



# Security Council

Sixty-eighth year

*Provisional***6963**<sup>rd</sup> meeting

Thursday, 9 May 2013, 3 p.m.

New York

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*President:* Mr. Menan ..... (Togo)

*Members:*

Argentina .....	Mrs. Perceval
Australia .....	Mr. Quinlan
Azerbaijan .....	Mr. Sharifov
China .....	Mr. Tian Lin
France .....	Mr. Briens
Guatemala .....	Mr. Briz Gutiérrez
Luxembourg .....	Ms. Lucas
Morocco .....	Mr. Bouchaara
Pakistan .....	Mr. Tarar
Republic of Korea .....	Mr. Sul Kyung-hoon
Russian Federation .....	Mr. Pankin
Rwanda .....	Mr. Gasana
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland .....	Mr. Shearman
United States of America .....	Mr. DeLaurentis

## Agenda

### The situation in Guinea-Bissau

Report of the Secretary-General on developments in Guinea-Bissau, including efforts towards the restoration of constitutional order, and on the activities of the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office in that country (S/2013/262)

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*The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.*

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **The situation in Guinea-Bissau**

#### **Report of the Secretary-General on developments in Guinea-Bissau, including efforts towards the restoration of constitutional order, and on the activities of the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office in that country (S/2013/262)**

**The President** (*spoke in French*): Under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique to participate in this meeting.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. José Ramos-Horta, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau, to participate in this meeting.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Ambassador Maria Luiza Ribeiro Viotti, Permanent Representative of Brazil, to participate in this meeting in her capacity as Chair of the Guinea-Bissau configuration of the Peacebuilding Commission.

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/2013/262, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on developments in Guinea-Bissau, including efforts towards the restoration of constitutional order, and on the activities of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in that country.

I now give the floor to Mr. Ramos-Horta.

**Mr. Ramos-Horta:** This being the first time I am privileged to address the Security Council since my appointment as Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Guinea-Bissau, I extend warm greetings to all the members of the Council. Because of time constraints and the fact that the full text of my speech has been distributed, I will deliver an abbreviated version of it now.

From the very first day after my arrival in Guinea-Bissau in the early part of February, I undertook regular, sustained consultations with

national stakeholders across the board, ranging from the Transitional President to the members of the Transitional Government, the National Assembly, the military leadership, party leaders, members of civil society, women's organizations, youth movements and religious and spiritual leaders. It is my humble view that the problem of Guinea-Bissau should be squarely placed at the feet of the political elite, who have failed their people for almost four decades.

After the political elite, the military must also take the blame. The intrusion by the armed forces into the political arena is the result rather than the cause of bad governance and underdevelopment in Guinea-Bissau. Other consequences of the failure of the country's leadership include human rights violations, impunity, organized crime and drug trafficking. Concerning the latter, the operation launched by the United States Drug Enforcement Agency that led to the arrest of the Navy's former Chief of Staff, Rear Admiral Bubo Na Tchuto, and the announcement of the indictment of the Chief of General Staff of Guinea-Bissau's armed forces, General Antonio Indjai, constitute a turning point in the fight against drug trafficking in Guinea-Bissau. They send a strong signal to the elite of Guinea-Bissau and those using the country as a transit route for drugs that the international community will not accept Guinea-Bissau's being turned into a drug-trafficking platform.

The use of Guinea-Bissau as a transit point for drugs is not in doubt. This is a regional and global social and security problem with two clear poles — the regions of production and the regions of consumption — feeding that criminal activity. I would strongly advocate for a strengthened international anti-narcotic presence in the country. In order to address this challenge, therefore, I urge that robust financial and human resources be mobilized to support the deployment of adequate expertise to assist the authorities in Guinea-Bissau and the entire chain of drug-handling from source countries through to consumption countries.

Against this background, the socioeconomic situation in Guinea-Bissau remains precarious in a context where the financial and budgetary support the country's partners are providing barely covers the Government's needs and commitments. Internal revenue generation remains inadequate. As was predicted during an International Monetary Fund monitoring mission in February, economic and fiscal performance for 2013 will improve only if the cashew harvest and commercialization season, which started at the end of

March, pick up. Food security will be compromised if local and rural cashew farmers continue to face difficulties in exchanging or bartering cashews for rice.

Compounding the socioeconomic situation is the continuing spate of salary-related strikes by workers in the public sector. In addition to difficulties in paying public-sector salaries, the Government is unable to provide basic water and electricity services. Public health and sanitation challenges are also becoming acute. The six-month rainy season will start in a week, and help is needed to avert cholera and other related epidemics.

Not everything about Guinea-Bissau is negative. On the positive side, the people of Guinea-Bissau, despite their disenchantment, are peaceful and friendly people who have never turned to crime or ethnic violence, as has been the case in many comparable situations. The country has one of the lowest crime rates in Africa, if not the world. It is safe to walk around Bissau without the standard fears one may have in many capitals of the world. If appropriate support were given to more productive, preventive diplomacy programmes, Guinea-Bissau could become a shining example of a success story.

I have sought to work actively towards realizing the directives emanating from the Council in order to ensure that all international stakeholders speak with one voice on the critical issues in Guinea-Bissau. In that context, I have continued to engage key States members of the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the European Union and the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries, with meetings at the highest levels in Addis Ababa, Abuja, Banjul, Dakar, Praia, Maputo, Lisbon and Brussels. I am particularly satisfied with the frank tête-à-têtes I have had with the Heads of State and Foreign Ministers of Nigeria, Senegal, the Gambia, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Brazil and Portugal, as well as with the President of the European Commission, the Commissioner for International Development and members of the European Parliament.

I am also delighted to announce that all international partners are united on two immediate key objectives of the transition, namely, the formation of a new, more inclusive transitional Government, and the adoption of a consensus road map, with a firm commitment to holding elections before the end of the year. In addition, all agree that there is a need to restore constitutional

order no later than the end of this year, on the basis of the decisions made by the ECOWAS Authority in Yamoussoukro.

I am pleased to report that in the days leading up to this meeting, some positive developments have taken place. On 25 and 26 April, the ad hoc Parliamentary Commission reviewing the transitional pact signed in May 2012 held a two-day retreat with the support of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNIOGBIS) to finalize a draft transitional regime pact. On 28 April, Transitional President Serifo Nhamajo returned to Bissau following an absence of more than a month, and announced that an all-inclusive Government would be formed soon and elections held before the end of the year. On 29 and 30 April, all political parties, along with military, civil society and religious leaders, gathered in Parliament for discussions on the draft transitional regime pact, reaching agreement on three points.

The first of these was the confirmation of the extension of the duration of the transition until 31 December 2013, with elections to be held in November. The second was the formation of an all-inclusive transitional Government; and the third was the election of a President of the National Electoral Commission upon reception of a proposal from the Supreme Court's Council of Judges. On 30 April, the political parties signed an agreement on the aforementioned three points.

Guinea-Bissau's challenges must be addressed through a two-phase transition. First, we must support the return to constitutional order through elections. Secondly, we must assist in the post-electoral strengthening of State institutions through reforms that are underpinned not only by financial support but also the direct co-location of experts, as well as mentoring efforts, to ensure sustainable stabilization and development.

I have consistently advocated that all the people of Guinea-Bissau absorb a new political culture in which elections do not lead to the division of the country or a winner-takes-all situation. Bearing in mind the enormous challenges that the people of Guinea-Bissau face, no single political group can alone manage the transition out of the deep hole into which Guinea-Bissau has sunk and towards lasting peace and prosperity. In that regard, it will be important for all major political

parties to unite into a Government of national unity, following the next legislative elections.

The support of the Security Council and States Members of the United Nations for the elections that will usher in a new, post-election phase is imperative.

In the post-election phase, a broad coalition would provide power-sharing governmental efforts to rebuild the State that currently exists in name only. In that connection, additional material support will be crucial. The international community will be called upon to do its part. I intend to actively engage the new authorities and help them rebuild the institutions of the State, including by the co-location of international experts in key Government sectors for a period of up to five years, in order to completely reform and modernize the defence forces, the judicial system and public administration.

The defence forces will need to undergo major rethinking on the basis of a sober analysis of the security needs of the country and adjusted to the financial resources available. ECOWAS is taking the lead in that process, but there are other willing partners outside the region that are ready to contribute towards a new army for Guinea-Bissau that is more professional, imbued with a democratic culture, smaller and less costly yet more effective.

The United Nations inter-agency technical assessment mission that was dispatched to Guinea-Bissau in March suggested that the problems in the country were not insurmountable. However, solving them requires, first and foremost, strong political and financial support from the international community. In that regard, the call by the authorities of Guinea-Bissau for the United Nations to take the leadership in the electoral process so as to avoid any possible elections-related disputes or violence needs to be given serious consideration.

In conclusion, the report of the Secretary-General (S/2013/262) before the Council includes the results of the painstaking technical assessment mission that I led to look into the mandate and resources needed to realize the vision to which I referred earlier, to support the efforts of the people of Guinea-Bissau and to reconfigure UNIOGBIS to play a critical advisory role. I would like to make a special plea to members of the Council to positively consider the Secretary-General's recommendations and adopt a resolution that will send

a strong message of support to the people of Guinea-Bissau.

**The President** (*spoke in French*): I thank Mr. Ramos-Horta for his briefing.

I now give the floor to Mrs. Ribeiro Viotti.

**Mrs. Ribeiro Viotti** (Brazil): I thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting and for inviting me to brief the Security Council in my capacity as Chair of the Guinea-Bissau configuration of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC). I would also like to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNIOGBIS), Mr. José Ramos-Horta, for his briefing today, for his leadership and commitment in facilitating a resolution of the current situation in Guinea-Bissau and for his inspirational work as Head of UNIOGBIS. I welcome the Permanent Representative of Mozambique and Chair of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (CPLP), Ambassador António Gumende; the Permanent Representative of Côte d'Ivoire and Chair of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Ambassador Youssoufou Bamba; and the Permanent Representative of Guinea-Bissau, Ambassador João Soares Da Gama.

Since I last spoke in the Council (see S/PV.6915), the Guinea-Bissau configuration of the Peacebuilding Commission met on 1 March to hear briefings from the Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), Mr. Yury Fedotov, and the Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Guinea-Bissau, Mr. Gana Fofang. Mr. Fedotov expressed deep concern about the continued increase in drug trafficking, in particular in the aftermath of the April 2012 coup d'état, which, in turn, was closely linked to other forms of transnational organized crime. He also urged Member States and the United Nations to provide UNODC with additional resources as a matter of urgency, to avoid a shutdown of its already minimal presence in the country.

Despite that appeal and my ensuing plea to the members of the configuration, funds could not be identified, and, as the Secretary-General states in his most recent report on the situation in Guinea-Bissau (S/2013/262), UNODC had to end its presence there last month. That development is not consistent with the concerns we all share and with the need to continue to address drug trafficking in Guinea-Bissau as a

matter of priority. It is important that we translate our expressions of concern into concrete actions.

The recent arrest of several nationals of Guinea-Bissau, including the former Navy Chief of Staff, Rear Admiral Bubo Na Tchuto, on allegations of involvement in drug trafficking, and the indictment by United States authorities of the Chief of General Staff of the armed forces of Guinea-Bissau, General Antonio Indjai, for, among other charges, conspiring to import narcotics into the United States, are clear indications of the need for the international community to maintain a permanent capacity on the ground to monitor the situation and continue to provide capacity-building support to national authorities.

Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General Fofang, for his part, pleaded for a shift from the usual quick-fix solution approach to a more long-term perspective in the case of Guinea-Bissau, in order to halt the vicious winner-takes-all dynamics that have poisoned the country since independence. He also pleaded for continued United Nations engagement with all the relevant national and international parties in order to facilitate dialogue. I am glad to report that, as a follow-up to that discussion, the PBC will meet again tomorrow, with the participation of Special Representative of the Secretary-General Ramos-Horta.

In the past few weeks, we have noticed some promising developments in Guinea-Bissau. As Mr. Ramos-Horta just stated, the draft of a new regime pact to replace the current transitional arrangements is being discussed in the National Assembly, with the active participation of the main national stakeholders, and an agreement on principles for the return to constitutional normalcy was signed on 30 April.

Such efforts need to be supported. At the same time, the international community needs to maintain pressure on the transitional authorities and on political and military leaders to achieve the swift adoption and implementation of a more inclusive transitional arrangement. The holding of free, fair and transparent presidential and legislative elections by the end of this year, thus enabling the full re-engagement of international partners with Guinea-Bissau, is also essential. A prolonged period of transition is in nobody's interest and raises questions about the political will of the transitional authorities to find a sustainable solution to the current crisis.

During the most recent meeting of the configuration, several members supported re-engagement with Guinea-Bissau, once key movements on the ground took place towards the restoration of constitutional order. There was general acknowledgment that when the Commission re-engaged with Guinea-Bissau, it should do so on the basis of a revised instrument that would reflect the key peacebuilding priorities in the current national context.

The PBC also believes that resumed Peacebuilding Fund funding should be aligned with such priorities. In that regard, both the report of the Secretary-General, including the findings of the recently deployed technical assessment mission, and the conclusions and recommendations of the joint assessment mission by the United Nations, the African Union, ECOWAS, the CPLP and the European Union will be duly taken into account.

As an intergovernmental body with an advisory role to the Security Council, the Guinea-Bissau configuration of the PBC renews its determination to work with the legitimate authorities representing the people of Guinea-Bissau as a whole, in close coordination with other national and international partners, especially with Special Representative of the Secretary-General Ramos-Horta and his team at UNIOGBIS, to promote the necessary reforms to consolidate peace, sustain stability and promote development in Guinea-Bissau.

**The President** (*spoke in French*): I thank Mrs. Ribeiro Viotti for her briefing.

I now give the floor to the representative of Guinea-Bissau.

**Mr. Da Gama** (Guinea-Bissau): Through you, Mr. President, my delegation wants to thank all members of the Security Council for keeping the situation in my country, Guinea-Bissau, on its agenda.

(*spoke in French*)

I would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and to wish you, Sir, every success in your work.

I would like to thank Mr. José Ramos-Horta, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Guinea-Bissau, for the very informative and accurate report (S/2013/262) he has just introduced, as well as to express our complete confidence in him and, above all,

our full readiness to cooperate with him as he carries out his duties.

I would also like to thank Ambassador Maria Luiza Ribeiro Viotti, Chair of the Guinea-Bissau configuration of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), Ambassador António Gumende and Ambassador Youssoufou Bamba for their ongoing efforts in the peacebuilding process in Guinea-Bissau.

I would also like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the commitment of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the West African Economic and Monetary Union for the financial support they have continued to provide to Guinea-Bissau during this transitional period.

I am addressing the Security Council today with a special feeling of optimism, for the one-year extension of the mandate of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNIOGBIS) recommended in the report of the Secretary-General is a testament to the staunch commitment of the United Nations to continue providing assistance to Guinea-Bissau as it seeks to build peace.

That optimism is all the greater given the fact that, as contrasted with the period preceding the coup d'état of April 2012, today we are increasingly seeing greater understanding among the various national actors and a convergence of positions on the part of Guinea-Bissau's partner international organizations. The latter was illustrated in December 2012 when, at the initiative of the African Union, a joint assessment mission composed of the United Nations, the African Union, ECOWAS, the European Union and the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (CPLP) was deployed to Guinea-Bissau. We consider its recommendations to be important for their continued cooperation.

The presentation of this report comes at a time when Guinea-Bissau is about to enter a new phase of the transition, which is the result of the commitment of national stakeholders and in accordance with the requirements of the international community, to lead the country back to constitutional order as quickly as possible by holding free, fair and transparent elections.

In that regard, we are delighted to note that a political agreement of principle was concluded on 30 April by the various political parties, civil society and military leaders. The agreement extends the transition period until 31 December 2013, sets the holding of elections

for November of this year and calls for the formation of a more inclusive Government and the appointment of the President of the National Electoral Commission.

The efforts to make the transition inclusive are further illustrated by the development of a new regime pact, which is under consideration for approval by the National Assembly. It should be underscored that, under the pact, a forum for coordination among transition stakeholders would be set up under the oversight of the National Assembly.

For several days now, the Transitional President has been carrying out intensive consultations with the various political and social stakeholders and others aimed at forming an inclusive Government. Everything leads us to believe that a Government will be established in the days or even hours to come.

We are pleased to note that the Secretary-General recommends in his report that the peacebuilding process in Guinea-Bissau be carried out in two phases. The first phase would culminate in the holding of presidential and legislative elections in a free, fair and transparent manner. The second, post-electoral, phase would be completed by the end of the mandate of the Government to be elected. That phase would focus on strengthening the political, social, economic and security environment through reforms and the bolstering of State institutions.

Guinea-Bissau alone can hardly cope with the challenges it will face during the two phases I have described, given the lack of the necessary means and resources required for such an undertaking and the extreme fragility of State institutions. For those reasons, therefore, we ask for the support of the international community and we thank it for the assistance kindly extended to our country throughout its history.

Despite the difficult situation that our country has experienced throughout its 40 years as an independent nation, Guinea-Bissau and its people still believe in the viability of our country. We will spare no effort in building the State dreamed of by our founding father, Amílcar Cabral. We will do so by carrying out reforms aimed at strengthening State institutions, in particular in the defence, security and justice sectors so that they work effectively to fight against impunity. We will do so in order to ensure that justice in our country is within the reach of every citizen and so that Guinea-Bissau is a place of peace and prosperity that is pleasant to live in.

As I speak here, every public school is once again on strike — triggered three days ago by the teachers' union at the national level. That will curtail the school year for at least one month.

The cashew harvest, which is Guinea-Bissau's main export product, is being seriously jeopardized by the lack of market credit liquidity.

Our economy — largely dependent upon external assistance — is practically in ruins following the cut-off from our major partners that resulted from the April 2012 coup.

In conclusion, it is for all those reasons that it is both necessary and urgent that humanitarian assistance be exceptionally granted to our country in order to help us overcome the current challenges.

**The President** (*spoke in French*): I now give the floor to the representative of Côte d'Ivoire.

**Mr. Bamba** (Côte d'Ivoire) (*spoke in French*): I have the honour to take the floor on behalf of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). ECOWAS welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Guinea-Bissau (S/2013/262).

Before I elaborate on this agenda item, allow me, Sir, my dear friend and brother, to congratulate you most warmly on the assumption by your country, Togo, of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. I should like to take this opportunity also to congratulate my friend, and brother, too, Eugène-Richard Gasana of Rwanda for the outstanding manner in which he guided the work of the Council last month.

Allow me to most sincerely thank those who spoke before me, in particular Ambassador Maria Luiza Ribeiro Viotti of Brazil, the Chair of the Guinea-Bissau configuration of the Peacebuilding Commission; Ambassador Da Gama of Guinea-Bissau, my brother; and, in advance, Ambassador António Gumende, who will be speaking on behalf of the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries, for their valuable contributions to our debate.

I should like above all to thank Prime Minister José Ramos-Horta, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Guinea-Bissau, for his excellent briefing on the situation in the country. I should like here to pay heartfelt tribute to him, because Prime Minister José Ramos-Horta is a true artisan of peace.

Indeed, he has in a short time been able to reinstate the dialogue both among the political class in Guinea-Bissau and at the level of the international partners involved in the process of resolving the crisis in the country. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General has shown himself to be truly worthy of the Nobel Peace Prize awarded to him. He can count on the full support of ECOWAS in his efforts to achieve peace in Guinea-Bissau.

Allow me now to present the perspective of ECOWAS on the situation in Guinea-Bissau. Since the coup d'état of 12 April 2012, ECOWAS has worked tirelessly to promote the restoration of full constitutional order and guarantee a reasonable level of security for the people. The ECOWAS member States have provided the financial and technical resources necessary to keep the State functioning. They have supported the inclusive nature of the transition process and given renewed confidence to the people by maintaining an acceptable level of security through the deployment of the ECOWAS Mission in Guinea-Bissau (ECOMIB). There is no doubt, however, that the complementary support of the international community remains crucial to guaranteeing the success of the transition programme and bolstering stability in the country.

Today, as has been widely noted, there are three types of challenges facing Guinea-Bissau: political, security-related, and social and economic.

On the political front, recent political developments indicate that there is an ongoing struggle to achieve a consensus among the main political parties regarding the institutions that should undergird the transition, in particular concerning the role of the People's National Assembly in coordinating the process.

There are also tensions between the Transitional Government and the People's National Assembly concerning the conduct of State affairs, as well as a low-key campaign by some political parties aimed at prolonging the political transition beyond 31 December 2013, which is the date widely agreed to.

Along those lines, I would recall that the decision on the transition date was taken by the Authority of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS at their summit held in Yamoussoukro, Côte d'Ivoire, on 27 and 28 February 2013, following consultations with all national stakeholders and a painstaking analysis of the progress made in the implementation of the road map.

At the summit, it was also decided that, should there be an impasse in Parliament, the President of the Transitional Government, His Excellency Serifo Nhamadjo, would have to propose a new road map for adoption by Parliament. Thus the Transitional President was firm and unwavering with respect to the drawing up of a revised transition road map.

For its part, the Electoral Commission is determined to make rapid progress in its work, in particular with respect to plans relating to biometric voter registration, the demarcation of constituencies and other pre-electoral activities.

In general, there seems to be a consensus on the need in the short term to accord priority to the holding of elections and not to begin any far-reaching reforms until after the elections.

In spite of the uncertainty that prevails as to whether Parliament will approve the political transition pact, there is nevertheless hope that consensus will be reached between the parties on the adoption of the road map and the implementation of the various objectives of the transition programme. That is why it is important for the international community to recognize and support the transition road map so as to induce local stakeholders to ensure that the road map is adopted and implemented fully.

The ECOWAS member States remain determined to cooperate with local and international stakeholders in creating conditions conducive to the holding of free, fair and peaceful elections in December 2013.

In the area of security, Guinea-Bissau has seen relative calm since the deployment of ECOMIB, in 2012, and concerns of possible resurgence of violence within the army proved unfounded. However, I would note two major incidents, which are also mentioned in the report of the Secretary-General. First, there was the arrest by the United States judicial system of the former Navy Chief of Staff, Rear Admiral Bubo Na Tchuto, for alleged drug trafficking. Secondly, there was the indictment by the American authorities of the current Chief of General Staff of the armed forces, General Antonio Indjai, for alleged participation in drug trafficking.

Those two events heightened tensions in the country. The situation was further exacerbated given the disagreement on the matter of promotions within the army, amid rumors of conspiracy and destabilization,

which led to the military authorities taking stock of the situation on 20 April 2013 and subsequently making a commitment once again to cooperating in the combat against drug trafficking. Here I would reiterate the commitment of the States members of ECOWAS to supporting the international community in the fight against drug trafficking and to ensuring that the perpetrators of such crimes are punished.

However, at the same time ECOWAS remains committed to security-sector and defence reform, as these are complementary to the transition process. We support any effort aimed at addressing the root and structural causes of the crisis, in particular lack of discipline and impunity within the armed forces.

On the socio-economic front, while there have been minor improvements in the social and economic fabric of Guinea-Bissau since the consolidation of the transitional authority in late 2012, the situation nevertheless requires urgent action by the international community, in particular to support economic sectors, including fishing and cashew cultivation, as well as social sectors, including education, health-care services and infrastructure.

The economic and social crisis in Guinea-Bissau has been exacerbated by the country's isolation by the international community. The sanctions inflicted the greatest suffering on those who are poor and without a voice. It is therefore important that the sanctions be lifted and that the Security Council encourage international development agencies to relaunch their respective programmes in cooperation with Guinea-Bissau.

I would note also that in addition to their support for the democratic transition and security in Guinea-Bissau, the ECOWAS member States will continue to coordinate, along with the rest of the international community, within existing frameworks, to support the protection and upholding of the human rights of the country's citizens.

ECOWAS is also committed to maintaining its support for close cooperation between the Transitional Government and the People's National Assembly with a view to the adoption and implementation of the transitional road map and to guaranteeing the provision of financial and technical support for the National Electoral Commission. ECOWAS therefore believes that recent developments in Guinea-Bissau require us more than ever to collectively forge international

consensus and thereby demonstrate our shared desire to tackle the situation by helping Guinea-Bissau work with all relevant stakeholders to guarantee the holding of free, fair and transparent elections by December, as required by the international community.

In conclusion, in the light of the aforementioned considerations, ECOWAS would propose the following points as a basis for garnering consensus that guarantees the inclusion of all stakeholders and ensures stability and security in Guinea-Bissau.

First, as mentioned previously by Ambassador Da Gama, the revised transitional road map should, we hope, be adopted in the coming days. The road map allows for the holding of legislative and presidential elections before 31 December. It is understood that, should no solution be put forward by the National Assembly, ECOWAS reserves the right to explore all other options available to ensure the holding of the elections in the allotted time.

Secondly, the military must put an end to all residual interference in the transition process and commit to fully cooperating in the fight against drug trafficking and impunity.

Thirdly, the international community should draft an international plan of action for the medium and long terms for the purpose of assisting Guinea-Bissau in addressing the root causes of instability, as identified in the findings of the joint assessment mission of December 2012, including the full restructuring of the defence, security and justice sectors, measures to end impunity, and far-reaching reform of the political, financial and economic sectors.

Fourthly, the partners must agree on arrangements to make the transition process completely inclusive and widely recognized.

Fifthly and finally, the international community needs to agree on arrangements for extending emergency aid to achieve the immediate objectives of the transitional road map, including, naturally, the holding of elections before the end of the year and, primarily, assistance to further relieve the suffering of the most vulnerable by means of improved targeted aid and quick-impact projects to generate income.

ECOWAS stands ready, as always, to cooperate with all partners in carrying out the aforementioned objectives in order to transform Guinea-Bissau into a responsible member of the international community. To

that end, ECOWAS calls on all interested stakeholders to deal with the matter of Guinea-Bissau with impartiality and openness, and invites them to put the interests of the country above all political or individual considerations so as to garner true consensus with respect to the way forward.

**The President** (*spoke in French*): I now give the floor to the representative of Mozambique.

**Mr. Gumende** (Mozambique): Mr. President, I would like to thank you for inviting me to participate on behalf of the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP) in today's meeting on the situation in Guinea-Bissau.

The Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries welcomes the report of the Secretary-General (S/2013/262) on the latest developments in Guinea-Bissau and the activities of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in that country (UNIOGBIS). Those developments show that, with political will, it is possible to overcome complex obstacles through dialogue. The dialogue between local stakeholders should continue to be encouraged and fully supported by the entire international community.

The appointment of Mr. José Ramos-Horta as Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Guinea-Bissau has generated new momentum that we should all seize in order to move towards a lasting solution to the crisis. The sober and objective assessment he presented to the Security Council encourages all of us to look to the future with a certain degree of optimism about Guinea-Bissau's prospects.

We welcome the recent positive developments, including the emerging consensus among national actors with regard to the imperative of holding general elections this year, the implementation of a road map, the formation of an inclusive transitional Government and the election of the President of the National Electoral Commission. Those positive trends, particularly the elections later this year, are consistent with the CPLP's calls for the use of democratic means for the restoration of constitutional order in Guinea-Bissau.

We are of the view that any optimism relating to Guinea-Bissau should be moderated due to the complexity of the situation, political polarization and a deteriorating economic, social and humanitarian situation in the country, as well as the prevalence of drug trafficking. The arrest of Rear Admiral José Américo

Bubo Na Tchuto and the indictment of General Antonio Indjai by the United States authorities may give us an accurate picture of the involvement of certain military leaders and others in drug trafficking in the country.

Combating that phenomenon, supporting the political process and contributing to the implementation of many urgent reforms in the country, particularly of the security sector, will also require that the mandate of the Integrated Office for Peacebuilding in Guinea-Bissau be reinvigorated. In addition, the establishment of a panel of experts to fight drug trafficking networks and facilitate the adoption of sanctions against traffickers would constitute a concrete contribution of the international community to overcoming the problem of drug trafficking in Guinea-Bissau, and thus contributing to the promotion of stability in the country.

Another threat that deserves particular attention is that posed by the illegal fishing taking place in Guinea-Bissau's territorial waters. Appropriate measures should be taken to stop the pillaging of Guinea-Bissau's resources.

The evolution of the situation in the country requires Guinea-Bissau's international partners, particularly the United Nations, the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States, the CPLP and the

European Union, to act in an increasingly concerted and coordinated manner and to strengthen cooperation to support a consensual, inclusive and nationally owned transition process that would lead to the restoration of the constitutional order, in line with the spirit of resolution 2048 (2012).

The CPLP is not indifferent to the reports of human rights violations, which the Community has persistently condemned. We therefore welcome and would confirm our support for the recommendation that the UNIOGBIS mandate be reinforced in that regard.

Let me conclude by reaffirming that the CPLP member States associate themselves with the efforts of the United Nations and the wider international community aimed at a credible, inclusive and durable solution for the crisis in Guinea-Bissau. In that context, we support the leadership and determination of Special Representative of the Secretary-General Ramos-Horta to achieve that goal.

**The President** (*spoke in French*): 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 4 p.m.*