civil society and international partners. I also plan to use my good offices and those of my fellow envoys to consolidate relations between the countries by identifying potential flash points and proactively initiating mitigating measures, in close coordination with regional leaders and other key high-level officials.

Thirdly, in support of the development of a plan of action for the implementation of the commitments under the Peace and Security Council Framework, my office will continue to support the technical support committee and will develop modalities for an independent monitoring and evaluation capacity. In that regard, our attention will focus on a set of priority benchmarks against which I will assess the implementation of the key commitments. Those include

commitments at the national level where I shall, in close coordination with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General Kobler, engage the Democratic Republic of the Congo Government on critical follow-up actions to the recently concluded national dialogue, including monitoring the progress on national structural reforms and decentralization, electoral reform and the calendar for local elections, security sector reform and the national economic development agenda.

At the regional level — and I emphasize again that both levels must be seen to be making progress and are inexplicably linked under the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework — I shall work with regional Governments in order to achieve progress in enhanced cooperation on justice matters, joint security strategy, strengthening the EJVM and other security mechanisms, joint measures to curb the illegal exploitation of natural resources, and regional economic integration.

Fourthly, I shall work with regional Governments and partners on comprehensive measures to enable the reduction and strength of armed groups operating in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, including through the development of a regional disarmament, demobilization and reintegration initiative.

Fifthly, I shall continue to provide leadership and coordinate the international community's support for the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework agenda, which is a shared responsibility that requires unity of purpose and actions. To that end, I will encourage greater collaboration among partners to ensure a convergence of agendas. I will also support efforts, which I believe are incredibly important, to create immediate peace dividends on the ground. Furthermore, it is my intention to seek the support of bilateral and multilateral donors to fund specific activities, such as those included in the action plan for the implementation of the Framework. In addition, I will work closely with other guarantors of the Framework to ensure that the Great Lakes region remains high on their agenda. I will also continue to pay close attention and support to women and youth interests in the region. We are working on a platform for communication and funding for women's groups in the region, following the Bujumbura meeting of women's groups in July, and I hope to share that very shortly with members of the Security Council.

Sixthly, I will work in close collaboration with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner

for Refugees and the Governments of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and countries in the region to support efforts to alleviate the conditions of refugees and internally displaced people, by ensuring that the conditions for voluntary return are in place.

Those ongoing and anticipated actions are based on the assumption that national, regional and international actors will remain willing and focused on implementing the commitments made under the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. In that connection again, I look very much to the Council's support and to the engagement that the it has shown, which needs to continue.

The momentum that was generated by the signing of the agreement must be sustained by all means. That will require the determination of all concerned. Let me conclude by warmly thanking the Council again for its very visible, very tangible and, I believe, very needed support.

**The President:** I thank Ms. Robinson for her briefing.

I now give the floor to the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

**Mr. Empole** (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (*spoke in French*): Allow me, first of all, to warmly congratulate you, Mr. President, on the accession of your country, Azerbaijan, to the presidency of the Security Council, and to express the Democratic Republic of the Congo's satisfaction at seeing you, Sir, presiding over the Council during the month of October. Allow me also to pay tribute to the work of your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Australia, and to express our gratitude for the outstanding way in which he led the work of the Security Council in the past month.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank His Excellency Mr. Ban Ki-Moon, Secretary-General of the United Nations, firstly, for the efforts that he continues to make towards resolving the Congolese crisis in particular and, beyond that, the problems affecting the Great Lakes region in general. I also thank him for his personal involvement in the negotiations on, and the conclusion and implementation of, the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region, an agreement reached in Addis Ababa on 24 February. Finally, I thank him for the publication of two important reports (S/2013/569 and S/2013/581) dealing

with the situation in my country, which the Council is considering today.

At the outset, I would like to extend to the Council the apologies of His Excellency Mr. Gata Mavita wa Lufuta, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the United Nations, who wished to personally participate in this morning's meeting but who, unfortunately, had to remain in our country as a result of developments there since his most recent trip there accompanying the Security Council's delegation.

The Security Council has just heard two briefings on the reports of the Secretary-General. Allow me to fully acknowledge the thoroughness of those reports and to express to him my full appreciation.

I would also like to welcome the presence of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes Region, Her Excellency Ms. Mary Robinson, and Special Representative of the Secretary-General Martin Kobler, as well as to express my delegation's gratitude to them for both their valuable statements and their tireless efforts to restore peace to the eastern part of my country.

The publication of the two reports by the Secretary-General on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/2013/569 and S/2013/581) and our meeting today demonstrate our shared desire to reaffirm our humanity and jointly evaluate, without complacency, the progress achieved in implementing the commitments undertaken under the important Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region of 24 February 2013. Those commitments were undertaken with a view to ending the tragic situation of the people living in the eastern part of my country and identifying the challenges that remain for lasting peace to be established and for the region to be able to devote its energy and intelligence to the key issues of fighting poverty and improving the population's living conditions.

To that end, the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo calls on the States in the region to implement in good faith the commitments they freely entered into. Among other things, we call on them for a change in policy, behaviour and attitude. According to the Framework, they are committed to not interfering in the internal affairs of other neighbouring States, not condoning or providing assistance or support to

any armed groups and respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring States.

I would like to reiterate, on behalf of the Congolese people, our thanks to the Secretary-General and the entire international community. I would also like to assure you, Sir, of the unshakeable determination of the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, His Excellency Mr. Joseph Kabila Kabange, to work for lasting peace in the Great Lakes region, together with you, the Secretary-General, his peers from the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and all our other bilateral and multilateral partners. Indeed, without peace, no progress will be possible. Without minimal safety for persons and property, any development remains hypothetical.

We cannot today evaluate the impact that repeated armed conflict in the eastern provinces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo has had on my country's development. I would remind the Council that, as a result of those conflicts, my country has lost more than 6 million lives over two decades of war, with thousands of women raped and abused; millions of children unable to go to school because they have had to constantly move to escape the war; approximately 3 million people displaced and forced to abandon their fields, livestock and small-scale economic and subsistence activities; thousands of men, women and children infected through no fault of their own with HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections or suffering from malaria; and many deaths due to childbirth in inappropriate circumstances. That list is not exhaustive.

We welcome the progress noted at the regional level in the implementation of commitments taken under the Framework, including the adoption of regional monitoring criteria and progress indicators by the Heads of State gathered under the auspices of the "11+4" mechanism, on 23 September, on the margins of the general debate of the General Assembly at its sixty-eighth session. However, the security and humanitarian situation in the region remains fragile and is cause for concern.

As we meet today, the populations of Goma and Rutshuru still live in fear and uncertainty due to the sporadic attacks that the Mouvement du 23 mars (M-23), with the help of its well-known external allies, has been launching against the defensive positions

of the Forces armées de la République démocratique du Congo (FARDC) since the adoption of resolution 2098 (2013) and despite its provisions. Moreover, the volatile security situation extends into many areas of the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo due to the activities of several other negative forces, both domestic and foreign, including the Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda (FDLR), the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), the Ugandan Allied Democratic Forces/National Army for the Liberation of Uganda, Mayi-Mayi Raia Mutomboki and others, the Nduma Defence for Congo and others, as so well described in the two reports of the Secretary-General.

That is why no country in the Great Lakes region has campaigned more vigorously than the Democratic Republic of the Congo for the establishment of an intervention brigade tasked with neutralizing all negative forces, including the FDLR, and endowed with an offensive mandate. It is for the same reason that the Democratic Republic of Congo, whose population, more than any other, suffers under the presence of foreign armed groups on its territory, would never collaborate in any way with such forces, whose hallmark is killing, rape, abuse of all kinds and the looting of public and private property and natural resources.

The deployment on the ground of the Intervention Brigade established by resolution 2098 (2013) is an undeniable step forward, and we fully appreciate it. We would like for all States concerned to trust the Brigade to carry out the responsibilities entrusted to it by the Security Council, namely, monitoring and securing the border between the Democratic Republic of the Congo and its neighbours to the east on the one hand; and, on the other hand, neutralizing all negative forces without exception. The strengthening of the Brigade's operational capacities, including through the provision of additional attack helicopters and unarmed drone systems, is a step that should be taken in all urgency and that would allow the Brigade both to fulfil its mission to protect civilians and fight all armed groups as well as to defend itself against the recurring provocations by the M-23.

That said, we recognize that military force alone cannot solve the complex equation needed to achieve peace in the Great Lakes region of Africa, where the causes of conflicts and disputes overlap and are both internal and external in nature. Given the extremism espoused by all of the negative forces, force is necessary but not sufficient. To be sustainable, the solution must

also come about through a sincere dialogue among all the internal and external parties and a good faith implementation of the conclusions reached among them.

Therefore, for its part, the Congolese Government remains committed to the Kampala talks, thus putting to the test the good faith of the M-23 leaders and all stakeholders involved. Unfortunately — and we have all witnessed this — it has not been possible to date to achieve a just and balanced agreement. In the same vein, the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo encourages other States in the region to follow its lead in this respect.

The Democratic Republic of Congo is shouldering its share of responsibility so that peace and harmony can be rapidly restored to the region. My country has taken on that task, with significant progress having been made noted in the conflict area in terms of reducing the threats to the security of the population and improving the Government's management of that security. As evidence of that, following the signing of the Framework, the Congolese Government undertook to fulfil its obligations, which, incidentally, correspond to tasks that it identified 11 years ago and which it treats as important and priority tasks.

In that context, we have both accelerated and better systematized our reform of the security sector. The housecleaning of the structures and staff in the army, security services and police; the recruitment within the defence forces of young Congolese from every province of the country; the reopening of military training academies; and the training of special forces and support units with assistance from bilateral partners and with the primary objective of operationalizing the Rapid Reaction Force are all concrete actions recently undertaken to make the defence of our territory more effective to better ensure State authority.

In order to strengthen that authority, in particular in the east of my country, starting with Goma, the national police, public authorities and courts have been provided on a priority basis with capacity-building programmes, allowing them to progressively regain control of the situation.

The decentralization provided for in the Constitution has come a step closer to becoming reality, in particular through the adoption of the necessary implementation laws and the organization of a number of meetings devoted to managing decentralized territories.

The reforms to the management of public finances — which have been under way for several years and whose positive results are evident in a stable macroeconomic framework — continue to be pursued and have just been successfully complemented by the launching of measures to improve the business climate and a national certification mechanism for mineral resources, which will strengthen economic growth.

Furthermore, the Government recently completed an in-depth review of the poverty reduction strategy paper with the aim of ensuring more inclusive growth, partially overcoming the delay in achieving the Millennium Development Goals and strengthening the credibility and effectiveness of the fight against poverty.

The Grand Inga project is based on the same rationale. It should be noted that the project should eventually lead to the production of sufficient electricity to satisfy the needs of nearly half of Africa — clean and renewable energy, in line with the requirements of sustainable development.

At the political level, reconciliation and strengthened national unity are more urgent than ever before. The coordination of the Framework's Expanded Joint Verification Mechanism has been entrusted to a competent and experienced team from the political opposition.

The Independent National Electoral Commission has been completely reformed. A new team that is more focused and inclusive has assumed the leadership of that important institution in support of democracy. The priority of the new Commission is to prepare the upcoming electoral process to ensure optimal conditions for local, municipal, provincial, senatorial and provincial gubernatorial elections.

Moreover, national consultations initiated by the President took place from September to October to seek ways and means of strengthening national cohesion among all the Congolese people, with a view to strengthened efforts in dealing with all of the challenges facing the Congolese nation. That forum, which was intended to be inclusive, brought together, in addition to the national and provincial political institutions, political parties of all stripes and all facets of civil society, including significant representation by women and youth. Its preparation and leadership were entrusted to a presidium made up of the President of the Senate, a well-known leader of the opposition who

was elected to that post as such, and the President of the National Assembly, who is a member of the presidential majority.

I cannot conclude without thanking all of those who have committed themselves to working side by side with us for lasting peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I am thinking particularly of SADC, ICGLR, the African Union and the European Union for their essential roles in maintaining peace in our region. I am thinking of all of the United Nations Blue Helmets who have lost their lives to ensure that peace returns to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We pay tribute to their memory.

I also thank the United Nations and, in particular, the members of the Council, who have recently been willing to travel to my country to improve their understanding of the profound realities of the war in my country. We are most grateful to them, as they are participating in the work towards the post-2015 development agenda, which would respond to the calls for a better world for all.

The Secretary-General's reports before the Council today propose a gamut of measures to be undertaken at

national and regional levels. They indicate conclusions and recommendations that my country endorses.

In conclusion, when the members of the Council soon retire to the consultations room to discuss the issues, they should bear in mind the suffering of the Congolese people, the children separated from their families, the women who daily suffer from rape. It must not be forgotten that in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, more than in any other conflict zone in the world, thousands of individuals continue to fall victim to war every day.

With more than 6 million killed in two decades of successive wars, the massacres of civilians in my country represent one of the grimmest pictures facing humankind since the end of the Second World War. It is high time to find the ways and means to enable millions of individuals not only to stay alive, but to live with dignity in a world where peace, security and justice represent reality for one and for all.

**The President:** There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers. I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

*The meeting rose at 11.35 a.m.*