



**“From Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding: The Way Forward for MONUSCO”  
April 28, 2011**

**Seminar Report<sup>1</sup>**

In advance of the Council’s upcoming debate on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the International Peace Institute (IPI), the Permanent Mission of France to the UN, and the Policy and Strategic Affairs Department of the French Ministry of Defence co-organized a full-day seminar to engage in a forward-looking dialogue on mid- and longer-term strategies to consolidate peace in the DRC. Sessions focused on how to progress further in the areas of security and stability, governance and democratization, and sustainable socio-economic development with the aim of developing recommendations on how MONUSCO can best support the priorities and efforts of the Congolese authorities in these key areas.

The discussion brought together officials from the DRC government, representatives of civil society organizations in the DRC, as well as experts from member states, the UN Secretariat and UN agencies, the African Union, the World Bank, and the international NGO community.

**Executive Summary**

The seminar’s discussions highlighted the importance of continued dialogue between the international community and the DRC authorities to better define the road map ahead, particularly with regard to the transition of the UN mission toward an increased focus on stabilization and peacebuilding activity. The discussions reinforced the need for ownership (by the Congolese government and its population) of the country’s peacebuilding strategy, and for the sustained support of the international community, especially given the risk that recent high-profile global events, combined with donor fatigue, might result in the DRC slipping further down the international agenda during this critical period.

Participants highlighted the inter-related nature of the challenges facing the DRC (i.e. instability inhibits economic development, while a lack of economic development and job creation is seen as contributing to continued instability). Given this interdependence and a finite amount of resources, prioritizing among tasks becomes a challenge. For instance, improving relations with the DRC’s neighbors and curtailing the harmful activities of armed groups are obvious keys to establishing durable security in eastern DRC, but it is also argued that democratic governance and institutional reforms – including Security Sector Reform (SSR) and the implementation of the decentralization process – are just as essential to long-term stability.

Although the security situation has improved in most parts of the country in recent years, serious security challenges remain in several other parts of the DRC, and discussions showed the importance of continued civilian protection and humanitarian activities, especially in the East.

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<sup>1</sup> The April 28, 2011 seminar, held in New York City at the IPI Trygve Lie Center for Peace, Security & Development, was conducted under the Chatham House Rule of non-attribution. This report represents the rapporteurs’ interpretation of the discussions and does not necessarily represent the views of IPI, the Permanent Mission of France to the UN, the French Ministry of Defence or the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The coming elections in the DRC in November pose many near-term challenges for a government intent on managing the process without outside assistance. Aside from the technical, logistical, and financial challenges, the process needs to be seen as transparent and the results credible. To do so, the elections must be held in a timely manner and conducted in a peaceful environment allowing for adequate democratic space. But the challenges in the DRC do not end with an election. Independent of the election's outcome, medium and longer-term obstacles to stabilization in the DRC remain. Overcoming these will require targeted resources from donors, resolute will from the DRC government, and strategic cooperation from many actors.

Participants agreed on the need for MONUSCO's mandate to be clear and achievable, so that the UN mission can focus its resources (most critically its reduced air assets) on a few select and critical tasks. Various participants suggested a role for the UN mission in the upcoming elections, but there was no consensus as to how expansive that role should be. The Permanent Representative of the DRC to the UN indicated the desire of the DRC government for UN logistical and technical support to the Independent National Electoral Commission. There is agreement, however, on the need for adequate financing of the electoral cycle, for which the government of the DRC is planning to provide 60 percent of the funding.

Despite progress made over the last decade, several major challenges that are central to consolidating peace in the Democratic Republic of Congo remain. Addressing these challenges will require an active and constructive dialogue between the DRC government, civil society, and the international community, as well as a clear, focused, and feasible mandate for the UN mission in the DRC. The discussions among participants of this seminar helped to identify a list of immediate and mid-to-long-term challenges to be accomplished by the DRC government with the support of MONUSCO and the international community. Those challenges, along with several related tasks that were suggested by seminar participants, are included in Table 1 below.

**Table 1**

Priority challenges	Related tasks
<b><u>Immediate</u></b>	
<b>1. Establishment of the environment needed to hold free, fair, and peaceful elections</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Full financing of the election process (at least 40% of the total will be required from the international community)</li> <li>• Provision of technical and logistical support to the Independent National Electoral Commission</li> <li>• Training and equipping of the DRC police for election security</li> <li>• Drafting of and compliance with an electoral code of conduct by all parties</li> </ul>
<b>2. Effective day-to-day protection of civilians</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Continuation of UN peacekeeping PoC efforts in the eastern DRC, in coordination with the FARDC and the Congolese police</li> <li>• Ensuring the consistent payments of salary to Congolese police and troops</li> </ul>
<b><u>Mid- to long-term</u></b>	
<b>1. Strengthened rule of Law</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Effective integration of armed groups in the eastern DRC through better-coordinated security sector reform</li> <li>• Continued progress on combating impunity, including through strengthening of the judicial system</li> <li>• Better communication from the government to the public and increased civic education on various government initiatives</li> </ul>
<b>2. Regional stability</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased use of the good offices of the African Union (AU) and UN Office in Central Africa (UNOCA)</li> <li>• Ensuring the safe return of refugees and displaced persons</li> <li>• Continuation of the successful sub-regional political, economic and military cooperation initiatives</li> </ul>
<b>3. Increased peace dividend</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support to small and medium enterprises, including those in the informal economy</li> <li>• Development of employment-generating value-added industries, not just the extractive industry</li> <li>• Increased government revenue, in part by establishing stricter control over the exploitation and export of mineral resources</li> <li>• Development of a country-wide economic development strategy, rather than just focusing on the Eastern DRC</li> </ul>

The following sections briefly summarize the themes discussed during the seminar's four expert panels. Closing remarks from the Permanent Representative of the DRC to the UN are included in an annex to this report.

### **I. Laying the ground for peacebuilding in the DRC: what has been done so far?**

A presentation made by the Policy and Strategic Affairs Department of the French Ministry of Defence served as the starting point in this session for a wide-ranging discussion of progress made over the last decade and challenges remaining to be addressed. Overall indicators suggest that work remains to be done to extend the authority of the state at the local, regional, and national levels to help consolidate peace. Armed groups continue to pose a threat to civilians in eastern DRC, and many participants fear that national security forces are not yet able to address this threat without the continued presence of the UN mission's peacekeeping troops. The restoration of state authority in the east is a work in progress, while tackling the issue of illegal exploitation of mines remains a challenge.

Most participants recognize that, aside from Eastern DRC, much of the country has remained relatively stable since 2006. However, some conclude that the continued flow of the international community's resources – including humanitarian aid – to the Eastern part of the country represents a missed opportunity for economic development and the consolidation of security gains across the rest of the DRC. In terms of the role of MONUSCO, some suggest that there is a need to re-evaluate UN mission priorities to find the proper ratio of day-to-day PoC activities to longer-term efforts that address the underlying issues of insecurity. In terms of priorities for the coming months, organizing free and fair country-wide elections on the current time schedule will be particularly challenging for the government, which has led to calls for a more extensive role for MONUSCO in assisting and securing the elections.

### **II. Ensuring long-term security and stability in the DRC**

More than a military challenge, long-term security in the DRC is foremost a political one, in which continued dialogue between DRC authorities and those of neighboring countries is required. Although there have been positive developments in DRC-Rwanda relations since 2008, recent tensions with other neighbors – Republic of Congo and Angola in particular – indicate a continued fragility in the relationships among countries in the region. The constructive efforts of the Regional Initiative in resolving the Burundi crisis and the increasing role of the Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries (CEPGL) in sub-regional border and military cooperation are encouraging innovations. Both the African Union (AU) and the newly created UN Office in Central Africa (UNOCA) could also play a facilitating role on regional rapprochement and in sharing lessons from other peace consolidation efforts.

Closely tied to developments among DRC's neighbors, non-state armed groups, such as the FDLR and LRA, continue to pose a threat to civilians in the region – which has already led to 160,000 refugees and 1.6 million displaced persons – and some argue that the solution cannot be only a military one. In fact, military operations have often exacerbated population displacement and insecurity. As the government admits that the armed groups integrated into the national army (FARDC) have been incorporated “with all their shortcomings,” these shortcomings will ultimately need to be addressed through Security Sector Reform. For their part, Congolese authorities consider the SSR efforts already underway sufficient. Congolese civil society leaders and international community observers, however, point to a lack of visible SSR progress, largely due to a lack of political will of the DRC government and poor coordination among international actors (UN, EU, PAREC, and bilateral donors).

### **III. Consolidating governance and democratic rule in the DRC**

This session served as an opportunity for members of Congolese civil society – human-rights organizations, women’s groups, and journalists – to present their views and concerns regarding the democratic environment in the DRC ahead of the upcoming elections. Although the DRC government has ratified international standards on women’s rights, including on women’s political participation, in practice, little has been done to encourage women to vote or otherwise exercise their rights. Of particular concern to civil society are perceived restrictions of the freedom of expression, in part through an increase in attacks against human rights activists and journalists over the last two years. The alleged involvement of government security forces in the assassination of the prominent activist, Floribert Chebaya, has led to calls for further progress in the fight against impunity. Although there is a draft bill before the government on protecting human rights defenders, the issue of impunity for government officials and members of government security forces is of continuing concern. In that regard, efforts should be made to strengthen the independence of the national judiciary, and “specialized mixed courts” should be put in place, as the Government requests it, for prosecuting past atrocities committed in the DRC, as recommended by the UN Mapping Report released in October, 2010. MONUSCO’s role in assisting the military justice system (both with investigation and prosecution) has been welcomed. Finally, representatives of the Congolese civil society also insisted that appropriation and national ownership of peace consolidation strategies are important not only from the top, but throughout the population at large. To achieve this, better communication from the government to the public and increased civic education on various government initiatives is needed.

The upcoming elections represent an opportunity to achieve a major milestone in the democratization process of the DRC, yet they also constitute a significant risk to internal stability. Given the high stakes involved, no obvious consensus has emerged on the role the international community should play in supporting, securing, or monitoring the elections. Concerns regarding the elections that are cited by civil society include: a rushed January 2011 revision to the constitution (to establish a one-round presidential election), delays in appointing the Independent National Electoral Commission (and questions over the commission’s representativeness as it lacks any members of civil society), delays in voter registration, and the lack of an election security plan. Despite these concerns, all agree that elections must be held in 2011 to further consolidate democratic rule in the DRC. To achieve this goal, the process must be fair and credible, and seen as such by all the candidates as well as by the Congolese population.

To ensure such an election, a variety of possible tasks for the international community are suggested: the establishment of a warning system with so-called “red lines,” the articulation of context-specific standards for free and fair elections, and the establishment of a code of conduct (particularly for the press, which has been described as politicized and potentially divisive). It is also suggested that the UN mission and/or the international community may help with the security of the electoral process through training and equipping Congolese police. On the other hand, DRC government officials insist on the importance of organizing their own elections and request that support should be limited to logistical and financial support to the independent national electoral commission. The government of the DRC has committed to financing up to 60 percent of the elections, and calls on the international community to help fill the remaining funding gap.

#### **IV. Towards sustainable socio-economic development in the DRC**

In 2009, the global recession cut economic growth in the DRC to less than half its 2008 level. However, in 2010 GDP growth rebounded to 7.2%, driven by several large-scale mining contracts. Relative stability in the Kivus region since 2009 – with the agreement signed between the DRC and Rwanda at the end of 2008, and the signature in March 2009 of a general agreement between the Congolese government and several rebel groups, including the CNDP – has led to an increase in mining production and trade there, highlighting the strong link between peace and development. But along with development efforts focused on the Eastern DRC (e.g. the national post-conflict

stabilization and reconstruction program (STAREC) and the international strategy in support of security and stabilization in Eastern DRC (ISSSS)), sustainable and inclusive socio-economic development must be felt at the national level as well. In particular, many obstacles to foreign direct investment remain in the DRC (e.g. inadequate infrastructure and difficult operating conditions, corruption and lack of transparency, and the perception of insecurity and weak rule of law). Such factors have led many Western companies to leave the country over the last decade. Much remains to be done to increase government revenues, for example by establishing stricter control over the exploitation and export of mineral resources.

Healthy GDP growth rates, however, can often mask widespread poverty. In spite of the DRC's vast natural wealth, 75 percent of Congolese continue to live on less than one dollar a day. Much of the GDP growth has been driven by large companies (mining, telecommunication, etc.) and has not generated mass employment, particularly for the youth of the DRC, which represent almost two-thirds of the population. To improve employment opportunities, some suggest that the informal economy and small- and medium-sized enterprises could be given more support, including by regularizing certain trading regimes and facilitating greater regional economic integration. Transformative, or value-added, industries – currently lacking in the DRC – would represent significant job creation potential and should be given as much attention as the extractive industries.

Representatives of the DRC government contend that the DRC is finally enjoying a level of security and stability; and as such, the time is right for the international community to shift from humanitarian assistance towards creating a vast economic development plan for the country.

## **Conclusion**

The importance of national ownership to any sustainable strategy was a recurring theme of the seminar on the way forward for MONUSCO. To achieve such ownership, the government should not only define the strategy, but it should also communicate with and win the support of the Congolese people. As relayed in this summary, the seminar discussions exposed some differences among stakeholders' assessments of the security situation in Eastern DRC and regarding the role of the international community, particularly as the country prepares for the forthcoming elections. Ultimately, the discussions showed the need for continuing a constructive and open dialogue among the major stakeholders. This seminar represents one contribution to this dialogue that will hopefully continue during the upcoming debate of the Security Council on May 18.

## Annex

### Closing Remarks

Ambassador Atoki Ileka

*Permanent Representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the United Nations*

April 28, 2011

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Dear Friends and Colleagues,

As a result of our substantial discussions and exchanges, we have been able to generate ideas and formulate proposals which will no doubt continue to fuel our reflections, at a time when the United Nations and the Congolese Government are due over the next few days to consider the future of their partnership in order to allow the Democratic Republic of Congo to emerge from the darkness that has lasted for too long.

There is a time for everything. And the time has come for the Congolese people to regain control of their country's future and destiny. If we want to claim the respect to which we are entitled under international law, then we have to end 15 years of some sort of assistance, and formulate and implement ourselves these policies that must respond to the most profound aspirations of the Congolese people, present the Democratic Republic of Congo - this beautiful and great country - in a different light, beyond the sordid aspects of life, by extolling in particular the dynamism of its young people who want to achieve their full potential, as well as the richness and diversity of the peoples that make up the Congolese nation.

I ask you to bear in mind that in the eyes of God and History this is our responsibility, not that of our neighboring countries, not that of MONUSCO, or of others.

The Government is the first to recognize that the commitment of the United Nations, of numerous countries with which we are linked by history or by deep ties of friendship, as well as several Government Organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), has been and continues to be extraordinary and constitutes a blessing in many respects. But we must evolve.

And it remains convinced that the United Nations' commitment to the Congo, which doesn't date from the context created by the implementation of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, signed on 10 July 1999 between the warring parties in the Congo war, but in fact from July 1960, even before the country joined the universal organization, that this commitment, as I was saying, will continue and will never be denied.

Dear Friends and Colleagues,

This is 2011. 2011 is an election year in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Consequently, the first challenge, the most urgent and immediate challenge that the DRC and the United Nations will face, is the organization and successful holding of the next elections. All of the current stakeholders agree. The Government has gambled that it will be able to organize the elections by the constitutional deadline.

The Government has already requested assistance from the United Nations which would take the form of and be limited to MONUSCO's logistical and technical assistance to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). Indeed, the Government believes that, compared with 2006, the security situation has become more stable almost everywhere in the territory, while a legislative framework is being peacefully finalized marked by the harmonious functioning of the institutions and the vitality of the democratic debate. It follows that MONUSCO's role shouldn't be more extensive than the role played by MONUC in 2006 when the country was still racked by armed conflict and when State authority was not yet being effectively exerted in a major part of the country.

The Government will therefore value the support of the international community, without delay, in preparing the electoral process and encouraging the Congolese State in its determination to assume its sovereign responsibilities associated with the successful holding of the elections, through the institutions established for this purpose by the Constitution and the Laws of the Republic. There will certainly be imperfections. However, you should understand how important it is for us to organize these elections ourselves. This is undoubtedly a question of sovereignty, but it's also above all a question of dignity.

I would like, on a personal note, to add that the successful organization of these elections will depend on the way in which the electoral debates are organized, in the medium and long-term. We need to do away with the temporary structures like the "independent" Electoral Commissions and return, as is being done in many countries, to a permanent structure within the administration, or, more precisely, within the Ministry responsible for Internal Affairs.

Once we have got over the hurdle of the elections we will have to consider the Republic's partnership with the United Nations. It can no longer be "business as usual." As the English-speaking countries say so well, "we need to move on."

Dear Friends and Colleagues,

During the Security Council debate on Haiti on 6 April, President René Preval underlined, among other things, how important it was that "the tanks, armored vehicles and soldiers must be replaced by bulldozers, engineers, more police instructors, experts to support the justice system and the prison system, etc." I share this sentiment of the Haitian president, at the same time as maintaining, as far as my country is concerned, the spirit and the letter of resolution 1925 (2010).

It's clear that the efforts under way must continue in order to neutralize the armed troops and groups so that we can ensure the security of the regions that are experiencing recurring political-military crises. Peacebuilding and strengthening security, without which there can be no lasting economic activity, as well as peace-making in the country and good-neighborly relations with the adjacent countries, must be a permanent objective. Difficult living conditions, the lack of discipline, and the impunity of armed elements are also a cause of insecurity, both for the population and for companies, which drive economic development.

The support of the United Nations for the Government's efforts to strengthen its institutional capacities in order to build peace and strengthen its development activities aimed at ensuring the country's long term stability will thus be the next main challenge during the next phase, i.e. the post-electoral phase, of our partnership.

In this respect, the United Nations and the partners will focus particular attention on the new government priorities of peacebuilding on which the country's stability and development will greatly depend and which are, in terms of:



## 1. Peace and governance

- The respect for the rights and freedoms of the citizens; the promotion of civic participation in decision-making; the participation of women and their effective representation in the decision-making bodies.
- The formulation and implementation of poverty reduction policies and strategies. Particular attention will be given to young people who represent almost two thirds of the 70 million Congolese souls. Youth employment and the empowerment of women should be a priority.
- The pursuit of the “zero tolerance” policy against corruption and economic embezzlement.

## 2. Protection of civilians

- The pursuit of the good neighborly policy, the fundamental principle of Congolese diplomacy since its independence, the only principle capable of easing or eliminating the tensions observed on the borders.
- The support aimed at establishing the conditions favorable to the return, in complete safety, of foreign and Congolese citizens, each to their own country, and the return of the internally displaced persons to their own communities.
- Continued support for the Government’s action to protect the population against violations of human rights and international humanitarian law. Increased efforts are warranted with respect to the fight against foreign armed groups. This will require the full cooperation of the countries of origin of these armed groups, as well as the cooperation of the future State of South Sudan in the fight against the LRA.

## 3. Reform of the judicial sector

- The continued effort to reestablish the rule of law.
- Support for the government petitions aimed at securing for the Congolese population justice and compensation for the harm suffered during all these years of war. I am thinking in particular of support for the mixed courts to be created within the framework of the Mapping Report which should have jurisdiction over the crimes committed not just by the Congolese but also and above all by foreigners, whether African or not. The credibility of these courts is at stake and this would constitute a test of the international community’s determination to ensure that true international justice be imposed.
- Support for the programs to upgrade, expand and equip the courts and tribunals; strengthening the capacity of the legal system by improving working conditions through the building of infrastructures, including prison infrastructure, and the reform of enforcement procedures.

## 4. Reform of the security sector

- Taking into account in all strategies, on the one hand, the continued existence of remnants of national and foreign criminal gangs, and, on the other hand, the current results of the efforts to reform the country’s armed forces and security forces in the new and most recent MONUSCO configuration.

- Support for the reform of the national police in accordance with the law on the functioning of the police, in order to equip the country as swiftly as possible with this force which is destined to take over MONUSCO's security functions. The other reforms will be introduced by the Government with the possible support of bilateral partners and coordinated by the High Council for Defense, in agreement, if necessary, with MONUSCO.

- The clear definition of the link between DDR and security sector reform.

#### 5. DDRR and DDRRR

- The international community's continued commitment.

- The necessary evaluation of the strategies implemented with respect to DDRR and DDRRR. This will require the development of new strategies, while not ruling out any options offering alternative strategies for the disarmament and repatriation of armed groups; as well as the design, development and implementation of national DDRR and DDRRR programs by local actors.

#### 6. Reform of the civil service and the strengthening of its capacities

- Resumption of the public administration reform program.

- Increased discipline within the civil service, as well as the improvement of working conditions and improved pay for civil servants.

- The rehabilitation of a higher-education institute or the creation of a National Academy of Public Administration.

#### 7. Reconstruction and economic recovery of the country

- The continuation of stabilization and reconstruction programs such as STAREC which would be worth resolutely continuing, notably with respect to its "economic recovery" component.

- The formulation by the United Nations country team of sectoral consolidation and development strategies for the regions that are no longer experiencing conflict but continue to face the consequences of instability in the north and east of the country. These strategies would contribute to and complement the national strategy contained in the Strategic Document for Growth and Poverty Reduction (DSCR).

- Assistance with a view towards the improved mobilization of resources for the country's economic recovery. This also requires the rational use of its natural resources; support for the Government's Program, notably its "financial and material assistance" component.

- Promotion of domestic and foreign private investment.

- Promotion of regional integration in the best interests of each country. Accordingly, the United Nations country team, and more specifically the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), is the government's privileged partner with respect to achieving, to some degree, some of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Dear Friends and Colleagues,

These are thus a few avenues that we are proposing for discussion, for this debate which marks the start, through active cooperation with the United Nations, of a new era guaranteeing the security of the Democratic Republic of Congo in support of strengthening its institutions and its economic development.

The Democratic Republic of Congo still expects a great deal from the UN mission which undeniably has recognized capacities that can help strengthen the Congolese public institutions. To that end, a reconfigured mandate that would allow the Congolese State and its technical experts to assume their roles in an adult and responsible way is essential. Since, ultimately, identifying the way ahead for MONUSCO comes down to combining the concept of reconfiguring the mission and its subsequent and gradual withdrawal from the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The Government will continue to urge friendly countries, donor countries, the international and regional organizations, and the non-governmental organizations to continue to be involved, since the DRC will never stop needing their valuable assistance in support of its relentless efforts to achieve peace, stability, and dignity for the country and its people.

I want to thank you all once again and congratulate you on the warmth and friendliness that prevailed throughout your discussions.

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