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## World Bank at the United Nations

From: Clare Fleming on 02/02/99 05:29 PM  
To: Eugen Scanteie/Person/World Bank@WorldBank  
cc: Alfredo Sfeir-Younis/Person/World Bank@WorldBank, Sylvie E. Danant/Person/World Bank@WorldBank, Jean-Marie Yamine/Person/World Bank@WorldBank, SWARBRICK@un.org  
Subject: Update on CAR at UN

Eugen,

I'm faxing you a copy of the latest report produced by Hedi Annabi based on his recent visit to CAR at the behest of the Secretary-General. I'm also enclosing a copy of the draft resolution reviewed by the Security Council today (along with an older, shorter version). Here's an update on the situation, based on my conversation with Peter Swarbrick, the Political Affairs Officer now handling CAR at the UN (I understand that Annabi also met with the Bank's Res Rep while he was there):

As the report documents, Patasse has agreed in principal to all the terms presented to him, including:

- putting together a smoothly operating government and Assembly
- privatization of state enterprises (water, PETROCA, etc.)
- restructuring of the armed forces
- restricting the Presidential guard forces
- keeping troops out of the Congo war

If he truly meets these conditions (and they will be monitored on a regular basis), the UN team will assist in the elections and will get out 60 days after the elections.

With regard to the Bank/IMF mission scheduled for Feb. (16?), the UN basically says to us, "If you're happy, we're happy." They're calling for CAR to meet full adherence to all our terms, particularly full payments of pensions, etc., full adoption of the budget (even though the Assembly has "adopted" it), and a functioning government.

The Security Council met this morning and the draft resolution reflects these conditions and recommendations. The resolution will be introduced again at the Security Council this Thursday. If it is agreed to then, it would be adopted three weeks later (23rd).

We've just received this information now, and will keep you abreast of any new developments. Please let me know if you don't receive the fax. In addition, you may want to contact Annabi directly, and also Peter Swarbrick (212-963-1105, fax 963-9222 - Room S-3650J, UN). I've given him your em address and informed him that you are one of the Bank's expert focal points on CAR.

Best regards,  
Clare

Clare Fleming, Counselor, EXTUN  
phone 212-986-8247  
fax 212-697-7020

Post-it® Fax Note 7671		Date 2/2	# of pages 26
To Eugen Scanteie	From Clare Fleming	Co./Dept.	Co.
Phone #	Phone #	Fax # 413 8466	Fax #



## The Security Council

Reaffirming its resolutions 1125 (1997) of 6 August 1997, 1136 (1997) of 6 November 1997, 1152 (1998) of 5 February 1998, 1155 (1998) of 16 March 1998, 1159 (1998) of 27 March 1998, 1182 (1998) of 14 July 1998 and 1201 (1998) of 15 October 1998,

Welcoming the report of the Secretary-General of 18 december 1998 (S/1998/1203) and its annex of 14 January 1999 (S/1998/1203/Add 1) and the report of the Secretary General of 29 January 1999 (S/1999/98) and noting the recommendations contained therein,

Taking note of the request of 22 December 1998 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General (S/1998/@), and the letter of 23 January 1999 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary General (S/1999/98- Annex),

Reiterating the importance of the work done by the joint committee of the Government of the Central African Republic and the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA) to address the restructuring of the Central african armed forces (FACA), and, stressing the necessity to quickly adopt the draft law and decrees on national defense and the structure of the defense forces,

Reaffirming the link between socio-economic progress and the consolidation of peace in the Central African Republic and in that context taking note of the letter of 23 December 1998 from the President of the World Bank to the Secretary-General (S/1998/@),

Welcoming the holding of democratic, free and fair legislative elections on 22 November and on 13 December 1998,

Recalling the importance of regional stability and the need to consolidate the progress achieved so far, and in particular to assist the people of the Central African Republic to consolidate the process of national reconciliation taking into account the need to maintain a secure and stable environment conducive to the economic recovery and to the holding of democratic, free and fair presidential elections,

Stressing the importance of cooperation and understanding among the authorities of the Central African Republic, the newly elected legislators and the political groupings, so as to ensure the effective functioning of the National Assembly,

(1. Decides to extend the mandate of MINURCA until 15 November 1999 and decides that, after the first three months, it will confirm, on the basis of the report of the Secretary-General, in particular with regard to the implementation of the commitments made by the President of the Central African Republic in his letter to the Secretary-General dated 23 January 1999 (S/1999/98 - annex), if MINURCA should be maintained until the end of its six months mandate ;)

(2. Authorizes the Secretary General to establish an advice and technical assistance team, within the existing structure and overall strength of MINURCA, in order to provide assistance for the administrative reorganization and management of the FACA,)



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(3. Reaffirms in this regard the important role of MINURCA to coordinate and canalize the international support necessary to the restructuring of the FACA ;)

4. Strongly reaffirms that the complete implementation of the Bangui Agreements and of the National Reconciliation Pact is essential to the peace and national reconciliation in the Central African Republic and urges the authorities of the Central African Republic to continue to take concrete steps to implement political, economic, social and security reforms as referred to in the report of the Secretary-General of 23 February 1998 (S/1998/148) and fulfil the commitments expressed in the letter of 8 January 1998 to the Secretary-General from the President of the Central African Republic (S/1998/61, annex) and in the letter of 23 January 1999 to the Secretary General from the President of the Central African Republic (S/1999/98, annex);

(5. Calls upon the presidential and opposition parties, in coordination with the special representative of the Secretary-General, to take the necessary measures to alleviate the internal pressures, in order to allow the national reconciliation process to continue ;)

(6. Calls upon the authorities of the Central African Republic to set the presidential elections dates as soon as possible, in accordance with the constitution of the Central African Republic, and to that end establish the new electoral commission as soon as possible ;)

(7. Urges the authorities of the Central African Republic, in coordination with the special representative of the Secretary-General :)

(a) to adopt the draft laws and decrees regarding national defense and the structure of defense forces as prepared by the joint committee Government/MINURCA by 15 April 1999, )

(b) to ensure that each arm of the Central African security defense forces performs strictly in the area of its competence and in that respect to take steps to limit the mission of the Special Defense Force of the Republican Institutions (FORSDIR) to the protection of the Republican Institutions and of high level authorities, excluding all police and maintenance of law and order tasks ;)

c) to continue to implement the demobilization and reintegration programme funded by UNDP, including the process of registration of all FACA personnel in all regions ;

d) to establish no later than the first April 1999 a time-table, which should specify the key elements of the restructuring programme of the FACA to be implemented in short, medium and long terms, among them the rejuvenation of the military personnel through reform, retirement and demobilization, the need to create a well-balanced geographical and multi-ethnic recruitment, the improvement of working conditions, including payment of salary and salary arrears, the provision of adequate infrastructure, equipment and support materials, the redeployment of some of the restructured units outside of Bangui and a clear definition of the organization and functioning of the FORSDIR ;

7. Also urges in the Central African authorities to meet the requirements of the financial consolidation and economic reform programmes agreed with the international financial institutions ;

(8. Requests the Central African authorities to maintain the Central African Republic outside of external conflicts in conformity with the commitment expressed in the letter of 23 January 1999 from the President of Central African Republic to the Secretary General (S/1999/98 - Annex) ;)

.../...

a bis) to include in the mandate of MINURCA support for the conduct of presidential elections, including the transport of electoral materials and equipment to selected sites as well as the transport of United Nations electoral observers to and from electoral sites; the limited but reliable international observation of the conduct of the elections; and the guarantee of security for electoral materials and equipment as well as the guarantee of security for the international electoral observers;

a ter) to encourage an increased role for FACA troops in the conduct of the presidential elections, to include the deployment of FACA troops to electoral sites to assist MINURCA personnel in the provision of security and logistical support, operating under United Nations rules of engagement applicable to MINURCA;

b), c), - as drafted with minor changes made 2/1/99 by the "Friends" Group

d) to establish a time-table no later than April 1, 1999, which should specify the key elements of the restructuring program of the FACA to be implemented in short, medium and long terms, among them the rejuvenation of the military personnel through reform; retirement and demobilization; the need to create a well-balanced geographical and multi-ethnic recruitment at levels sustainable within the national budget; the improvement of working conditions, including the payment of salary and salary arrears; the provision of adequate infrastructure, equipment and support materials within levels sustainable in the national budget, supplemented by bilateral assistance; the redeployment of some of the restructured units outside of Bangui; and a clear definition of the organization and functioning of the FORSDIR;

e) as drafted with minor changes made 2/1/99 by the "Friends" Group

7. Further calls upon authorities in the Central African Republic strictly to refrain from any involvement or engagement in external conflicts in conformity with the commitment expressed in the January 23, 1999 letter from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General (S/1999/98-Annex);

8. Emphasizes that economic rehabilitation and reconstruction constitute important tasks facing the Government and people of the Central African Republic and that significant international assistance is indispensable for sustainable development in the Central African Republic;

8 bis. Stresses the commitment of the international community to a long-term program of support for the Central African Republic, and invites the Economic and Social Council, UNDP, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the appropriate regional financial institutions, to contribute to the designing of such a program;



8 ter. U.S. proposed language still under review

9. U.S. amended language still under review

10. as drafted

11. as drafted

12. as drafted

## The Security Council

Reaffirming its resolutions 1125 (1997) of 6 August 1997, 1136 (1997) of 6 November 1997, 1152 (1998) of 5 February 1998, 1155 (1998) of 16 March 1998, 1159 (1998) of 27 March 1998, 1182 (1998) of 14 July 1998 and 1201 (1998) of 15 October 1998,

Welcoming the report of the Secretary-General of 25 August 1998 (S/1998/1203 and S/1998/1203/Add 1) and noting the recommendations contained therein,

Taking note of the request of 22 December 1998 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General (S/1998/@),

Reiterating the importance of the work done by the joint committee of the Government of the Central African Republic and the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA) to address the restructuring of the Central african armed forces (FACA), and, stressing the necessity to quickly adopt the draft law and decrets on national defense and the structures of the defense forces,

Reaffirming the link between socio-economic progress and the consolidation of peace in the Central African Republic and in that context taking note of the letter of 23 December 1998 from the President of the World Bank to the Secretary-General (S/1998/@),

Welcoming the holding of democratic, free and fair legislative elections the 22 November and the 13 December 1998,

Recalling the importance of regional stability and the need to consolidate the progress achieved so far, and in particular to assist the people of the Central African Republic to consolidate the process of national reconciliation taking into account the need to maintain a secure and stable environment conducive to the economic recovery and to the holding of democratic, free and fair presidential elections,

Stressing the importance of cooperation and accomodation among the newly elected legislators and the political groupings, so to ensure the effective fonctionning of the National Assembly,

1. Decides to extend the mandate of MINURCA until 1 June 1999 ;
2. Approves the Secretary General proposal, as contained in paragraphs 50 and 51 of his report, to extend the existing mandate of Minurca with its existing structure and overall strength, including its political, military and civilian police components;
3. Also approves the Secretary-General's proposal, as contained in paragraph 44 of his report, to create, within existing resources, a MINURCA training assistance team responsible, in the context of the restructuring of the Central African Armed Forces, for the restructuring and train-the-trainers process;
4. Expresses its firm intention to terminate the MINURCA's mandate and activities no later than two months after the holding of the presidential elections and in any case no later than the 1st January 2000 ;
5. Strongly reaffirms that the complete implementation of the Bangui Agreements and of the National Reconciliation Pact is essential to the peace and national reconciliation in the Central



African Republic and urges the authorities of the Central African Republic to continue to take concrete steps to implement political, economic, social and security reforms as referred to in the report of the Secretary-General of 23 February 1998 (S/1998/148) and fulfil the commitments expressed in the letter of 8 January to the Secretary-General from the President of the Central African Republic (S/1998/61, annex) and reaffirmed in the letter of 22 December 1998 ;

6. Calls upon the authorities of the Central African Republic :

- a) to set the presidential elections dates as soon as possible, in conformity with the regular Centrafrican constitutional rules,
- b) to adopt the draft laws and decrets regarding national defense and the structure of defense forces as prepared by the joint committee Government/MINURCA,
- c) to fully implement the demobilization and reintegration programme funded by UNDP, including the process of registration of all FACA personnel in all regions,
- d) to establish a time-table, in coordination with the special representative of the Secretary-General, which should specify the key elements of the restructuring programme of the FACA to be implemented in short, medium and long terms, among them the rejuvenation of the military personnel through reform, retirement and demobilization, the need to maintain a well-balanced geographical and pluri-ethnic recruitment, the improvement of working conditions, including payment of salary and salary arrears, the provision of adequate infrastructure, equipment and support materials, the redeployment of some of the restructured units outside of Bangui and a clear definition of the organization and functioning of the security presidential guard ("FORSDIR"),
- e) To meet the benchmarks of the financial consolidation and economic reform programmes agreed with the international financial institutions ;

7. Invites member states to support financially and materially the restructuring programme of the FACA so as to facilitate its prompt implementation and expresses its appreciation to those that have already done so;

8. Emphasizes that economic rehabilitation and reconstruction constitute important tasks facing the Government and people of the Central African Republic and that significant international assistance is indispensable for sustainable development in the Central African Republic, stresses the commitment of the international community to a long-term programme of support for the Central African Republic, invites the Economic and Social Council, UNDP, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the appropriate regional financial institutions, to contribute to the designing of such a programme ;

9. Requests the Secretary-General to submit by 15 April 1999 a report on the implementation of the mandate of MINURCA, on developments in the Central African Republic and in particular on the election process, on progress towards the implementation of the commitments expressed in the letter of 8 January 1998 from the President of the Central African Republic to the Secretary-General and on the implementation of the Bangui agreements and the National Reconciliation Pact, including on commitments related to ensuring the country's economic recovery and the restructuring of the security forces ;

10. Expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the personnel of MINURCA for their efforts to promote peace and national reconciliation in the Central African Republic ;

11. Recalls the importance for Member States to voluntarily contribute to the trust Fund established by the Secretary-General to support the activities of MINURCA ;

12. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

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**UNITED  
NATIONS**

**S**

**Security Council**

*Draft*

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\_\_\_\_ January 1999

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FOURTH REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED  
NATIONS MISSION IN THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

I. INTRODUCTION

1. In my third report to the Security Council on the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA) (S/1998/1203, dated 18 December 1998), I invited the Council to consider extending the mandate of MINURCA with its existing structure and overall strength until the presidential elections scheduled to take place in the latter half of 1999. However, in order to help address certain concerns raised by members of the Security Council, as well as to assess more closely the situation on the ground,<sup>1</sup> I decided to send Mr. Hédi Annabi, Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, as my Personal Envoy to the Central African Republic. I requested Mr. Annabi, in reinforcing the efforts of my Special Representative in the Central African Republic, Mr. Oluyemi Adeniji, to seek additional clarifications and undertakings from the Government in respect of a number of points arising from recent developments in and around the country.



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## II. DEVELOPMENTS SINCE MY REPORT OF 18 DECEMBER 1998

### Aftermath of the legislative elections

2. As a result of the elections held on 22 November and 13 December 1998 for the 109 seats in the National Assembly, the ruling party and its allies, known collectively as the Mouvement Présidentielle, won 54 seats, while the coalition of opposition parties won 55 seats. However, in the period following the formal proclamation of the results by the Constitutional Court, one opposition legislator announced his support for the Mouvement Présidentielle, which thereupon claimed a majority in the Assembly and the right to the presidency and other key positions of the Assembly's Bureau.

3. The opposition parties reacted strongly to this development, walking out of the Assembly shortly after it convened on 4 January 1999. Roadblocks and barricades were set up in certain parts of the capital, Bangui, and MINURCA was placed on alert and increased its patrolling activity before calm was restored. Despite intensive consultations with the parties conducted by my Special Representative between 8 and 10 January, the impasse has persisted.

4. In the meantime, President Ange Félix Patassé has nominated as Prime Minister the former Finance Minister, Mr. Anicet Georges Dologuele, and the ruling party members of the National Assembly, acting after the walkout of the opposition members, have elected as President of the Assembly Mr. Appolinaire Dondon. Though the President initially announced the creation of a Government comprising 23 members, including four from the opposition, three of the opposition members have now left the Government and been replaced by persons chosen by the President.

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Implementation of the Bangui Agreements

5. In accordance with the Bangui Agreements signed in January 1997, the Government of the Central African Republic committed itself to a number of reforms, of which the most important which remain to be accomplished concern the restructuring of the armed forces and the adoption of measures to strengthen the economy.

6. With the assistance and participation of MINURCA, a joint committee established by the Government has drawn up two draft bills and four draft decrees relating to the restructuring of the defence and security forces. As I indicated in my 18 December report (paragraphs 24-26), these now await the approval of the National Assembly. It would also be important to ensure that the new security agencies created by presidential decree on 4 March 1998, the Special force for the Defence of Republican Institutions (FORSDIR) and the Directorate-General for State Documentation (DGDE), do not assume security functions which ought to be assigned to the police or the gendarmerie.

7. I would recall the proposal I made in my 18 December report (paragraph 44) concerning the kind of assistance MINURCA could offer the Government in creating a national, multi-ethnic army whose size and activities would be in line with national budgetary capacity. I would stress that United Nations military personnel would neither engage in the military training of the personnel of the armed forces of the Central African Republic nor provide any form of operational assistance to them. These should remain bilateral functions. However, I still believe that the United Nations can assist in the creation of a renovated armed force under civilian democratic control that is representative of the nation as a whole and administered efficiently. A small team



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of United Nations military experts would focus on providing managerial and organisational advice to the relevant officials of the Ministry of Defence of the CAR in charge of the restructuring process. The objective would be to assist in laying the foundations for the sound management of the restructured armed forces. The United Nations could also facilitate the identification of suitable bilateral partners and coordinate the support of donors for such a process. The proposed team of experts, numbering not more than 20-25 persons, would be accommodated within the already established limits of the force.

8. The initiative I had in mind, should the Security Council agree, would therefore also complement and broadly conform with the assistance MINURCA is already providing to the police and gendarmerie of the Central African Republic. It should be recalled that the general aim of the 24 civilian police officers attached to MINURCA is to assist in the creation of a police force whose personnel and operations meet the internationally accepted standards of policing in democratic societies. In this effort, they need the continued assistance of donors willing to provide the technical resources required by the restructured police force and gendarmerie, as well as the maintenance of a reasonably stable and secure environment.

9. As I indicated in my 18 December report, despite agreements on economic and financial reforms reached with the Bretton Woods institutions, the Government has not so far been able to meet a number of important obligations. These include the regular payment of salaries in order to avoid new accumulations of arrears, as well as the payment of pensions and student bourses; the privatization of public enterprises, including the oil company PETROCA; and the maintenance of Government revenues at an acceptable level. As a result, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) mission that visited the country in October 1998 was not in



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a position to recommend the release of the second allocation of CFAF 6 billion under the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility Agreement (ESAF) signed on 22 July 1998. A follow-up visit scheduled for January 1999 has been postponed to 16 February since, as noted above, the National Assembly is not yet in a position to approve the budget.

Situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo

10. In early January, heavy fighting broke out between the forces of President Kabila and Congolese rebels and their allies on the Congolese side of the Oubangui River, which forms the boundary between the Central African Republic and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The fighting resulted in an influx of some 5,000 persons into CAR territory, about half of whom were registered as refugees by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Pursuant to a defence agreement between President Patassé and President Kabila, some 550 Congolese Government troops then transited through Bangui and across the river into Congolese territory. The opposition, stressing that the National Assembly has never ratified the defence agreement with the Democratic Republic of Congo, has accused President Patassé of risking the involvement of the CAR into the conflict across the border.

III. VISIT OF MY PERSONAL ENVOY

11. In the light of this situation, I requested my Personal Envoy to make the following points to the Government during his visit:

- The impasse surrounding the composition of the Bureau of the National Assembly should be resolved in a manner consistent with the spirit of national reconciliation required by the

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Bangui Agreements so as to ensure the constructive participation of the opposition in the work of the Assembly and the early adoption of a budget;

- Every effort should be made to implement the remaining provisions of the Bangui Agreements by moving forward resolutely on the restructuring of the armed forces, including the restriction of the activity of FORSDIR to exclude traditional police and gendarmerie functions;
- The Government should comply with the provisions of its agreements with the international financial institutions, and should in particular ensure the regular payment of salaries, the rapid privatization of certain State enterprises and the maintenance of State revenues at a suitable level;
- The Central African Republic should on no account allow itself to be drawn into the conflict in the neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo. Such a development would place at risk the gains made so far in restoring a stable and secure environment in Bangui, place in doubt the ability of the United Nations to retain a peacekeeping mission in the Central African Republic, and pose a potential threat to the safety of United Nations personnel.

12. During his visit to the Central African Republic between 19 and 23 January, Mr. Annabi met with President Patassé, Prime Minister Dologuele, Defence Minister Pascal Kado and representatives of the Mouvance Présidentielle, as well as the main opposition figures, members of the diplomatic community and representatives of United Nations agencies and programmes represented in the Central African Republic. Mr. Annabi made it clear to his interlocutors that the response of the Security



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Council to my proposal to extend the mandate of MINURCA until the presidential elections would depend on concrete action which needs to be taken by the Government to address the concerns listed above.

13. In response to the points my Personal Envoy made on my behalf, the President and his colleagues, stressing that they strongly supported the continued presence of MINURCA as being indispensable for the continued stability and security of the country, stated the following:

- (a) The Government had tried to reach agreement with the opposition parties on the formation of a Government. Four opposition members had initially been approached to serve as members, but three were then forced by their parties to resign. Despite these resignations, the Prime Minister had made every effort to form a Government representative of all areas of the country. The President expressed regret that the opposition had not so far been prepared to participate in the work of the National Assembly and the election of its Bureau. He stressed that he remained open to a solution that would meet the interests of all concerned;
- (b) The restructuring of the FACA was highly desirable, in order to ensure that it was fully representative of the nation. The lack of funds had so far made this goal very difficult to achieve, but the Government was prepared to work with MINURCA to move the process forward;
- (c) The Prime Minister was well known to and respected by the international financial institutions, and would ensure that the Government met the obligations



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incumbent upon it as a result of the agreements reached with them;

- (d) The Government had no intention of allowing the country to be involved in the Congolese conflict, and did not believe their territory was at risk from the rebels there.

14. The President also stated his intention to conduct presidential elections on schedule before the end of the year and in full compliance with the relevant Constitutional provisions. He indicated that the necessary preparations would be initiated shortly. The President again requested United Nations assistance in helping to prepare and monitor the elections.

15. In his discussion with President Patassé, recalling the letter addressed to me by the President dated 8 January 1998 (S/1998/61, annex), containing a number of commitments he had undertaken at that time, Mr. Annabi indicated that it might be appropriate to send a further letter responding in precise terms to the current concerns of the international community regarding the peace process in the Central African Republic. On 23 January 1999, President Patassé handed to my Personal Envoy the letter contained in the annex to the present report.

#### IV. ACTION EXPECTED FROM THE GOVERNMENT

16. In his letter, President Patassé made a number of detailed commitments arising from the Bangui Agreements, and in line with the concerns expressed by my Personal Envoy and the international financial institutions. I have since urged the President to adhere in a timely manner to the undertakings he made in the letter. Satisfactory action in this regard would lead within a short time to the following outcomes:

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- (a) The participation of the opposition in a constructive manner in the National Assembly and its Bureau, and in the political life of the country in general;
- (b) The adoption by the National Assembly at an early date of a budget satisfactory to the international financial institutions before their visit scheduled to take place in February;
- (c) The adoption by the National Assembly at an early date of the draft laws on the restructuring of the armed forces, and the approval by the President of the related draft decrees;
- (d) The restriction of the activities of FORSDIR to exclude the functions of the police and gendarmerie, and the verification by MINURCA of the measures taken by the authorities to this end;
- (e) The finalization of measures to privatize state enterprises, particularly PETROCA, within the next few weeks.

#### V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

17. MINURCA has been and remains a source of much-needed stability, both in the CAR and in the subregion as a whole. All his Central African interlocutors, as well as the diplomatic community and United Nations agency personnel confirmed to my Personal Envoy that the withdrawal of MINURCA would seriously jeopardize the progress made so far in normalizing life in the Central African Republic.

18. The deployment of MINURCA was just one of the steps taken by the international community to help the Central African Republic. At the same time, the international financial institutions have also provided assistance. The premature withdrawal of international support in any of the key areas could easily



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undermine and even reverse the fragile progress made so far. I therefore remain convinced that MINURCA should continue to support efforts to resolve the political, economic and security-related problems facing the country and, to that end, should stay until the forthcoming presidential elections. Indeed, MINURCA should assist the Government in establishing a secure environment for and preparing the elections, and should monitor and verify their conduct. Only thus can the international community complete the work to which the United Nations and donor countries have committed so much effort since last April.

19. To that end, the military component of MINURCA should be retained at its current strength, on the basis of the considerations outlined in my 18 December report (paragraph 50). While the security situation in Bangui at the moment is generally calm, the current stability is in large part the result of MINURCA's presence and activities. The reduction of the force would send the wrong signal, and would risk undermining the stability the United Nations has worked hard to restore.

20. The Government's undertaking to carry out a number of necessary reforms is an indispensable condition for further progress. I am therefore encouraged by the letter dated 23 January 1999 addressed to me by President Patassé, which responds to most of the points made to him by my Personal Envoy during his recent visit. It is now imperative that the President's commitments be translated into concrete measures.

21. In order to facilitate a continuing close review of the situation, I would recommend that the initial extension be for a period of six months, until 31 August 1999, subject to a determination by the Security Council after three months that the Government has made acceptable progress in carrying out the reforms outlined in President Patassé's letter. During that



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period, in order to assist the Council in assessing adherence to the commitments made by the Government, I would propose to submit an initial report by 15 April, followed by further reports every six to eight weeks thereafter analysing the effectiveness and timeliness of any steps that had been taken. I would also keep the Council fully informed, as necessary, of any other significant developments affecting the security and stability of the Central African Republic, and of the safety of the MINURCA mission.

LE PRESIDENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE  
CHEF DE L'ETAT



REPUBLIQUE CENTRAFRICAINE  
UNITE - DIGNITE - TRAVAIL

N° 001 /99.PR.

BANGUI, le 23 JAN. 1999

Monsieur le Secrétaire Général

*et très cher frère*

Je souhaiterais, au début de cette nouvelle année, vous renouveler l'expression fraternelle de mes vœux de bonne santé et de succès dans la noble mission que vous menez si remarquablement, à la tête de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

Permettez-moi de vous dire toute ma reconnaissance et celle du Peuple centrafricain tout entier, pour l'assistance précieuse que l'Organisation des Nations Unies apporte à la République Centrafricaine, notamment depuis l'adoption de la Résolution 1159 du 27 Mars 1998, par laquelle le Conseil de Sécurité a autorisé le déploiement de la MINURCA.

En effet, en prenant la relève de la MISAB, la MINURCA a contribué, de manière remarquable, à la consolidation de la paix et de la sécurité à BANGUI, après une longue période de trouble et d'insécurité. Le Peuple centrafricain est également très reconnaissant à l'ONU et à la MINURCA, du soutien efficace qu'elles ont apporté au processus électoral et à la tenue des élections législatives de Novembre et de Décembre 1998.

Je me félicite que des progrès importants aient pu être enregistrés depuis ma lettre du 8 Janvier 1998.

Son Excellence Monsieur  
**Kofi ANNAN**  
Secrétaire Général de  
l'Organisation des Nations Unies

- NEW YORK -

*af*



Ceci étant, des efforts supplémentaires s'imposent pour parvenir à une paix durable et une réconciliation nationale effective, consolider le début d'assainissement des finances publiques et améliorer les conditions de vie des populations.

C'est pour me permettre de mener à bien ces efforts que je demande au Conseil de Sécurité de bien vouloir renouveler le mandat de la MINURCA jusqu'aux élections présidentielles, qui se tiendront avant la fin de l'année en cours, dans les délais prescrits par la Constitution. Je m'engage pour ma part, à mener une action résolue pour assurer dans les délais les plus rapides, la mise en oeuvre pleine et entière de ce qui reste encore des Accords de BANGUI.

Sur le plan institutionnel, je veillerai au strict respect de la légalité constitutionnelle et à un fonctionnement harmonieux des institutions de l'Etat. En conséquence, je suis déterminé à promouvoir le dialogue avec et entre les diverses formations politiques du Pays. Avec l'assistance de votre Représentant Spécial, je m'efforcerai dans cette perspective de dégager des solutions acceptables pour tous, dans l'esprit de concertation et de réconciliation nationale qui s'imposent plus que jamais.

Je suis convaincu que la poursuite du processus de réconciliation nationale et de démocratisation ne peut aller sans le rétablissement d'une gestion rigoureuse des finances publiques, une relance de l'activité économique et la reprise des investissements. Le Gouvernement s'attachera au recouvrement des recettes, en particulier des recettes douanières, condition indispensable au paiement régulier des salaires et au traitement d'une part significative des arriérés, dès le premier trimestre de l'année 1999. Les résultats espérés devraient constituer un signal fort pour la Communauté internationale et lui permettre de poursuivre son aide.

Le nouveau Premier Ministre, Monsieur Anicet Georges DOLOGUELE, précédemment Ministre des Finances et du Budget et principal acteur de l'Accord signé avec les Institutions de Bretton Woods, vient de former un Gouvernement d'Action pour la Promotion de la Démocratie (GAPD).





Ce nouveau Gouvernement s'attachera à poursuivre la mise en oeuvre des mesures énergiques, en vue d'accroître les recettes de l'Etat, pour lui permettre d'honorer ses obligations tant internes (paiement de salaires, pensions, bourses et fonctionnement des services sociaux de base), qu'externes (notamment vis-à-vis des Institutions de Bretton Woods), dans le cadre d'une gestion transparente de l'Administration et des Entreprises publiques.

Sur mes instructions, le Gouvernement précédent avait pris des mesures initiales, visant à l'assainissement et à la restructuration des régies financières, à la privatisation des entreprises publiques dans les domaines de l'énergie, des télécommunications et des banques ainsi qu'au contrôle et à la revalorisation des filières d'exploitation des ressources naturelles.

Cet effort avait créé un climat favorable à la reprise des négociations avec les Institutions financières internationales et à la signature le 22 Juillet 1998, de l'Accord de Facilité d'Ajustement Structurel Renforcé (FASR). Ce train de mesures sera complété par d'autres en vue de renforcer la capacité administrative de l'Etat et de maîtriser les dépenses publiques.

Le nouveau Premier Ministre inclura en bonne place dans le programme de Gouvernement qu'il présentera prochainement à l'Assemblée Nationale, des indications précises sur la méthodologie devant inspirer la lutte contre la corruption et les détournements de deniers publics. Il veillera tout particulièrement à la mise en oeuvre effective, dans les délais requis, du programme FASR conclu avec le Fonds Monétaire International. Il sera aidé en cela par deux Ministres Délégués, nommés surtout pour leur compétence et leur connaissance du dossier des réformes économiques.

De même, le nouveau Ministère de l'Emploi, de la Fonction Publique et de la Formation Professionnelle est chargé d'entreprendre une réforme de la Fonction Publique et d'assurer que ses effectifs soient limités aux besoins réels de l'Administration. Cela permettra une meilleure maîtrise des dépenses en personnel qui constituent la partie la plus importante des dépenses publiques.





S'agissant de la privatisation des entreprises publiques, le Gouvernement a engagé les négociations nécessaires, grâce au soutien de la Banque Mondiale et la privatisation de la Banque Internationale Centrafricaine (BICA) est déjà effective.

Dans le domaine pétrolier, les offres de sociétés intéressées par le rachat de la PETROCA (Société nationale des produits pétroliers) n'ont pas permis jusqu'ici de trouver une solution définitive. Je m'emploierai à ce qu'un accord soit conclu avant la fin du mois de Mars 1999.

Le nouveau Gouvernement reprendra immédiatement ce dossier ainsi que ceux de la privatisation de l'ENERCA (la société d'électricité), de la SOCATEL (Société de télécommunications), de la SNE (Société nationale des eaux) et de l'UBAC (Union Bancaire en Afrique Centrale), afin de trouver un terrain d'entente avec les acquéreurs qui, pour la plupart, sont déjà identifiés durant le premier trimestre de l'année en cours. Il procédera également à la liquidation des quinze entreprises publiques désignées par la Loi des finances de 1998.

En outre, j'ai demandé au Gouvernement de lancer, avant le 15 Février, une consultation nationale entre tous les partenaires du secteur coton, pour la promotion de cette principale culture d'exportation.

En matière de finances publiques, nos recettes provenant des impôts ont enregistré une nette progression, comme l'a reconnu la Banque Mondiale.

J'ai demandé au Gouvernement de renforcer les mesures prises pour accroître les recettes douanières qui restent en deçà de nos attentes. Je suis encouragé par l'amélioration en 1998 de la situation financière par rapport aux deux années précédentes et je donnerai les directives nécessaires au Gouvernement pour qu'il poursuive ses efforts dans cette direction, tout en respectant le calendrier établi par l'Accord FASR.

L'ensemble de ces mesures sera renforcé par la tenue prochaine des états généraux de l'Economie et des Finances.



S'agissant de la restructuration des Forces de défense et de sécurité, j'avais confié à une commission Ad Hoc, le soin d'élaborer un plan d'ensemble visant à bâtir une armée pluri-ethnique, républicaine et capable de contribuer aux efforts de développement nationaux, tout en tenant compte des capacités budgétaires du pays. Cette commission a préparé un rapport qui prévoit notamment:

- le cantonnement de la Force Spéciale de Défense des Institutions Républicaines (FORSDIR) à la mission qui lui a été assignée par décret, c'est à dire la protection des Institutions Républicaines et de Hautes Autorités de l'Etat.
- l'acquisition de moyens nécessaires à l'accomplissement des tâches respectives des Forces de défense et de sécurité, en particulier en matière de formation, d'équipement et de réhabilitation des infrastructures ;
- le redéploiement des unités restructurées à l'intérieur du Pays.

L'ensemble de ces mesures doit être accompagné par une politique de construction de casernes militaires, nécessaires pour le maintien de l'esprit de corps et de la discipline militaire.

Le rapport de la commission sert actuellement de base aux divers projets de lois et de décrets qui sont en cours d'élaboration, avec le concours de la Commission Mixte Gouvernement / MINURCA créée à cet effet, sur proposition de votre Représentant Spécial.

Je veillerai à ce que ces projets de lois soient examinés avec diligence et favorablement par le Gouvernement, puis transmis à très bref délai à l'Assemblée Nationale, pour examen et adoption pendant la session ordinaire de Mars 1999. Les décrets d'application seront pris immédiatement après.

Il s'agit là des réponses adéquates à l'ensemble des recommandations des Etats Généraux de la Défense Nationale repris par les Accords de BANGUI.

Je veillerai à ce que le calendrier de mise en oeuvre établi par la Commission Mixte Gouvernement / MINURCA soit respecté.





Toutes les tâches de police et de maintien de l'ordre seront poursuivies et intensifiées par la Police et la Gendarmerie Nationale, avec le concours des effectifs déjà formés dans le cadre de la police civile de la MINURCA.

Ce programme d'assistance constitue un bon modèle de référence pour la contribution que la MINURCA pourrait apporter à la mise sur pied de la nouvelle armée centrafricaine.

Permettez-moi d'exprimer à cet effet, l'espoir que la communauté internationale y apportera son concours.

Le Programme National de Démobilisation et de Reconversion des Militaire (PNDR) lancé, grâce au financement du Programme des Nations Unies pour le Développement (PNUD) est rentré dans sa phase opérationnelle avec l'achèvement de l'opération d'enregistrement. La démobilisation proprement dite commencera dès que le PNDR aura obtenu l'appui financier nécessaire de la Communauté internationale.

D'ores et déjà, je donne des directives qui s'imposent à cet effet au Ministre de la Défense Nationale et de la Restructuration des Forces Armées.

Les séquelles des trois mutineries de 1996 ne sont pas encore effacées, en dépit des deux années d'effort national appuyé par la Communauté internationale. Malgré la stabilité apportée par la MINURCA et les Forces Armées Centrafricaines (FACA), la situation du pays reste fragile. A cette préoccupation s'ajoutent les conflits qui déchirent certains pays voisins et qui risquent de s'étendre à la sous-région.

C'est dans cet esprit que je m'engage à tenir mon Pays, déjà éprouvé par une sérieuse crise interne, à l'écart de ces conflits extérieurs, tant je suis conscient que tout débordement en territoire centrafricain risquerait d'aggraver nos difficultés actuelles.

La République Centrafricaine a encore besoin de l'appui de la Communauté internationale pour consolider ces premiers acquis avec le soutien de la MINURCA.

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C'est pourquoi, je sais pouvoir compter sur votre compréhension et j'en appelle à celle des distingués Membres du Conseil de Sécurité. Le maintien de la MINURCA souhaité par l'ensemble des forces politiques et de la population centrafricaines, est le meilleur rempart pour prévenir la résurgence de désordres internes et d'une insécurité susceptibles de déstabiliser un peu plus une région déjà trop troublée.

Cette mission est un instrument irremplaçable, tant pour consolider la réconciliation nationale que pour le fonctionnement régulier des institutions de la République.

La République Centrafricaine s'efforce actuellement de sortir d'une période parmi les plus difficiles de son existence. C'est pourquoi, je voudrais vous assurer à nouveau, de ma ferme détermination d'aller de l'avant dans la mise en oeuvre effective de diverses réformes politiques, structurelles, économiques et militaires, nécessaires à la consolidation de la paix et à la promotion d'un développement durable.

J'en appelle donc encore une fois, à votre appui auprès du Conseil de Sécurité, pour le persuader de la nécessité de proroger le mandat de la MINURCA jusqu'aux élections présidentielles. A cet effet et, en vue de tirer efficacement les leçons de l'organisation et du déroulement des dernières élections législatives, je veillerai au lancement, dès le mois de Février 1999, du processus de préparation des élections présidentielles. L'assistance de la MINURCA et de la Communauté internationale sera à nouveau déterminante pour que ces élections puissent se dérouler dans les conditions de sérénité, de transparence et d'impartialité requises.

En vous renouvelant l'expression de ma gratitude pour votre aimable sollicitude envers mon pays,

je vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur le Secrétaire Général  
l'assurance de ma très haute et fraternelle considération.



  
Mx. Félix PATASSE  
Ange Félix PATASSE



## Africa

### *Follow-up to the Secretary-General's report on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa*

#### BACKGROUND INFORMATION & STRATEGIC CONCERNS

##### *The Secretary-General's Report*

On April 13, 1998, the UN Secretary-General issued a report to the Security Council entitled *Report of the Secretary-General: The causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa*. This report was written in response to a request from the Security Council in a meeting of Foreign Ministers it convened on September 25, 1997 to consider the need for a concerted international effort to promote peace and security in Africa, indicating a "grave concern" over the number and intensity of armed conflicts in Africa.

The report focuses on the imperative to link peace with sustainable economic development and poverty eradication, and on the need to engage political will and good governance, rather than military might, to bring this about. The report also posits a series of "special challenges" of humanitarian assistance, questioning whether assistance facilitates political inaction, helps fuel conflict, diverts resources from other critical priorities, and functions ineffectively in the face of too many actors. In particular, the report makes the following recommendations:

- Provide "peace-friendly" structural adjustment programs, relaxing strict financial conditionality;
- Work within a "strategic framework" providing the basis for a coherent effort by international and bilateral actors;
- Continue to support improved public sector management;
- Economic restructuring and reform require greater public understanding;
- Access to HIPC should be eased and accelerated;
- Provide sufficient resources to enable poor countries to attain a substantial and sustained pace of economic growth and social development;
- Promote sub-regional integration.



## **UN Response to the Report**

When it was issued, the Report received a great deal of attention at the UN, and is viewed by some as his most important political report since he took office. Although the request for the report comes out of a concern for the continent's problems with conflict, nevertheless it also serves as a cautionary note during a period marked by significant political and economic achievements on the continent, including the emergence of some leaders with confidence in Africa's ability to chart a path to peace and development. The UN's strong response to the report is in part due to the fact that conditions on the continent stand at a crucial point, at a moment when there is significant potential for the countries to succeed in the global market but also stand in danger of failure due to lack of solutions to corruption and violence. Current interest in Africa is high, and the report is written to help chart the way forward to success at this critical point in the continent's history.

The report is significant for the Secretary-General personally as an African and as the UN's leader. He looks to strong recognition and a possible new paradigm on Africa emerging from its review. He specifically states that the report is addressed to the full system, "including the Bretton Woods Institutions."

The political intention is to use the report as a way to: 1) generate continuing global commitment to Africa's concerns, particularly as the world turns toward countries in financial crisis and away from Africa - "let us not forget about Africa"; 2) harmonize multilateral and bilateral responses to Africa through an integrated focus in the UN system; and 3) identify priority actions for African governments and the international community, including on such issues as resources, debt relief, and governance, which can create new synergies to promote peace, progress and development in Africa.

In fact, the Secretary-General may actually propose a new initiative of some sort, an idea we would not endorse, particularly given the development of the response to Africa from UN-ADAF to UNSIA (it is now considered that UN-ADAF is the framework and UNSIA is the implementation dimension).

### ***The General Assembly Debate***

The Secretary-General presented the report to the GA on October 9, and by October 12 the GA completed its session on the report. On October 22, Alfredo Sfeir-Younis met with a few key African Ambassadors to discuss the GA session. The Ambassadors indicated that there is strong support for the report by the African states, and a feeling of solidarity with the S-G as a fellow African (they felt that no other S-G could have produced such a report without appearing condescending). The feeling among Africans is that the report, and its debates in the Security Council and General Assembly, creates unprecedented attention on the continent at a badly needed time. (Neither the Security Council nor the General Assembly has ever held a debate

focused on only one region before.) There was some apprehension about having the region's problems aired so publicly for debate, but there is a sense of relief among the Africans that it is the right thing to do. They would like to see the report garner support for regional and sub-regional initiatives (not necessarily in the context of resources, which they acknowledge are limited), and more flexibility with the HIPC Initiative, although they acknowledge that it is an innovative and much-needed initiative. They say that for the first time they have seen that the root causes of conflict are linked to economic conditions. Finally, they favor the proposed high level intergovernmental dialogue on financing for development coming out of the Second Committee.

One note with regard to the Bank: in his GA presentation of the report, the Secretary-General highlighted his assertion that the BWIs should consider providing "peace-friendly" structural adjustment programs, and that the HIPC Initiative should be expanded to include more of the African countries, since only 4 of the African countries had so far met the conditions which had been set.

In addition to the GA debate, the Security Council is also in the process of reviewing the paper, with a Working Group and several sub-groups working to complete reports, specific recommendations and resolutions.