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New York

President: Mrs. Perceval (Argentina)

Members:

Australia	Mr. Quinlan
Chad	Mr. Cherif
Chile	Mr. Barros Melet
China	Mr. Wang Min
France	Mr. Delattre
Jordan	Mr. Hmoud
Lithuania	Mr. Baublys
Luxembourg	Ms. Lucas
Nigeria	Mr. Laro
Republic of Korea	Ms. Paik Ji-ah
Russian Federation	Mr. Iliichev
Rwanda	Mr. Gasana
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . . .	Mr. Wilson
United States of America	Ms. Jones

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/2014/697)

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/2014/698)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.05 a.m.

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/2014/697)

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/2014/698)

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): Under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to participate in this meeting.

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

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/2014/697, 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/2014/698, 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 Spanish*): Allow me to express my thanks to the Argentine Republic, which holds this month's presidency of the Security Council, for convening this meeting on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In addition to

introducing the report of the Secretary-General, I would also like to update the Council on the latest developments in the country.

(spoke in English)

First, I am glad to brief the Council for the first time with Special Envoy Said Djinnit. After working together for only a few weeks, I already feel that we are in sync, like a pair of rowers, pulling our oars in perfect rhythm up the mighty Congo River. I feel sure that together we will swiftly move ahead and avoid the dangerous rapids.

Today, I will focus on three pressing issues: first, the recent massacres in Beni; secondly, the voluntary disarmament of the Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda (FDLR); and thirdly, implementing the human rights mandate of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO).

In less than one month, between 21 September and 18 October, we witnessed the extremes of hope and despair in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. On 21 September, in Goma, a concert organized by Peace One Day brought 15,000 people together to sing, dance and celebrate peace in their city. A highly symbolic event, the concert showed just how far Goma had come since its liberation from the Mouvement du 23 mars (M-23) 10 months before. And it raised hopes that the seed of peace, sprouting in Goma, would spread throughout the East.

However, two weeks later, the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) reminded us just how fragile those hopes can be. Between 2 and 17 October, in villages in and around Beni, ADF combatants brutally massacred over 80 civilians, mostly women and children. They used machetes to mutilate the bodies of their victims in order to instill fear and to warn the living not to help Government forces eradicate them. The ADF has been weakened over the past months through effective operations of the Forces armées de la République démocratique du Congo (FARDC), resulting in the capture of their strongholds. Hostages have been released. Tens of thousands of refugees and internally displaced persons have returned to the Kamango region. These lamentable attacks, however, demonstrate the group's resilience and its capacity to use asymmetric guerrilla and terrorist tactics against civilians. Under pressure and on the run, they may be trying to draw FARDC attention away by attacking population centres.

I have made several visits to Beni in the past weeks and days. I have paid my respects to the victims, giving what consolation I could to the grieving families and communities in the face of dozens of coffins lined up side by side. On 22 October last Wednesday, an angry crowd of 2,000 tried to storm the MONUSCO base in Beni. We owe it to the decisive action of our peacekeepers from Jordan, Nepal and Tanzania, along with the efforts of local authorities and the Congolese army and police, that the situation did not spiral out of control.

I am extremely grateful to the Special Envoy Said Djinnit and the Special Envoy of the African Union, Ambassador Boubacar Diarra, for having accompanied me last Thursday in a difficult visit to Beni to deliver two strong joint messages. First, only action against the ADF, not words, will reconstitute the confidence of the population in the FARDC and MONUSCO. We must establish a triangle of confidence between the population, the FARDC and MONUSCO. In any war, no victory is possible without the support of the local population. Secondly, we strongly advocated for decisive joint military — including combat — operations between the FARDC and MONUSCO against the ADF to bring an end to this scourge.

Next, let me turn our attention to the issue which has most occupied the Mission over the past five months, even possibly to the detriment of our focus on the ADF threat — the FDLR voluntary disarmament process. I regret to say that, despite much promise, the process is at an impasse. All special envoys of the Great Lakes region attended the mid-term ministerial conference in Luanda last week. I must congratulate Angola on its leadership of this Luanda process. I have no doubt that Angola will continue to play a positive role as regional peacemaker. I also applaud the high-level attention and the dedication that the Southern African Development Community and the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region have given to this process. All agreed that there had been no progress since 2 July.

We all share the same objective — to neutralize the FDLR — and the same conviction that the path of non-violence is the best option. We all agree, as expressed in Luanda, that the FDLR has to voluntarily disarm by 2 January 2015. And all are determined that, after the expiry of this deadline, military action against the FDLR will be inevitable against those among the FDLR who do not voluntarily disarm. In this regard, I truly appreciate the Council's press statement of

3 October (SC/11586), recalling that the FDLR is a group under United Nations sanctions that continues to violate human rights. The Council reiterated the importance of the FDLR's swift neutralization. I thank Council members for their support and unequivocal instructions.

Taking this fight to the jungle will be long and difficult. It will result in many casualties. I, for one, do not want to see that, but it is up to the FDLR to prevent this scenario. It has exactly two months and six days left to disarm, unconditionally, and to go to Kisangani transit camp, as envisaged by the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, or leave the country, either voluntarily via the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation or resettlement process, or to third countries. The credibility of the United Nations, the Congolese Government and the region are at stake here.

The region's credibility is also challenged by the long-overdue repatriation of former M-23 combatants from Uganda and Rwanda. I urge the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to expedite the outstanding amnesty requests and to finalize the road map for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former M-23 combatants. I will leave it to Special Envoy Djinnit to further elaborate on the M-23 reintegration process. The military defeat of the M-23 will not be sustainable if Nairobi declarations are not quickly implemented. MONUSCO stands ready to facilitate the repatriation of M-23 ex-combatants.

I congratulate the Force Intervention Brigade, supported by all MONUSCO forces, who fought bravely and successfully alongside the FARDC to bring an end to the M-23. I am more than confident that, if the FDLR does not disarm before 2 January, the Brigade, supported by all MONUSCO forces, will fight equally bravely and successfully against it.

The third issue I bring before the Council today relates to the Mission's work on human rights in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Justice, accountability and respect for human rights are the cornerstones upon which peace and stability are built. For many years now, the Joint Human Rights Office has helped to document grave human rights violations against the Congolese people and to advocate for and protect their rights. This work is not undertaken to weaken or blame the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, it is undertaken to strengthen

good governance, one of the national commitments of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. Respect for human rights and good governance leads to more stability, not to instability. We want to empower the Government in its fight against impunity, and to support its efforts, which have been notable, for improved governance and long-term stability.

MONUSCO and its Joint Human Rights Office are and must continue to be partners for the Government in those efforts. We have had very good day-to-day cooperation — most of it discreet — and notable progress, especially with regard to the security services. The human rights due diligence policy is a good example of how our human rights work impacts on the respect for human rights demonstrated by the security forces.

However, public human rights reports are and will remain an instrument of the human rights work of the Mission. Over the past two weeks, we have issued two such reports, jointly with the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights: one on the human rights violations committed by the M-23 during its reign over parts of the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the other on 15 October on the Government's Operation Likofi against street gangs in Kinshasa. The report documents the extrajudicial killings of 9 persons and the enforced disappearance of 32 others. In accordance with the strict methodology of the Joint Human Rights Office, these figures are conservative.

The Likofi report led to the Government's decision to expel the head of the Joint Human Rights Office, Mr. Scott Campbell, within 48 hours. I asked the Government to reconsider this decision. I express my absolute confidence in the professionalism of Scott Campbell and that of his team, and I stand firmly by the report they produced, for which I take full responsibility.

I am equally concerned by recent threats against other staff in the Joint Human Rights Office. It is unacceptable for these dedicated individuals to be intimidated or menaced for doing the work which is at the core of the Council's mandate to us, in line with the Secretary-General's "Rights Up Front" policy, as well as the Charter of the United Nations. This work must continue unimpeded. I am extremely grateful for the support of the Secretary-General, as well as from the members of the Council that have expressed solidarity in urging the Government to revise its decision and to

take action to address threats against MONUSCO staff. I would like to draw four conclusions.

First, respect for human rights leads to stability. Secondly, it is those who commit human rights violations and go unpunished who tarnish the image of the the Democratic Republic of the Congo and weaken its security institutions, not those who make them public. Thirdly, our work is collaborative and constructive and aims to strengthen the Government's moral authority. Fourthly, I intend to offer to the Congolese Government a regular high-level human rights dialogue. In that dialogue, which may be discreet, all pending human rights questions can be discussed and confidence can be built. It will be of particular importance during the forthcoming electoral period.

Allow me to touch briefly on a number of other important issues. Just as our human rights work is critical to our protection-of-civilians mandate, so too is the approach of our military component. The Force Commander and I agree that the protection of civilians is more than a mandated task, it is our *raison d'être* in the the Democratic Republic of the Congo and a moral imperative of the United Nations. We also agree that to be effective, we need a new paradigm.

Presence alone is not enough. Presence without action, in the face of violence, undermines our credibility. Patrolling in hermetic armoured personnel carriers is not enough: troops must get out of their vehicles and interact directly with communities. Staying in safe areas is not enough: the force must pursue the danger where it lies. If necessary, they need to march for days into the jungle, as the Force Commander has done, to take the protection of civilians to the source. We need action, not in action. We must be proactive, not reactive. There must be mobile forces, not static battalions. And we need feet, not wheels. I reiterate my August messages to all contingents: when civilians are at risk, they must act, not ask. We need protection of civilians up front. I ask for the support of the Council. I especially ask those United Nations States Members that contribute troops to endorse and promote this guidance.

The last point I wish to raise is the absolute urgency to see the the Democratic Republic of the Congo — the country geographically at the heart of Africa and a nation with immense wealth and potential — become also the economic heart of Africa. It has made substantial progress over the past 10 years, particularly in terms of macroeconomic stability, with a stable

currency and inflation under control at one 1 cent. But its people remain among the poorest in the world, with 70 per cent under the poverty line and unemployment among its youth estimated by the African Development Bank at over 70 per cent. That has to change.

It is time for Congo's money abroad to come home and for that money, and more, to be invested in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is time to move from a war economy to a peace economy. It is time to see illegal exploitation turned into legitimate trade. It is time to move from excessive wealth for a few, to sufficiency for all. I fully support Mr. Djinnit's focus on stimulating private investment. I encourage the Government to put the necessary legal protections in place and to enforce them.

As always, I wish to conclude by acknowledging the national and international staff of the United Nations for their dedication and tireless efforts to improve the lives of the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Today I especially wish to thank those colleagues deployed in a very remote corner of Equateur province where an outbreak of the Ebola virus once again erupted — the seventh time since its discovery in 1976 in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I recently visited the Ebola-infected area in Lokolia. I witnessed the selflessness, courage and outstanding efforts of Mr. Thapa Rabindra and his team. At great personal risk and sacrifice, they have set up the Lokolia camp, from which the sick can be treated in a safe, controlled environment. They exemplify the values of the United Nations, and I commend every single one of them. I also congratulate the Democratic Republic of the Congo on its swift and effective action, which has limited the spread of this horrific disease. I am pleased to report that there have been no new infections since 4 October, a hopeful sign that the worst may be over in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Finally, please allow me to express my most heartfelt congratulations to Caddy Adzuba, a colleague from Radio Okapi in Bukavu, who last Friday received the prestigious Prince of Asturias Award from the King of Spain for her outstanding reporting on sexual violence suffered by women in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is truly gratifying to work with such committed and courageous colleagues as Caddy, and to see that her efforts to bring attention to the issue of sexual violence have met with international recognition of the highest order.

(spoke in Spanish)

Allow me once again to thank the members of the Council for their ongoing support, attention and interest on critical issues for the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is always a pleasure and an honour to be here, and I think members for this opportunity.

The President *(spoke in Spanish)*: I want especially to thank Mr. Kobler for the information he has given us and for his multilingualism.

I now give the floor to Mr. Djinnit.

Mr. Djinnit *(spoke in French)*: I am pleased to address the Security Council for the first time in my capacity as Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes Region. I take this opportunity to thank the Council for its support for my mandate and for the opportunity to present the report of the Secretary-General (S/2014/697) on the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region. I am delighted to do so with my friend and colleague Martin Kobler, Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Head of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO). I want to express the full support that he and his colleagues have extended to me since my appointment. I have no doubt that our strong and close collaboration will continue and will serve to further strengthen our efforts to ensure the effective implementation of the Framework agreement.

Upon taking office, I began to visit the countries of region to listen and interact with senior officials of the signatory countries, the guarantors of the Framework agreement and international partners. Leaders of the signatory countries say they are determined to end the cycle of violence and lead the region along the path of sustainable development and stability. They consider the Framework agreement to be a useful tool that will speed up and support that transformation. However, for the region definitively to emerge from the vicious cycle of violence and instability and move resolutely towards that destiny of unity and prosperity, it will have to at long last rid itself of the problems that keep it bound to its painful past by perpetuating suspicion and mistrust between countries and peoples. It is therefore evident that, as a matter of priority, there is a need to address sensitive security issues inherited from the troubled history of the region and to patiently restore trust

among the countries. At the first same time, we should also support efforts and initiatives under way aimed at harnessing resources and the existing momentum to ensure integration and speedy socioeconomic transformation in the region.

(spoke in English)

I am delivering these remarks a month after the Regional Oversight Mechanism endorsed the first progress report of the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. The findings and recommendations are clear. Overall, there is a need to accelerate progress, particularly with respect to the complete neutralization of negative forces operating in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, including the Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda (FDLR) and the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), as well as to implement the Nairobi Declarations on the process regarding the Mouvement du 23 mars (M-23).

I am pleased to note that the signatories and guarantors have taken steps to address those issues. As regards the FDLR, I would like to recall the conclusions and recommendations of the recent joint ministerial meeting of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) and the Southern African Development Community on the mid-term review of the FDLR's voluntary disarmament by the agreed-on deadline of 2 January 2015. I call on all the signatories, guarantors and international partners to ensure that they are effectively and promptly executed. While we should continue to facilitate the conditions for full voluntary disarmament of the FDLR, we should also set in motion a credible process for enabling military pressure to be exerted on those not willing to surrender by the deadline. We must act now. Failure to bring the process of neutralizing the FDLR to a successful conclusion in line with Security Council resolutions and the decisions of the leaders of the region will potentially exacerbate tensions, undermine our collective credibility and put the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework under serious stress.

Another concern I have is about the slow pace in the implementation of the Nairobi Declarations. I welcome the recent impetus the process has been given at the initiative of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and we also appreciate the cooperation shown by the Governments of Uganda and Rwanda. A few weeks ago, my Office participated in a joint mission with the National Oversight Mechanism

of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the ICGLR secretariat in Kampala to explore ways of revitalizing the process. I am pleased to inform the Council that, further to consultations, a high-level follow-up meeting, to which I have been invited, will be convened in Kinshasa on 7 and 8 November. I will strongly encourage the concerned parties there to seek solutions to existing bottlenecks and take the urgent political and operational action required to fast-track the amnesty and the repatriation process.

The twin process of dealing with the FDLR and M-23 should continue to receive our full attention. But so should the resurgent threat posed by the ADF, whose horrendous recent acts against the people of Beni are a sad reminder that the security situation remains fragile and hard-won gains against negative forces can be reversed.

I am just back from my first visit to the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, where I held very useful consultations in Goma with a variety of stakeholders. On Thursday, I visited Beni together with Special Representative Martin Kobler and Ambassador Boubacar Diarra, Special Representative of the African Union for Burundi and the Great Lakes Region, to show our solidarity with the Government and people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo as well as our sympathy for the innocent victims of the ADF. We took the opportunity to commend the Forces armées de la République démocratique du Congo (FARDC) for their successful military campaign against the ADF, with the effective support of MONUSCO and its Force Intervention Brigade. We also encouraged the FARDC and MONUSCO to further enhance their cooperation and initiate decisive joint actions aimed at fully neutralizing the ADF, with the full support of the local populations.

While I am expected to devote serious attention to supporting efforts to neutralize negative forces and promoting an environment conducive to the expeditious implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework, I am fully committed to strengthening the foundation laid by my predecessor, Mary Robinson, in support of women, young people, displaced populations and civil society, as well as encouraging economic cooperation and the promotion of justice, human rights and the fight against impunity. In that regard, I am pleased to report that, following the launch of the Women's Platform, small grants have already been made to the Global Fund for Women in support of

initial activities designed to enhance women's ability to advocate for and monitor implementation of the Framework's commitments. The grants also provide seed money for improving women's access to clean energy. Regarding resolution 1325 (2000), I plan to step up my advocacy efforts for broader adoption of a regional plan of action that builds on the experiences of Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda and Uganda, all of which I commend for starting to implement their national plans. With regard to young people, my Office provided support for organizing the ICGLR Youth Summit and plans to work with other partners going forward in support of small-scale youth projects and budding young entrepreneurs.

Initiatives aimed at promoting the emergence of a strong regional coalition of civil society are ongoing. My Office will work closely with the ICGLR and other stakeholders to convene a regional workshop in Bujumbura that will bring together civil-society organizations from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda before the end of this year. It will lay the foundation for a wider civil-society constituency whose task will be to increase awareness of the Framework in cooperation with the various Governments, as well as to promote solidarity, a culture of peace and tolerance among the communities in the region.

We are also working closely with all stakeholders to address obstacles impeding the safe and dignified return of displaced populations and to provide options for those who may decide to settle in other parts of the region. In that regard, I would like to commend the Government and people of Tanzania for granting citizenship rights to the roughly 200,000 Burundian nationals and their dependants who took refuge in Tanzania decades ago. I also encourage all countries hosting displaced populations, as well as countries of origin, to step up their efforts to provide durable solutions. Together with my fellow envoys, I intend to support all the parties concerned in promoting political and security conditions propitious to lasting solutions.

Leveraging the strength of various development partners, such as the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank, the European Union and others, my Office has launched or supported various initiatives aimed at rebuilding livelihoods and creating jobs and peace dividends. In that regard, my Office is supporting the preparation of a development partners conference designed to mobilize resources for

development initiatives identified by signatories of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework. Similarly, we are working closely with the country teams in signatory countries, as well as the relevant regional United Nations offices, to develop and align strategies and programmes in support of the Framework. Jointly with the ICGLR, we are also strongly promoting the convening in Luanda in early December of a regional ministerial consultation on private sector investment, aimed at considering and evaluating a substantial portfolio of projects. During my tour of the region, I encouraged the Framework countries to ensure that they are adequately represented at the meeting, which will pave the way for a bigger private-sector investment forum next year that will signal a new era in the Great Lakes region, advancing towards shared stability and prosperity.

The Framework signatories are members of various regional economic communities, which we must support if we are to unlock the region's vast potential. In that regard, I would like to encourage the ongoing efforts to convene a summit of the Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries (CEPGL), as part of the revitalization of that organization called for in the Framework. In that context, I had a fruitful meeting last week with the CEPGL's Executive Secretary and his team, at which we discussed possible areas of cooperation, including promoting trans-border security and development programmes that include the involvement of women.

As I stated at the beginning, I see my role as that of a catalyst and facilitator. I am committed to working closely with the signatory countries, the guarantors, my fellow special envoys and the international partners committed to the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework.

I am confident that together we can help the region put an end to the recurring cycle of conflicts and instability, build mutual confidence and trust, and set in motion an irreversible process towards realizing its full potential, in peace and stability.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Mr. Djinnit for his briefing.

I shall now give the floor to the member of the Council who wishes to make a statement.

Mr. Gasana (Rwanda): I wish to welcome Mr. Said Djinnit, Special Envoy of the Secretary-General to the Great Lakes Region, and to thank him for his

briefing to the Council. I also thank Mr Martin Kobler, Special Representative of the Secretary-General to the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Head of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) for his statement. I also recognize the presence of my colleague, the Permanent Representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

In April this year, Rwanda, together with the whole world, commemorated the twentieth anniversary of the genocide against the Tutsi (see S/PV.7155), which claimed the lives of more than 1 million of my compatriots in just 100 days. I recall, in that regard, that my country introduced a draft resolution that became resolution 2150 (2014), which was sponsored and adopted by all 15 Council members. The resolution reminds us that leaders and members of the so-called Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) were among the perpetrators of the genocide. The resolution furthermore recalls that the FDLR

“is a group under United Nations sanctions, operating in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and which has continued to promote and commit ethnically based and other killings in Rwanda and in the Democratic Republic of the Congo” (*resolution 2150 (2104), fourteenth preambular paragraph*).

This is the FDLR we are talking about it today. This is the FDLR we have been talking about for the past two decades. We are not here to talk about simple negative forces such as the dozen armed groups operating in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, as recalled by all recent products of the Council. The FDLR is not the oldest negative force in the area, which has triggered the creation of a number of other armed groups, but it is also a genocidal movement that committed the unspeakable 20 years ago.

Today the FDLR remains the main military and security threat to Rwanda and the Great Lakes region due to its genocidal ideology, the mass atrocities that it regularly commits against civilians in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, and to its substantive structural with international networks and the active support it unfortunately enjoys from State and non-State actors. Such actors have demonstrated on multiple occasions their hidden agenda to sanitize and preserve the FDLR in order to eventually destabilize Rwanda.

To deal with the security situation in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, which includes the FDLR issue, on 30 November 1999 — almost 15 years ago — the Security Council established the United Nations Observation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), whose mandate was expanded by resolution 1291 (2000) to include the protection civilians “under imminent threat of physical violence”. In 2010, that Mission was renamed by resolution 1925 (2010) as the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), with a mandate including to

“support strategies towards a sustainable solution of the FDLR issue, including repatriation, reinsertion or resettlement in other areas, or judicial prosecution as appropriate” (*resolution 1925 (2010), para. 12 (j)*).

However, despite the clear mandate given by the Council, MONUC and then MONUSCO were unable — or perhaps I should say, unwilling — to fully implement it. It is in that context that the Council adopted resolution 2098 (2013) in March 2013, establishing Force Intervention Brigade (FIB) operating under MONUSCO. The Force was given not only a robust and offensive mandate, including, in the terms of sub-paragraph 12 (b), the task to “prevent the expansion of all armed groups, neutralize these groups and disarm them”. In addition, huge support was provided in terms of equipment, technology and so forth. That essentially represented a third mandate for a third force in 14 years.

Regrettably, upon deployment, the FIB chose to restrict its actions to against the recently created Mouvement du 23 mars (M-23) and once again failed to address the question of the FDLR. In November 2013, the M-23 was totally defeated and Rwanda hoped at that time that MONUSCO and its FIB would finally decide to implement resolution 2098 (2013), which we had sponsored here, and thereby move to subsequently neutralize the FDLR.

Unfortunately, despite the tough rhetoric by my good friend the Head of MONUSCO against FDLR, no concrete action against that genocidal movement has been taken or even planned by the United Nations force. In the meantime, the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region — under the good offices of the Secretary-General, whom I vigorously commend

for having initiated it — was signed in Addis Ababa in February 2014. Through the Framework, the leaders of the region once again called for the neutralization of all armed groups, including, of course, the FDLR.

Furthermore, since the beginning of this year, various summits of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR), alone and jointly with the Southern African Development Community (SADC), emphasized the need for disarmament and demobilization of the FDLR as well as the necessity of military actions against those unwilling to disarm accordance with resolution 2098 (2013).

To justify FIB inaction against the FDLR, MONUSCO's senior leadership attempted to explain that military action against the FDLR was complicated because combatants were living among civilians. That is not true. As a matter of fact, we, Rwanda, provided extensive evidence to MONUSCO on the location of the FDLR military camps separated from civilian areas. In any case, the MONUSCO mandate includes the protection of civilians by ensuring that women, men and children are not used as human shields or deprived of security, health care, education and development. Military action to separate civilians from combatants is therefore imperative. Given that impasse, the FDLR could of course not miss that golden opportunity to achieve its objective. That genocidal movement continued to form alliances with subversive opposition groups against Rwanda in order to engage in activities aimed at gaining sympathy and support from the region.

In May, the FDLR decided to adjust its strategy by committing to voluntary disarm. However, from a force of 3,500 combatants, the disarmament exercise that allegedly took place in North and South Kivu on 30 May and 6 June, respectively, comprised 188 low-ranking combatants and their dependants. Since then, the disarmed combatants have refused to relocate from Walungu and Kanyabayonga to a designated camp in Kisangani, where no disarmament has taken place since 2 July. On the contrary, according to our information, the FDLR continued to reinforce its troops, and around 200 additional elements have been recruited since May to replace those 188 troops.

The Council may recall that the FDLR's delaying tactics, seen by some as commitments, compelled the ICGLR and SADC, at the request of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and other countries of the region, to decide in July to give the FDLR a six-month period, expiring on 2 January 2015,

to disarm. However, as all stakeholders have now noticed, the FDLR never had any intention of disarming. On the contrary, even recently at the summit of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region and the Southern African Development Community in Luanda, Angola — I would like to commend Angola for its leadership — the FDLR, through its allies in the region, attempted to ensure that military action against it is removed from the region's agenda, thereby contradicting the Security Council resolutions that I have mentioned above and its recent press statement SC/11586.

Given the background that I have just provided, I have several questions that occur to me. I would wish to ask all of us why 20 years after our collective resolve of the abused phrase “never again” the Security Council is still struggling to find a lasting solution to the genocidal negative force whose leaders and members are among the perpetrators of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Instead of addressing the main root cause of insecurity in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, why has the Security Council, which comprises at least five countries that have the required background on that situation — I am talking about the permanent members — prefer to manage that insecurity and focus on the consequences of the FDLR presence in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo?

Why cannot the Security Council follow up on the implementation of the multiple resolutions that it has adopted and hold accountable the United Nations force that it has established and to which it has provided a clear mandate. The consequential budget is more than \$2 billion a year. I remember The Right Honourable Matata Ponyo Mapon telling us that if he could get a tenth of the MONUSCO budget, he could truly achieve a strong police force and restore security to the entire territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo as soon as possible. That is \$2 billion per year, and we have been sitting in this Chamber for 20 years. That is insane and a humiliation. What do Council members want to tell their taxpayers today? To keep spending and feeding an Organization that is not doing anything? After 20 years, we are still talking about a genocidal force. We are all committed to that great phrase “never again”.

I believe that such questions are legitimate not only from the Rwandan or regional perspective but also from the broader perspective of the maintenance of international peace and security and of the responsibility

to protect. In that regard, it would be unfortunate if the Security Council were to spend the next 20 years dealing with the FDLR and its consequences for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region. Indeed, beyond the absolute need to restore peace and security in our region, I think that such collective inaction also further undermines the credibility of such a lofty organ as the Security Council.

Despite that picture, let me conclude on an optimistic note. As the deadline given to the FDLR is fast approaching, I am nonetheless convinced that the overall momentum for peace, security and cooperation in the Great Lakes region is so strong that it will eventually enable MONUSCO's FIB and the supervision of the Council to live up to our collective expectation of a secure and stable Great Lakes region free of armed groups, including the last genocidal movement on our continent — indeed, in the world.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I now give the floor to the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Mr. Gata Mavita wa Lufuta (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (*spoke in French*): As the Argentine presidency of the Security Council draws to a close, allow me to congratulate you, Madam, on your stewardship of the discussions within this principal organ of the United Nations tasked with the maintenance of international peace and security. I would like to once again express how pleased we are at seeing you, Madam, presiding over the Security Council during the month of October. On behalf of the people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, I would like to thank the Council once again for the efforts undertaken by the United Nations to uphold the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country and to ensure its peace and stability. Finally, I would like to pay heartfelt tribute to His Excellency Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon for the constant commitment he has unfailingly shown and for his personal efforts aimed at peace in my country.

We have carefully followed the presentation of the two reports of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) and the report on the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Region (S/2017/697). Those reports were just introduced by Mr. Martin Kobler, Special Representative of the Secretary-General

for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Mr. Said Djinnit, Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes Region of Africa, and I thank them very much. The briefings prompt us to make the following comments.

Generally speaking, it is important to note that the commendable efforts mentioned in the follow-up report (S/2014/698) of September have continued in the various sectors related to the implementation of the national commitments undertaken by the Democratic Republic of the Congo under the Addis Ababa Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework and the Nairobi Declarations, which marked the end of the Kampala dialogue between the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Mouvement du 23 mars (M-23). My delegation believes it is important to go back to the situation of the former members of the M-23 and the implementation of the Nairobi Declarations. In that regard, my delegation would like to note that the Government has undertaken several actions, including the drawing up of a road map and a follow-up timetable for its implementation. An amnesty law was put into effect on 11 February by our Head of State, while a decree regarding the measures for its implementation was signed and issued, with the individual commitment forms published in our four national languages.

Furthermore, a technical monitoring and identification team has been established and has visited Uganda and Kigali to identify former M-23 combatants; explain the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process; explain the amnesty; and facilitate the signing of the individual commitment document for former combatants. An oversight mission to verify the viability of locations has been established, and it visited, on 24 to 29 July 2014, Walikale and Kisangani, which are to be used as transit centres and for the reintegration of former M-23 combatants, before the centre in Kisangani is established. Orders granting amnesty to 410 former M-23 members have been issued and prisoners have gradually been released, and that process is being accelerated. A road map has been drawn up outlining the repatriation process for the ex-M23 combatants in Uganda and Rwanda through the National Oversight Mechanism of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, assisted by the Executive Secretariat of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) in accordance with the Nairobi declaration and the recommendation of the joint ministerial meeting of the ICGLR and the Southern African Development Community (SADC)

on 2 July and the relevant decision of the mini-summit of the ICGLR of 14 August in Luanda.

It should be noted that a harmonization meeting with the Executive Secretariat of the ICGLR on the content of the draft road map was held on the premises of the National Oversight Mechanism on 1 September. At that time, the Coordinator designated by the former M-23 members, Mr. René Abandi, was invited to participate in that meeting as a focal point, in line with the Nairobi declaration. However, he could not participate for personal reasons.

It is also important to clarify that the road map integrates the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo's decision, taken on 17 September 2014, to conduct an immediate repatriation of ex-M-23 members who are eligible and who wished to be repatriated. The Coordinator of the former M-23 members was notified of the Government decision's on 18 September by the Executive Secretariat of the ICGLR, which then organized a confirmation meeting on 1 October in Kampala. Mr. Abandi and the Ugandan authorities also participated in the meeting. Unexpectedly, through his letter dated 2 October addressed to the Government, Mr. Abandi, refused the offer of immediate repatriation of ex-M23 members. However, a joint agreement was reached with the Executive Secretariat of the ICGLR that the Coordinator of the ex-M-23 members would be summoned for a new meeting to harmonize the viewpoints. That meeting will be held on 7 and 8 November at the headquarters of the National Oversight Mechanism in Kinshasa. This time it will be attended by the special envoys, regional and international observers for the process of the implementation of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework agreement and representatives of other countries of the Great Lakes region.

As we have underscored many times to the Council, the Democratic Republic of the Congo seeks peace on its territory and throughout the territories of the States of the region. That is why it has never shirked its responsibilities and remains determined to combat all negative forces still present in its territory to ensure that peace and harmony return to the region. In that regard, the country will continue to fight the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) and the Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda (FDLR).

The resurgence of the terrorist activities of the ADF, whose strike force was significantly weakened following Operation Sokola, launched in January by

the Forces armées de la République démocratique du Congo (FARDC) with MONUSCO's support, is once again a challenge, which must be resolved. After having driven the ADF from its stongholds and destroyed its chains of command, the ADF terrorist elements today are rebuilding their ranks and operate randomly in small groups. In just one month, as Mr. Kobler has just underscored, the territory of Beni in the North Kivu province was struck, leaving at least 80 victims. The FARDC and MONUSCO have already taken the necessary security measures by deploying to that part of the country.

With regard to the FDLR, Council members will recall that in August, the Foreign Minister of my country, in his statement (see S/PV.7237) to the Council, described the time frame given to the FDLR for disarmament and the agreement of all the States of the region to uphold the deadline with a mid-term assessment. This assessment was recently completed in Luanda during a joint meeting of the ICGLR and the SADC on 18 to 20 October, which brought together the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Defence of the States members of those organizations.

The conclusion reached was that, as of 20 October, the FDLR had not disarmed, despite some movement recorded in June, when some 200 elements laid down their arms. All participants in the Luanda meeting formally affirmed that there would be no extension and that, as of 2 January 2015, military actions would be taken to disarm that noxious force. For my Government, all FDLR elements that resist disarmament will face forcible disarmament operations. They must all leave Congolese territory and return to their country, Rwanda, or look for other host countries. There is no place for them in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

In view of the reconfiguration of the MONUSCO mandate and the transfer of responsibilities, the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo has taken note of the road map being developed with respect to the reassignment of certain MONUSCO tasks to the United Nations country team. The Government stands ready to discuss the concrete implementation of the road map and wishes to express its full confidence in the joint evaluation team that calls for more circumspection in the reconfiguration of the United Nations Mission in terms of the logical perspective of a gradual and orderly withdrawal.

The Council also received a letter dated 22 October 2014 in which my Government made clear to you,

Madam President, its position in the Scott Campbell case. I want to confirm the content of this letter and thank you for agreeing to circulate it as a document of the Security Council.

It is important to remember in that context that everything began with Operation Coup de Poing, which Congolese National Police launched at the request of the population exasperated and upset by the persistence of urban violent crime in Kinshasa, a metropolis of nearly 12 million. We call it the “Kuluna phenomenon”, referring to the name of the bands of outlaws and young delinquents who, at the time of the Operation, were stealing, engaging in racketeering, injuring people, going so far as to cut the arms of peaceful bystanders or even killing for a cell phone, a small chain, a watch or simply for the fun of doing harm. Entire neighbourhoods were thus terrorized and shops vandalized.

Those young people, for those who do not know, feared neither the law enforcement officers nor soldiers, who moreover were also among the victims of their violence. The first phase of the Operation was a resounding success with the people who, reassured now that they are safe, no longer ask the police to pursue those criminals in order to put an end to the phenomenon.

It is in that context that, on 15 October, Mr. Campbell released a report containing falsehoods and unverified assertions that unfairly, gratuitously and without any evidence made charges against the Congolese National Police. Among those falsehoods, we would cite the 32 alleged cases of enforced disappearances mentioned in the report, as all of Kinshasa knows that most of these supposedly missing Kulunas had left Kinshasa themselves to take refuge in Brazzaville and in neighbouring provinces, such as Bandundu, Bas-Congo and Equateur, when they realized that they were being targeted and surrounded in their neighbourhoods.

Rather than providing documentation for his reports or supporting his allegations with evidence, Mr. Campbell apparently believed that the Congolese authorities had to prove their innocence in those real or imagined crimes, although it is up to the person making an allegation to provide supporting evidence. In addition, there was the issue of Mr. Campbell's systematic refusal to take into account the properly documented comments and clarifications provided to him by the relevant Government authorities for each report. The contempt thus shown for a Government from which he had received accreditation made it impossible

for him to continue to do useful work in promoting human rights values, to which the Democratic Republic of Congo remains attached.

Generally speaking, the behaviour of Mr. Campbell has compromised not only the image of our institutions but also and especially the security of the State, because of the subsequent demoralization of our defence and security forces. His recurrent lack of concern despite all entreaties on this subject shook the Government's trust in him and led it to resolve the problem with the radical solution of removing him.

It should be noted here that the Democratic Republic of Congo does not have a culture of expelling diplomats. The case of Mr. Campbell, as you may have noticed, Madam President, is due to his repeat offences that exceeded tolerable limits. However, my Government wishes to reassure the Council that this decision does not undermine or do anything to taint relations between MONUSCO and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It does not constitute either a closure of the United Nations Joint Human Rights Office in the Democratic Republic of the Congo or a questioning of its mandate. In fact, the office remains open and operational.

My Government is awaiting the new replacement to be appointed by the Secretary-General and is ready to give him or her its full cooperation. Furthermore, my delegation also wishes to clarify that, in respect of allegations in the criticized report, my Government did not wait for the report from Mr. Campbell to act. It published a list of 30 police officers convicted for their behaviour in the Operation as the magistrates in charge of overseeing the Operation took up the cases.

With respect to the alleged threats against United Nations personnel, my Government has commenced an inquiry into the matter and would like to reassure the Council that everything is in place for their safety so they can work in peace.

Finally, my Government hopes that the United Nations, in its assessment of the situation, will take into account the good work being done by the Democratic Republic of Congo to promote human rights.

I would like to express the thanks of my Government to Mr. Kobler, the entire staff of MONUSCO and all associated civilian and humanitarian personnel for the tireless efforts they continue to make with a view to finding lasting peace and security in my country. I would be remiss if I did not express our gratitude to Mr. Djinnit for his commitment and efforts towards the

restoration of lasting peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and throughout the Great Lakes region. To all members of the Security Council, I reiterate the appreciation of my country for their profound devotion to this noble cause, whose purpose is the restoration of dignity to the Congolese people.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): 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 11.20 a.m.