



# Security Council

Seventy-seventh year

**9078<sup>th</sup>** meeting

Monday, 27 June 2022, 3 p.m.

New York

*Provisional*

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*President:* Mr. Hoxha . . . . . (Albania)

*Members:*

Brazil . . . . .	Mr. De Almeida Filho
China . . . . .	Mr. Dai Bing
France . . . . .	Mr. De Rivière
Gabon . . . . .	Mrs. Kambangoye Ankassa
Ghana . . . . .	Mr. Agyeman
India . . . . .	Mr. Ravindran
Ireland . . . . .	Ms. Moran
Kenya . . . . .	Mr. Kiboino
Mexico . . . . .	Mrs. Buenrostro Massieu
Norway . . . . .	Ms. Juul
Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Polyanskiy
United Arab Emirates . . . . .	Mr. Abushahab
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . .	Mr. Kariuki
United States of America . . . . .	Mr. Mills

## Agenda

The situation in Libya

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*The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.*

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **The situation in Libya**

**The President:** In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of Libya to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the following briefers to participate in this meeting: Ms. Rosemary DiCarlo, Under-Secretary-General for Political and Peacebuilding Affairs; and Ms. Bushra Alhodiri, President and Operations Manager of Fezzan Libya Organization, to participate in this meeting.

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

I now give the floor to Ms. DiCarlo.

**Ms. DiCarlo:** I am grateful for the opportunity to brief the Security Council on recent developments in Libya.

On the political front, I am pleased to report that, since the most recent briefing to the Council on 20 June, there has been some progress on the constitutional track. The third and final round of consultations of the House of Representatives and the High State Council regarding a constitutional basis for elections was held in Cairo from 12 to 20 June. The representatives reached a broad consensus on most of the contentious articles in the 2017 constitutional proposal. However, differences remain on measures governing the transitional period leading to the elections. Nevertheless, the progress achieved is commendable. The meeting was the first time that the House of Representatives and the High State Council engaged in a serious review of the constitutional proposal since its adoption in 2017.

We are encouraged that the leaders of both Chambers have accepted the invitation of Special Adviser Stephanie Williams to meet in Geneva from 28 to 29 June in order to discuss and reach agreement on measures governing the transitional period leading to elections. We are firmly convinced that elections are the only path to settle the disagreements over the democratic legitimacy of all Libyan institutions. Let me recall that the House of Representatives was elected in 2014 for a four-year term, and the High State Council,

which is the legacy body of the Libyan General National Congress, was elected nearly 10 years ago, in 2012. I encourage the Security Council and all of Libya's international partners to call on the leadership of the two Chambers to seize the opportunity presented by the agreement reached in Cairo. It is high time to agree on outstanding issues and make the elections happen.

We remain committed to supporting Libyan national reconciliation efforts, working closely with our partners, including the African Union. In that regard, we welcome the launch, on 23 June, of the Presidency Council's strategic vision for national reconciliation. We appreciate the document's focus on addressing the root causes of conflict. At the same time, we reiterate the need for a reconciliation process that is inclusive, victim-centred, rights-based and grounded in the principles of transitional justice, with a focus on truth, accountability and reparations.

Continued political divisions are contributing to a tense security environment in and around Tripoli. The issue of the executive has yet to be resolved. As armed groups continue to position themselves in support of either Mr. Dbeibah or Mr. Bashagha, the risk of escalation increases. I reiterate the readiness of the United Nations to facilitate dialogue between Mr. Dbeibah and Mr. Bashagha. I again call on all Libyan political and security actors to exercise maximum restraint and address all disputes through dialogue.

I also welcome the recent resumption of the activities of the 5+5 Joint Military Commission (JMC) and the Chiefs of Staff and commend their joint call for maintaining calm and stability in the country. On 7 June in Tunis, Special Adviser Williams co-chaired — with France — a plenary meeting of the Security Working Group of the Berlin process, with the participation of the JMC. The discussion focused on the need to strengthen the ceasefire, including by ensuring progress in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of armed groups and militias and the withdrawal of mercenaries, foreign fighters and foreign forces from Libya.

The meeting also provided a valuable opportunity for the Libyan ceasefire monitors from the east and west to hold their first discussions to operationalize the Libyan-led and Libyan-owned ceasefire monitoring mechanism. With the facilitation of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL), the JMC and the local monitors plan to meet again in Tunis on 28 and 29 June. Meanwhile, UNSMIL ceasefire monitors

continue to be based in Tripoli, pending approval by relevant authorities of accommodation and workspace, among other conditions necessary for the monitors to operate from Sirte.

On the economic front, the partial shutdown of Libya's oil sector continues. Since 16 April, the shutdown has reduced Libyan oil exports by one third and cost the country \$3.1 billion in lost revenue. In addition, the disagreement over the control and use of public funds that triggered the partial shutdown continues and could lead to further oil field closures in the near term. The suspension of oil revenue transfers could negatively impact the ability of the Government of National Unity to pay salaries and meet other spending needs, including for basic social services.

On a positive note, I am pleased to report that, on 7 June, the United Nations and the Ministry of Planning signed the first Sustainable Development Cooperation Framework, covering the period 2023 to 2025. The Framework serves to guide the peacebuilding and development work of United Nations entities in Libya, in alignment with national priorities and in support of achieving the Sustainable Development Goals.

The human rights situation in Libya remains alarming. Nine civil society and humanitarian workers who were arrested between November 2021 and February 2022 for peacefully exercising their right to the freedom of expression remain in detention. On 8 June, four of those arbitrarily detained persons were not permitted to attend a scheduled court hearing. Moreover, the hearing fell far short of fair trial standards.

I remain concerned that civic space is consistently being eroded. Arbitrary restrictions continue to be imposed on civil society organizations. Politically active women and men defending human rights are targeted with hate speech and incitement to violence, compromising their safety and security.

Since May, UNSMIL has received further reports of serious allegations of torture against Libyans, migrants and asylum-seekers in detention facilities and prisons. Libyan authorities must investigate all allegations of torture and other human rights violations in detention centres, including those facilities under the control of the Ministry of Interior's Department for Combating Illegal Immigration. Those responsible for grave human rights violations, including atrocity crimes, must be held accountable domestically or, as applicable, by international justice mechanisms such as the International Criminal Court.

Regrettably, for many victims and survivors, justice and accountability — including remedies and reparation — are elusive or painfully slow. For example, on 14 June, the Tripoli Appeals Court referred the 1996 Abu Salim massacre case to the military justice system, asserting that it lacked the competency to process the case. The most recent judgement, coupled with the time lapsed, suggests that the Libyan criminal justice system is unable or unwilling to try individuals for atrocity crimes.

To that end, the extension of the mandate of the Independent Fact-Finding Mission on Libya is essential to the investigation of, and reporting on, violations of international humanitarian law and international human rights law. The Fact-Finding Mission's role will serve to advance human rights, contribute to securing sustainable peace and foster rights-based national reconciliation in Libya.

As of 14 June, the United Nations had recorded the return of an additional 10,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) to their places of origin since the start of the year. The total number of IDPs now stands at 159,000. However, threats of forced evictions of IDPs remain of concern. In Tripoli on 15 June, about 90 displaced families were threatened by members of armed groups with bulldozers. They were ordered to evacuate the buildings where they reside within 10 days. That warning follows forced evictions of three camps hosting displaced Tawerghan families in May. Increased efforts are needed on the part of the Government, with the support of United Nations partners, to find durable solutions for those who remain internally displaced, in line with international standards.

In conclusion, let me stress that Libya has made significant progress in the past few years towards a more inclusive society. For the sake of the Libyan people, we should not allow that progress to dissipate. The United Nations priority in Libya remains to facilitate a return to the electoral process, based on a sound and consensual constitutional basis for elections. That is what the Libyan people have asked for. The outcome of the Cairo talks is a step in the right direction. It is my hope the upcoming meeting to be held in Geneva between the heads of the House of Representatives and the High Council of State will result in a final agreement that will lead to the holding of elections at the earliest possible date. Let me stress that the Security Council's continued and united support for those efforts is essential.

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

I now give the floor to Ms. Alhodiri.

**Ms. Alhodiri:** My name is Bushra Alhodiri, and I am the Operations Manager of the Fezzan Libya Organization. I address the Security Council from the south of Libya in the city of Sabha. I thank Council members for giving me the opportunity to brief them on the participation of women in political space and public service and the obstacles they encounter.

Since being appointed in 2016 to the position of Operations Manager at the Fezzan Libya Organization, a local non-governmental organization, I have managed more than 30 projects in areas ranging from social cohesion to the empowerment of young people and women, local governance capacity-building and much more. As I lead community meetings and engage with local authorities on a daily basis, I almost always find myself the only woman in a male-dominated environment. The traditional norms and habits and the male nature of the society makes it difficult for women to be included in reconciliation efforts and to be among the decision-makers.

In managing those projects, I was required to meet with local authorities, tribal elders, religious officials and high-ranking members of the community in order to analyse conflict indicators and design the best intervention approach to bring community members together. At the beginning, some of those people refused to participate in a meeting led by a young woman — there was an unwelcoming atmosphere — and most of them did not take my words seriously. However, I was determined to make sure they understood that I was their only alternative for regaining stability and improving the provision of services in the city. It took them a long time to embrace me and pay attention to what I had to say.

The issues surrounding female participation in Libya are complex. Socially speaking, women are still seen as weak and are allowed to work in only a few kinds of job. In terms of the economy, employment policies and the workplace discriminate against women.

The political participation of women also continues to face significant challenges. Women in Libya have face systemic violence from the Government and, as a result, remain second-class citizens. Women who attempt to increase their participation in peace negotiations are often rejected, as was the case when the Minister of State for Women's Affairs announced Libya's withdrawal from the memorandum of understanding on the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000), on

women and peace and security, which had been signed with UN-Women.

The memorandum of understanding had sparked widespread controversy, a backlash from community members and assumptions by religious leaders that the memorandum and the resolution itself contravened the religious principles, norms and habits of the community.

More than a decade has passed since the peaceful revolution turned to an armed internal war. Those of us who live in Libya nowadays struggle to survive, especially women and young people.

One of the biggest issues in Libya that impedes women's participation in politics, prevents gender equality and marginalizes women's future engagement is their insecurity. Civil society organization activists, women human rights defenders and journalists continue to be the targets of social media harassment, physical attacks, kidnappings and murders. Such concerns have serious implications for the future of women's rights in Libya and affect their inclusion in the country's democratic process.

Since 2011, we have had many Governments dominated by men, but recent Governments in Libya have taken positive steps by appointing more women to higher positions, such as those of Minister of Justice and Minister for Foreign Affairs, which has never been achieved before.

In that context, tremendous progress has been made for the benefit of Libyan women. For the first time in the nation's history, Libyan women participated more actively in preparations for the national elections held in 2021. There were two female presidential candidates, and many Libyan women joined political parties. There are also other clear signs showing that Libyan women are actively participating in politics.

Increasing the number of women in public service is an excellent starting point, but achieving the meaningful participation of women also requires adopting pro-women legislation. It is time for Libyan policymakers and the international community to understand that achieving true democracy, justice and equality for everyone requires women's significant participation. In that regard, we hope that the Council will endorse the following recommendations concerning Libyan women.

First, efforts to encourage women's participation in the political sphere and in peacebuilding in Libya must continue, regardless of the obstacles. The continuous

support for, and engagement of, women at the national level in peace negotiations are essential.

Secondly, improving women-centred services is essential. Women are in general far removed from Government programmes. Greater coordination among Governmental bodies, non-governmental organizations and the international community is required to improve the programmes delivered for women at the national and local levels.

Thirdly, we must increase women's meaningful participation in decision-making at the national and international levels in order to give Libyan women a meaningful voice in decision-making and governance.

Fourthly, we must strengthen the position of women through legislation and increase the quota of women in the upcoming parliamentary election to 50 per cent, with even greater participation in legislative committees.

Lastly, in order to strengthen the ideals of equality, justice and democracy it is important to promote and disseminate a culture of gender equality that prioritizes women's participation. The support of the authorities of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya to create a national framework for promoting the personal growth of displaced women and female victims of domestic violence in rural areas is essential.

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

I would like to draw the attention of speakers to paragraph 22 of presidential note S/2017/507, which encourages all participants in Council meetings to deliver their statements in five minutes or less, in line with the Security Council's commitment to making more effective use of open meetings.

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements.

**Mr. Kariuki** (United Kingdom): I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing. I also thank Ms. Alhodiri for reminding us of the importance of women's participation in matters of peace and security.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Special Adviser of the Secretary-General Stephanie Williams for all her work on Libya accomplished over the past few years and to welcome the Secretary-General's efforts to appoint a Special Representative. We look forward to a prompt appointment.

I will make four points today.

First, the United Nations has been clear that, although the December election did not go ahead, the Libyan Political Dialogue Forum road map has not expired. We acknowledge the focus by some stakeholders on the perceived deadline of the road map, but parallel Governments and parallel institutions are not in the interests of the Libyan people, and neither is unconstrained spending. We urge all parties to recognize that Libya's resources must be managed in a transparent, responsible and accountable manner throughout the country for the benefit of the Libyan people.

Secondly, we welcome the progress made during the talks in Cairo between the joint committee of the House of Representatives and High State Council, facilitated by Special Adviser Williams. The onus is now on the leaders of the two Chambers to urgently finalize the legal basis for elections and deliver on the Libyan people's desire to choose their leaders. We therefore welcome plans for the meeting to be held in Geneva in the coming days. Both leaders must now put the interests of Libya first. Stability in Libya can be achieved only through an inclusive political process that includes the holding of credible, transparent and inclusive parliamentary and presidential elections as soon as possible.

Thirdly, it is more important than ever that we secure the withdrawal of all foreign forces and mercenaries from Libya, including the Wagner Group. Their continued presence is detrimental to peace and security in Libya and the broader region. All foreign forces and mercenaries should leave Libya without delay. We support the work of the 5+5 Joint Military Commission to implement the October 2020 ceasefire agreement and urge further progress on its implementation. All parties involved should engage with the United Nations and the Commission to honour the commitments made.

Lastly, the United Kingdom reaffirms its readiness to work with Libya and all international partners to build a more peaceful and stable future for the country and for the Libyan people. We will be in touch with Security Council members in the coming days on the upcoming mandate renewals of the Panel of Experts and the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL). As everyone knows, we have faced difficulties over the past nine months in agreeing a substantive mandate. I that hope all Council members are ready to engage in a constructive discussion on the future of the Mission and to agree a longer-term mandate to provide UNSMIL with the stability it needs.



**Mr. Agyeman** (Ghana) (*spoke in French*): I have the honour to deliver this statement on behalf of the three African members of the Security Council, namely, Gabon, Kenya and Ghana.

We thank Under-Secretary-General Rosemary DiCarlo and Bushra Alhodiri for their briefings. We welcome the participation of our colleague Ambassador Taher Elsonni, Permanent Representative of Libya.

(*spoke in English*)

The past few weeks have seen great efforts to break through the protracted transition period, which is currently further encumbered by a debilitating political stalemate. We commend the achievement of the joint committee of the House of Representatives and High State Council for the progress they have made so far in seeking a constitutional basis for elections. We urge that the momentum be sustained to overcome the pending issues. We acknowledge the work of Stephanie Williams, Special Adviser of the Secretary-General, in that regard.

The peace process involves the resumption of dignity for a people who can move forward the course of their nation from decisions born of inclusive dialogue and an inclusive national reconciliation process. A truly Libyan-led and -owned peace process cannot be achieved without mainstreaming dialogue and reconciliation at all its stages. That is why we insist on continued dialogue and the comprehensive national reconciliation process, which is also espoused under resolution 2510 (2020). In that regard, we laud the Libyan authorities for the launch of the strategic vision for the national reconciliation process. We firmly believe that the foundations on which the elections are held and the elections themselves should constructively fit within that outline. We would like our Libyan brothers and sisters to remember that the peace process is therefore not entirely about elections.

Nevertheless, we would encourage the holding of an election that ensures the full participation of Libyan women and young people. We caution against any attempt to dictate how Libyans should forge a peace path. Rather, as the Security Council, we are duty-bound to ring-fence all the achievements of the peace process so that they may harden into solid blocks that can guarantee sustainability. We also encourage international support to that end. We acknowledge the African Union's commitment, including as reaffirmed during the 23 June launch of the strategy, and we welcome the African Union Peace and Security

Council's meeting to be held on 29 June to discuss the situation in Libya.

We are concerned about reports of violence in and around Tripoli. We caution against any resort to violence and urge restraint and calm, especially in such a delicate period. We also call on all parties to desist from inflammatory rhetoric. The continued presence of foreign fighters, foreign forces and mercenaries and the blatant violations of the arms embargo are, despicably, providing an enabling environment for tensions. In that regard, we call on all foreign fighters, foreign forces and mercenaries to depart from Libya immediately. We also welcome the 5+5 Joint Military Commission talks held last week in Cairo and the resolve to ensure that departure, as well as the unification of the military.

We urge the Security Council to support that resolve through a sustained push for the implementation of the ceasefire agreement and adherence to the arms embargo. We recall the ravaging effects that the conflict has had on the Sahel region. We must remain conscious that the Libya peace process is inextricably linked to the stability of the region.

Consultations with neighbouring States and States in the region are therefore critical. International support should also be extended to cross-border cooperation on tackling arms trafficking and human smuggling and trafficking, inter alia. We further urge that disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) efforts not only be focused within Libya but also be undertaken in a collaborative approach with neighbouring States and regional organizations. The cross-border angle must also take into account the conducive environment that the conflict provides for terrorism to grow. There is a need to include deliberate counter-terrorism capacity-building and support in security sector reform and DDR efforts.

The inhumane treatment of migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers transiting Libya to Europe is despicable. The preamble of the Charter of the United Nations stipulates our determination, as the peoples of the United Nations, to "reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women". That is unfortunately a fable for our brothers and sisters fording the Mediterranean waters every day as they seek a better life.

We urge that all migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers be treated with dignity, whether on land or at sea, and be treated equally everywhere in the world. We

also call on all those enabling their inhumane treatment to desist from directly or indirectly doing so. That includes targeted funding and information-sharing for their detention under inhumane conditions and information-sharing for their interception at sea and return to Libyan ports.

It is necessary that the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) be clearly structured and led to enable the Council to support Libya in a well-coordinated manner. We therefore look forward to the position of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General being filled, and we welcome the recent nomination of an African by the Secretary-General for consideration in that regard. We also urge fellow Council members to commit to building consensus and delivering a substantive UNSMIL mandate to the people of Libya in July.

Finally, we urge that any action on Libya's frozen assets be taken in consultation with the Libyan authorities in order to ensure that all of Libya's frozen assets be preserved for the eventual return and benefit of the people of Libya.

In conclusion, we reaffirm our commitment to a truly Libyan-led and Libyan-owned peace process, with respect for Libya's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

**Mr. Ravindran (India):** I would like to thank the Under-Secretary-General for her briefing. I also thank Ms. Bushra Alhodiri for her remarks, and I welcome the presence of the Permanent Representative of Libya at today's meeting.

We note with concern that not only is the progress we saw after the signing of the ceasefire agreement in danger of coming to a halt but there are also indications of a risk of backsliding. We noted with a high degree of concern the reports of armed clashes and mobilization of armed groups in and around Tripoli.

It is also regrettable that there is still no agreement on the constitutional basis for holding elections. In that regard, we note that the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the High Council of State are scheduled to meet in Geneva tomorrow to discuss the draft constitutional framework for holding elections.

We urge all the parties concerned to strive to resolve all outstanding political issues peacefully, keeping the larger interests of the Libyan people in mind. We hope that all parties will work together to maintain peace and stability in the country. In that regard, we once again

reiterate the importance of holding presidential and parliamentary elections at the earliest opportunity. It has been about half a year since the missed milestone for holding elections, as decided by Libyans themselves. It is important that the stalemate not be allowed to continue.

The priority right now is to ensure that elections be held at the earliest opportunity in a free, fair, inclusive and credible manner. We hope that all parties in Libya can unite around that common purpose. It is important for the Security Council and the international community to support the Libyan people as they prepare for the elections. Violence in any form could undermine the progress achieved since 2020 and should be strongly opposed.

It is also important to see concrete progress in the full and complete withdrawal of foreign forces and mercenaries. It is regrettable that, more than a year and a half since the signing of the ceasefire agreement, we have yet to see tangible progress in that regard. The continued presence of foreign forces and mercenaries is detrimental to the peace and stability of the country and the region.

In that regard, we would also like to stress that, as noted very clearly by the Panel of Experts of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) in its recent report, the so-called military training provided by some countries and the presence of their troops on Libyan soil is also a clear violation of Security Council resolutions, more specifically of paragraph 9 of resolution 1970 (2011).

It is important to ensure that the political process in Libya be fully Libyan-led and Libyan-owned, with no imposition or external interference. In that context, let me also stress the importance of planning for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of armed groups and non-State armed actors. Libya also needs an inclusive and comprehensive national reconciliation process.

It is important for the international community to focus its attention on the threat of terrorism in Africa, particularly in the Sahel region. The reports of the Secretary-General and of the Panel of Experts have highlighted the presence of training camps of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and its affiliates in southern Libya. ISIL's continued ability to launch attacks is deeply concerning. The focus of the Council should be on eliminating every threat posed by ISIL and other terrorist groups anywhere in the

world. Terrorism is a growing threat to Africa, and it is important that the Security Council focus on that issue before it is too late.

India has traditionally enjoyed close and mutually beneficial bilateral ties with Libya, and we remain committed to supporting Libya and its people in their endeavour to bring about lasting peace in the country.

**Ms. Juul** (Norway): I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing and Ms. Bushra Alhodiri for her insightful remarks.

Let me start by reiterating our support for the United Nations and for Special Adviser Williams, in particular for her efforts to facilitate talks in Cairo between the House of Representatives and the High Council of State. We are encouraged by the progress achieved during the most recent round of negotiations towards agreeing on a constitutional framework for elections. We call on the leaders on both sides to hold follow-up meetings to resolve outstanding issues. We are pleased to learn that such a meeting will be held in Geneva this week. The aim must be to hold free, fair and inclusive national elections as soon as possible.

We are worried by the increased tensions in recent weeks, especially in and around Tripoli. It is essential that all actors in Libya contribute to upholding the ceasefire and preserving the calm. The progress achieved since 2020 must not go to waste. Libya needs stability, not another violent conflict. We are therefore worried by the rapid deterioration in public services, particularly the education and health services, as well as about the significant protection challenges. The further destabilization of political dynamics might threaten the ceasefire agreement and the Government's viability, thereby risking a resumption of the conflict.

Let me also reiterate our concern about the situation for civil society and human rights defenders in Libya. The Libyan authorities must uphold their human rights obligations.

Lastly, Norway supports the extension of the mandate of the Independent Fact-Finding Mission on Libya. It is important that the Mission can continue its work to advance compliance with human rights obligations and a rights-based reconciliation process in Libya.

**Mr. Mills** (United States of America): I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing. I also want to thank our civil society briefer for her very helpful and insightful report and recommendations.

The United States is gravely concerned about the situation in Libya. It is appalling that small cabals of men, in most cases backed by weapons rather than popular legitimacy, have spent the past six months cutting deals and crafting schemes to determine who will be in power and who will get which spoils, while some 3 million Libyans are still waiting to exercise their right to vote for Libya's leaders.

Libya has reached a critical moment, and its leaders must choose a trajectory — whether to build consensus and foster unity that can lead to fair elections and stability or to wallow in the status quo and consign the Libyan people to uncertainty, stagnation and potential violence.

Pronouncing that the road map of the Libyan Political Dialogue Forum has expired does not in any way change the facts on the ground in Libya or break the political impasse. It in fact increases uncertainty and the potential for violence. It is also a distraction. For too long, Libyan leaders have given excuses and sought to delay elections in order to extend their time in power. A new fight over leadership will only delay elections further and prolong the instability.

The major achievement of the Libyan Political Dialogue Forum was an agreement to hold elections. That goal is not only still valid and achievable, but reflects the freely expressed will of the majority of Libyan citizens. We, too, are encouraged by the progress made by the joint committee of the House of Representatives and the High State Council towards establishing a constitutional framework for presidential and parliamentary elections.

We welcome the news that the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Aguila Saleh, and the President of the High Council of State will convene in Geneva this week to discuss the draft constitutional framework for elections. We urge them to work in good faith to bridge the remaining differences. That sort of leadership is desperately needed in Libya. It can be a catalyst that sets the country on the path to free and fair elections.

Let me join other speakers in also offering our gratitude to Special Adviser Stephanie Williams for answering the United Nations call, first, to work with the Libyans to help bring about the 2020 ceasefire and the stabilization that followed and then again to convene and support the parties towards the brink of an agreement on the constitutional framework for elections. We call on the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) to fully implement the



recommendations made by the independent strategic review to better position itself so that it can effectively carry out its mandate and support the people of Libya in their demand for stability, peace and prosperity.

In conclusion, it is now also time that the Security Council provide UNSMIL with a clear and comprehensive one-year mandate so that the Mission can work confidently to address the many issues facing Libya. UNSMIL needs the Council's backing if it is to be most effective, and a substantive mandate renewal for a full year is the best way to convey that support.

**Mr. De Almeida Filho (Brazil):** Let me start by thanking Under-Secretary-General Rosemary DiCarlo and Ms. Bushra Alhodiri for their briefings. I also welcome the delegation of Libya to this meeting.

I will comment on three aspects today.

The first aspect is the ongoing political talks. We welcome the agreement between the High Council of State and the House of Representatives that led to meetings to be held in Geneva tomorrow and on Wednesday. We hope that the Libyan stakeholders will reach common ground on the outstanding constitutional issues and together build a framework for elections in the short term.

The second aspect is the reconciliation endeavours. We endorse the continued relevance and legitimacy of the road map of the Libyan Political Dialogue Forum. We also welcome the strategic vision of the National Reconciliation Project that the Presidency Council announced last week. We hope that the Project will be thoroughly implemented in the near future. Above all, we support the angle from which Libyan stakeholders are addressing that issue.

The third aspect is peace and security. Unfortunately, acts of violence in Libya are still a matter of concern. That is why we reiterate how crucial the 2020 ceasefire agreement is. Indeed, the action plan of the 5+5 Joint Military Commission is a cornerstone feature of the ceasefire implementation. We commend the efforts to unify Libya's armed forces, which are also led by the 5+5 Joint Military Commission. We support considerate institution-building in Libya, led and undertaken by the Libyans themselves, with full national ownership, and we firmly believe that those institutions will strengthen Libya's capacity to foster peace and security.

**Mr. De Rivi re (France)** (*spoke in French*): I thank the Under-Secretary-General for her briefing.

France is concerned about the evolution of the situation in Libya, which risks reversing the progress made in recent years. In a context marked by the coexistence of two rival Governments, the risk of destabilization, or even the partition of the country, must not be taken lightly. The status quo therefore cannot be an option. The priority must be to resolve the crisis in the executive branch so as to establish a unified Government capable of leading the electoral process throughout Libya.

With the date of 22 June now behind us, it is essential that all Libyan actors respect the ceasefire ahead of the presidential and parliamentary elections, as requested by the Libyans, whose commitment remains unchanged.

France fully supports the efforts of the United Nations to reach an agreement between the two Houses on a constitutional basis. That dialogue is necessary to define a new road map for holding the elections as soon as possible. The progress achieved at the Cairo meetings is a start. We now encourage the two Speakers of the Houses to finalize the agreement on the constitutional basis at the meeting in Geneva on 28 and 29 June and to enable its entry into force as soon as possible.

Such a dialogue is also needed to ease tensions and preserve stability in terms of security. That is necessary for the continued implementation of the ceasefire agreement, in particular the withdrawal of all foreign forces and mercenaries as soon as possible, with the aim of reuniting Libyan institutions, particularly military and security institutions.

In that regard, France welcomes the resumption of the work of the 5+5 Joint Military Commission. We remain ready to contribute to the implementation of a demobilization, disarmament and reintegration process, in conjunction with Libyan and regional actors. We recall the obligation of all Member States to respect the arms embargo.

France remains concerned about the continuing oil blockade. We support the proposals to freeze oil revenues and stand ready to help the Libyans to enable the transparent and fair management of the country's resources for the benefit of the entire population.

France calls for the renewal of the Independent Fact-Finding Mission on Libya, whose work is crucial in the light of the alarming violations of human rights, specifically migrants' rights and violations of international humanitarian law.

The Security Council must contribute to resolving the crisis by actively encouraging the resumption of an electoral process, which is crucial to lasting stabilization in Libya. We welcome the efforts of the Secretary-General to appoint a special representative as soon as possible and call on the members of the Council to cooperate to facilitate a meaningful renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya next month.

**Mrs. Buenrostro Massieu** (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): I, too, would like to thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing.

Mexico deplores the fact that the political process in Libya continues to be weakened by the lack of a genuine compromise on the holding of the elections. The situation has simply become unsustainable.

We note a concerning contradiction between the legitimate desire of almost 3 million Libyan citizens and the attitude of political groups, which, putting their individual interests above the collective interests, have resorted to all kinds of tactics to delay and obstruct the transition.

We hope that the leaders of the House of Representatives and the High Council of State will shoulder their historic responsibility and reach agreements on the outstanding issues during their meeting in Geneva.

Mexico encourages and supports the United Nations in the process of political facilitation and of promoting the inclusion of those Libyan stakeholders that are genuinely willing to resolve the problems that have hindered the elections process since December last year.

In the current context, we see a clear need to strengthen the United Nations Support Mission in Libya through robust leadership and a substantial mandate, in line with the challenges that the country is facing. We acknowledge the efforts of the Secretary-General to attain those goals, and we call on members of the Council to be guided by a constructive approach to the strengthening of the Mission.

In the area of security, we deplore the violent clashes that have been seen over the last few weeks on the outskirts of Tripoli, and we call on all factions to fully respect the ceasefire agreement. Those events show how urgent it is to move towards the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of armed groups and to respect the arms embargo. As Mexico has said

on prior occasions, so long as weapons are widely available, certain actors will opt for violence over political dialogue.

We welcome the resumption of the work of the 5+5 Joint Military Commission and urge it to take concrete steps forward in coordination with the region aimed at the withdrawal of foreign fighters. We would recall that the action plan on that issue was agreed in Geneva last October; to date, we have not seen any concrete steps forward.

In addition, Mexico underscores the importance of more information being available about the specific contribution of the United Nations component of the ceasefire monitoring mechanism. We hope that future reports of the Secretariat will contain more information about the results achieved.

Turning to the economic situation, Mexico condemns the actions that have been taken to boycott the exploitation and sale of Libyan oil. That boycott is unjustifiable, because the irresponsible behaviour of a few is depriving the Libyan people of resources that are essential to financing basic services and to address the difficult humanitarian situation prevailing in the country.

Finally, my country urges the Libyan authorities to ensure the protection of the rights of the most vulnerable groups in the conflict. Measures must urgently be taken to protect the rights of migrants and refugees. Work must also be done jointly with civil society to ensure that women and young people play their rightful role in Libya's political life.

**Mr. Dai Bing** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing and welcome the presence of the Permanent Representative of Libya.

The deadline set by the Libyan Political Dialogue Forum for political resolution expired on 22 June. Over the past 18 months, the ceasefire in Libya has generally held, and the political process has achieved many positive results. However, not all of the transitional tasks set out in the road map for political dialogue have been fulfilled. Differences still exist among all Libyan parties on such key issues as elections.

The end of the political transition period does not mean the end of the peace process. All Libyan parties should continue to put the interests of their country and people first, abide by the general direction of the political settlement, exercise the necessary restraint,

safeguard the hard-won peace and stability, continue to strengthen dialogue and consultation, and keep the peace process moving in the right direction.

In the light of the current situation and the briefing by the Secretariat, I wish to make the following observations.

First, we need to maintain the positive momentum of dialogue. Recently the House of Representatives and the High Council of State held three rounds of dialogue in Cairo and achieved positive results. The leaders of two institutions will continue to hold a dialogue in Geneva. China welcomes that development and appreciates Egypt's positive and constructive role in that regard.

China encourages all parties in Libya to maintain the current momentum of dialogue and resolve a package of issues through consultation, including on future political arrangements, the constitutional basis for elections and oil-revenue distribution.

The United Nations is the main channel for mediating the Libyan issue. It is essential to appoint a special representative as soon as possible and to resume the full functioning of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL). China continues to support the appointment of an African candidate as the Special Representative.

Secondly, we need to maintain security and stability in Libya. The current security situation in Libya is as sensitive as it is complex, with conflicts occurring from time to time in the western region. China is deeply concerned about that. Under current circumstances, all parties in Libya should exercise maximum restraint and refrain from any action that could escalate tensions so as to create an atmosphere favourable to the political process. Countries with influence to bear in Libya should play a positive role in that regard.

China welcomes the resumption of the meetings of the 5+5 Joint Military Commission in the near future and looks forward to the full and speedy deployment of the UNSMIL ceasefire monitoring team.

Thirdly, we must remain committed to the Libyan-owned and -led principle. Ultimately, the Libyan issue can be resolved only autonomously by the Libyan people themselves, in the light of their national conditions, through a comprehensive dialogue. The international community should fully respect Libya's sovereignty and ownership, fully heed and accommodate the concerns

of all Libyan parties, provide constructive assistance and refrain from imposing external solutions.

External military and political interference is an important reason why the Libyan issue is mired in difficulties. The international community should draw profound lessons from that fact and refrain from repeating past mistakes.

Fourthly, it is imperative to comprehensively advance the peace process. The economy and people's livelihoods and the peace process are mutually reinforcing. Petroleum is an important source of income in terms of economic development and improving people's livelihoods. China urges all parties to strengthen consultations on the distribution of oil revenues and the promotion of the early and full resumption of oil production.

Comprehensive national reconciliation is the key to lasting peace and stability in Libya. China welcomes the strategy and the five guiding principles for national reconciliation recently released by the Libyan Presidency Council and encourages all parties in Libya to strengthen cooperation with the African Union, the League of Arab States and other regional organizations in that regard.

Libya has long been concerned about the losses resulting from assets being frozen and has made specific demands. The Security Council and its Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya should actively study and respond to that request.

As we speak, Libya has once again come to a critical juncture. Regrettably, the Council has failed to reach consensus on a draft presidential statement. We hope that the Council can maintain its unity on the Libyan dossier, speak with one voice and play a positive and constructive role in advancing the Libyan peace process.

**Ms. Moran** (Ireland): I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her very helpful briefing. I want to thank our civil society briefer, Ms. Bushra Alhodiri, for the valuable insights and practical recommendations she has given to the Security Council. It is very much appreciated.

I want to begin today with the most important message I could convey to the Libyan parties. We implore them to set aside differences and narrow interests. We implore them to agree, as soon as possible, on a political framework. That framework should be a

Libyan-led and Libyan-owned process facilitated by the United Nations, and it should pave the way to free, fair and inclusive national elections. To the members of the Security Council and the wider international community, we ask them to hold true to the letter and spirit of the Berlin process, relevant Security Council resolutions and the conclusions from subsequent regional and international meetings on Libya towards realizing a peaceful, stable and prosperous Libya.

We note the third and final round of the United Nations-facilitated negotiations of the joint committee of the House of Representatives and the High Council of State last week. The Special Adviser's efforts have been instrumental to the progress achieved so far. But there is more to do. We therefore call on the two sides to avoid unilateral actions, and we warmly welcome that the parties have accepted Special Adviser Williams' invitation to meet in Geneva this week to discuss the draft constitutional framework for elections.

We call on all parties to ensure women's full, equal and meaningful participation in all aspects of Libya's political transition and peacebuilding efforts. We condemn all threats, reprisals and violence, both online and offline, targeting women, in particular women human rights defenders and peacebuilders, which, as Ms. Alhodiri set out for us, really put Libya's democratic future at risk today. Greater efforts must be made by the Libyan authorities to prevent those abhorrent acts so as to hold perpetrators accountable and review measures that restrict the work of civil society organizations.

The two reports of the Independent Fact-Finding Mission on Libya contained stark findings on human rights violations that impede Libya's democratic transition. We call on the Libyan authorities to investigate all violations of international law and ensure that those responsible are held to account. We strongly urge the renewal of the Mission's mandate so that it can continue its vital work.

We are concerned that, as the political stalemate drags on, the overall security situation in Libya grows increasingly unstable. That was evident in the deplorable violence witnessed in Tripoli in recent weeks. One thing remains abundantly clear: the Libyan people do not want a return to conflict.

We call on all actors to respect and uphold the October 2020 ceasefire agreement. We are pleased that the 5+5 Joint Military Commission continues to undertake its important work. We call for progress on the full withdrawal of all foreign fighters, foreign

forces and mercenaries, according to the action plan and in close cooperation with Libya's neighbours.

Addressing the underlying causes of conflict is also crucial to restoring peace and prosperity for all Libyans. That means ensuring the transparent, accountable, fair and equitable distribution of public wealth and resources for the Libyan people. It also means prioritizing national reconciliation to address deep political divisions and build sustainable peace from the bottom up.

In conclusion, we express our full support for the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL). Its critical role in the current electoral and political impasse is absolutely essential. We therefore urge Council members to support a substantive renewal of its mandate next month that can give it predictability and agency to facilitate the political process.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Stephanie Williams for her steadfast efforts to bridge the gap between the parties. We eagerly await the nomination of a new Special Representative of the Secretary-General to lead UNSMIL at this important moment for Libya and its people. Council members must fulfil their responsibilities and enable leadership of the Mission.

**Mr. Abushahab** (United Arab Emirates) (*spoke in Arabic*): I thank Under-Secretary-General Rosemary DiCarlo for her comprehensive briefing. We also thank Ms. Bushra Alhodiri for her valuable briefing, and we welcome the participation of Ambassador Taher Elsonni in today's meeting.

At the outset, we emphasize that this critical juncture in Libya, following the expiry of the timeline set out in the Libyan Political Dialogue Forum road map, requires Libyans to continue to engage in a responsible national dialogue and commit to full de-escalation. We therefore welcome the progress made by the Libyan parties after the conclusion of the third round of consultations of the constitutional track committee in Cairo. We look forward to the meetings that will be held this week, which we hope will lead to consensus on the points of contention. That will enable our Libyan brothers to take concrete steps based on a constitutional framework to facilitate the holding of free, fair, inclusive and credible parliamentary and presidential elections on a date agreed upon by Libyans themselves. In that context, we value the tireless efforts of the United Nations and the Arab Republic of Egypt in facilitating those consultations and encourage active



follow-up to those endeavours over the coming period to maintain the current momentum.

Paving the way for stability requires the removal of all obstacles to calm and ending the political divide between the Libyan parties. The most important of those obstacles is tackling the causes of insecurity, especially in the light of the escalation and recurrence of clashes among armed groups in Tripoli and the military build-up in its vicinity.

As a matter of priority, security and military institutions should be consolidated, and disarmament issues must be addressed. In that context, my country supports the initiative of the Libyan Presidential Council on national reconciliation, as well as efforts to address the general situation with a view to protecting Libyan civilians, particularly women and children. We also support the statement by the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States calling on all Libyan parties to maintain the ceasefire agreement, prevent its collapse and warn against the use of weapons.

In that context, we welcome the resumption recently of the 5+5 Joint Military Commission under the auspices of the United Nations. That is a positive development in the light of the complex situation. In that vein, we stress the need to implement Security Council resolutions on the withdrawal of foreign forces, fighters and mercenaries from Libya in a simultaneous, phased, gradual and balanced manner.

Security vacuums must not be left for exploitation by extremist and terrorist groups that are waiting for any opportunity to expand and extend their control in Libya. We therefore continue to support the efforts of the Libyan forces in combating terrorism, especially by securing the southern Libyan borders. In addition, political differences must not be a reason for the spread of hate speech or incitement of violence and infighting. Efforts should be intensified to combat such discourse in all its forms, in support of achieving peace and stability in Libya.

We look forward to renewing the mandate of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya next month with a substantive draft resolution that strengthens the Mission's mandate and enhances its capacity to support Libya. Similarly, we look forward to the appointment of a Special Representative of the Secretary-General to Libya at the earliest opportunity, in line with the requirements of the current situation.

In conclusion, we call on all our brethren in Libya to safeguard the achievements made since the ceasefire agreement, while unifying all vital Libyan institutions and avoiding disputes. The protracted transition period must be brought to an end in order to provide a dignified living for all Libyans in a unified, secure and stable country.

**Mr. Polyanskiy** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her comprehensive briefing on the situation in Libya in the context of the activities of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL). We also listened carefully to Ms. Bushra Alhodiri.

As of today, the situation in and around Libya continues to become destabilized. The country is unable to cope with the fallout from the Western aggression in 2011, which caused Libyan statehood to collapse and triggered a political crisis that continues to this day.

The Libyan Political Dialogue Forum road map expired last week. That was a benchmark document designed to determine the direction for the ongoing political settlement process, including a qualitative transition on matters regarding unifying the administrative and security structures of the former Libyan Arab Jamahiriya so as to bolster the economy and social sector. Unfortunately, a number of the tasks set out therein, including completing the work on the country's constitution and the conduct of nationwide elections, were not fulfilled on time. Nevertheless, the spirit of the road map and its principles remain relevant for Libya's future. The fact that the document expired is no reason to throw caution to the wind.

In that connection, we note the commitment of the representative of Prime Minister Fathi Bashagha, elected by the House of Representatives, and his Office to pursue efforts for the welfare of the country, and we welcome the steps taken in that regard. Most important, that enthusiasm was constructive. There is still much to be done to establish consolidated governance bodies, unify State mechanisms and financial and economic institutions and create united security forces. However, the most important challenge facing the Libyan people is overcoming the burden of mutual mistrust — the consequence of the protracted conflict.

We strongly condemn the increasingly frequent outbreaks of armed violence among armed groups in Tripoli and other parts of the country, as well as road closures along the coastline. We call on the parties to refrain from reckless acts that could further exacerbate

the rift. We believe that all international stakeholders that can bring influence to bear on Libyan actors should prompt them to engage in constructive cooperation with the aim of seeking compromise solutions to the accumulated problems solely through political and diplomatic means. The alternative to that — an escalation of armed hostilities — must certainly be avoided.

We welcome the progress made on the political settlement track, including a third round of talks held in Cairo, where members of the House of Representatives and the High State Council negotiated a draft constitution. The talks yielded significant results, but unfortunately no final agreement has yet been reached. We can only hope that the upcoming meeting between Aguila Saleh and Khaled Al-Mishri in Geneva at the end of the month will help resolve the remaining disagreements.

It is reassuring that the ceasefire is still holding and that the 5+5 Joint Military Commission is continuing its work. The issue of evacuating foreign forces from Libya remains pressing. We have consistently advocated for a synchronized, well-balanced, gradual and phased withdrawal of all non-Libyan armed groups and military units, in line with the agreements reached by the 5+5 Joint Military Commission in Geneva last year. That is the only approach that can prevent the deterioration of the security situation.

More than ever, international efforts on the Libyan track need to be consolidated. Libya must not be an arena for competition or for the advancement of one-sided parochial agendas. It is therefore regrettable that those who destroyed Libya in 2011 apparently have completely different plans. Maintaining the unity of the Security Council on the Libyan dossier is but a smokescreen for them. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain the very unconstructive position of our Western colleagues, first and foremost the British penholder on the Libyan dossier, regarding the Security Council draft presidential statement proposed by Russia, which sets out the general position of the Council in support of stability and resilience for the political transition in Libya. We regret that, even at this critical juncture, our British colleagues were overcome by banal jealousy over their penholdership, which prompted them to advance patently unacceptable revisions that prevented the Council's adoption of the statement. At the same time, the day before, a standalone statement from a number of Western Security Council members was circulated. That statement largely duplicated the content of our proposed draft. That left us no doubt that, behind our

Western colleagues lofty rhetoric about the importance of a Council speaking with one voice, there is nothing more than barefaced double standards, which have caused so much suffering in Libya.

Due to the persistent intra-Libyan differences and the egotism of our Western colleagues, the situation in Libya risks spiralling out of control. We therefore underscore once again that there is no alternative to a resolution of the Libyan dossier in a manner that reflects Libyan realities and under the auspices of the United Nations. UNSMIL has an important role to play as a key mediator in such a configuration. However, the Mission has remained decapitated for quite some time. Without a leader, UNSMIL cannot deliver on its crucial mandated functions of facilitating national dialogue.

We note the effective stewardship of Stephanie Williams at the helm of UNSMIL as a Special Adviser to the Secretary-General, who is not accountable to the Security Council. We believe that her leadership of the Mission is being dragged out artificially despite repetitive assurances that this is a temporary measure. In that regard, we see evidence of the fact that our Western colleagues, in the spirit of neocolonialist thinking, wish to impose on Libya their script of what the future of the country should look like and who should be in charge there. We believe that approach to be cynical and unacceptable. The United Nations envoy should have a relevant Security Council-authorized mandate. We will proceed from these considerations during negotiations on a Security Council draft resolution on the renewal of UNSMIL's mandate in July. The egotism of Western States, the self-appointed arbiters of Libya's fate, must be put to an end. That is long overdue.

At the same time, we note the Secretary-General's determination to resolve this matter. We call on him to approach the issue in a balanced and careful manner. It is also necessary, not only to ensure consensus on the choice of a Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the Security Council, but also to take into account the views of internal Libyan stakeholders and regional players and not to succumb to the dictates of the West, which views Libya as its backyard.

**The President:** I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Albania.

I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her remarks and valuable insights, especially at this critical time, and thank Ms. Alhodiri for her realistic overview of the situation of women in Libya. I would also like to acknowledge the participation of the Permanent

Representative of Libya, Ambassador Elsonni, in today's meeting.

I would like to make the following four brief points.

First, our first and shared priority should remain avoiding any military escalation and overcoming the current political and institutional impasse of the country. Rivalry and pressure with armed men can take the country only backwards. It should not be allowed. It should not happen. The Libyans do not want it.

A Libyan-led and Libyan-owned process leading to free and fair countrywide national elections under a constitutional framework as soon as possible is the only sustainable way forward to maintain stability in the country. Progress has been made thanks to the commendable efforts of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General, Ms. Stephanie Williams, and her excellent work in very challenging conditions, but much remains to be done. We call on the leaders of the House of Representatives and the High Council of State to engage in good faith to bridge outstanding issues in the meeting called by Special Adviser Williams, which is to be held in Geneva tomorrow.

The Libyan people have clearly expressed their willingness to cast their votes, freely choose their leaders and rule over their destinies. It is high time for us to hear their voices and respect their will and their legitimate rights. We urge the Libyan stakeholders to pursue an inclusive political compromise to overcome the impasse of the executive in order to guarantee an environment conducive to organizing fair, credible, inclusive and transparent elections. There is no space for violence in that process, and the Security Council will not condone any attempt at the creation of parallel institutions or bids to take power through force and violence. Those undermining the elections must be held accountable.

Secondly, maintaining stability on the ground is a prerequisite for a Libyan-led, Libyan-owned political process that is facilitated by the United Nations. We are concerned about the increasing tensions among militias. The ceasefire must be respected. No effort should be spared in preventing conflict from flaring up on the ground.

We welcome the resumption of the 5+5 Joint Military Commission, which has already proven to be pivotal in securing progress on the military track and preserving the ceasefire of October 2020. We urge all Libyan political and institutional actors to redouble

their efforts towards the concrete implementation of the ceasefire agreement, including the withdrawal of foreign fighters, foreign forces and mercenaries.

Thirdly, the human rights situation in the country is deteriorating. We deplore the detention and unfair trials of a local staff member of the Norwegian Refugee Council and other civil society and humanitarian actors because of the restrictions issued recently by the Tripoli-based Civil Society Commission.

We call on Libyan political actors to uphold meaningful human rights commitments and not undermine them because of short-term political gains. We believe that the reconciliation process involves Libyans themselves. A rights-based, victim-centred reconciliation process is crucial to preventing conflict from recurring in the country. Therefore, Albania reaffirms its support for the extension of the Independent Fact-Finding Mission on Libya. The Mission should continue its critical work in advancing human rights and security and enhancing rights-based national reconciliation in the country.

Finally, oil production in the country has yet to return to normal, and no progress in that regard has been made. National wealth should benefit all Libyan people. The situation created by the shutdown of more than 30 per cent of the oil fields in the country is undermining the Libyan economy and hindering investment in critical infrastructure and even the provision of basic services vital to the population.

While we reiterate our thanks to Special Adviser Williams for her tireless efforts and meaningful contribution, I reiterate Albania's support for the Secretary-General's efforts to appoint a fully empowered special representative for Libya and to adopt a robust, renewed mandate for the United Nations Support Mission in Libya next month.

In conclusion, we would like Ms. Alhodiri and every citizen of Libya to live and to thrive, not just to survive. No one can change things for the Libyans; only they can move the country forward. It is therefore time to build on the progress made and open a new chapter for the country and its people.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

The representative of the United Kingdom has asked for the floor to make a further statement.

**Mr. Kariuki** (United Kingdom): I take the floor again because the Russian representative referred to the importance of Security Council unity and yet, over the past nine months, one Council member has consistently blocked consensus on Libya and attempts to substantively renew the mandate of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL), in addition to blocking the original candidate of the Secretary-General for the position of Special Representative. The United Kingdom remains committed to delivering a more peaceful and stable future for the Libyan people, and that objective is the basis of all our efforts as penholder on Libya and in brokering constructive negotiations on Council products.

With respect to the Russian draft statement, the most recent Panel of Experts report provided detailed evidence of the activities of the Wagner Group in Libya, including those that led to the deaths of civilians, which were unlawful under international humanitarian law. The ongoing presence of the Wagner Group and other entities has a corrosive effect on the stability of Libya and the wider region. We continue to call for the immediate departure of all foreign forces and mercenaries from Libya, and we proposed edits to the Russian draft statement that reflected that.

We also note the extensive evidence of Russian breaches of the Libyan arms embargo set out in the most recent report of the Panel of Experts.

We look forward to engaging with Council colleagues over the coming days and weeks to help support efforts to deliver peace and stability in Libya, including by providing support for UNSMIL's work.

**The President:** The representative of the United States has asked for the floor to make a further statement.

**Mr. Mills** (United States of America): I will be brief. I too feel the need to respond to comments made by the Russian delegation today.

The United States categorically objects to accusations of obstructing a Security Council product on Libya today. To the contrary, the United States joined the majority of the Council in submitting constructive edits to strengthen a product, including by lending support to the United Nations efforts in Geneva this week. Those were legitimate and supportive edits aimed at strengthening a Council product, not obstructing it.

I would remind our Russian colleagues that Council members who wish to lead Council efforts on a Council

product must take into consideration the views of all Council members in an objective manner.

I would also like to point out and echo the comments just made by the representative of the United Kingdom and to note that, contrary to the wild claims made about a neocolonialist plot, the United States has never blocked the appointment of a Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the United Nations Support Mission in Libya. We have welcomed the appointment and supported several candidates. I do not believe the same can be said of the Russian delegation.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Libya.

**Mr. Elsonni** (Libya) (*spoke in Arabic*): I thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting, and I thank Ms. DiCarlo for her briefing. Through her, I thank Ms. Williams for her recent efforts. I also thank Ms. Bushra Alhodiri for her statement and for explaining her point of view, thereby expressing the views of a certain segment of Libyan women.

We emphasize that the widespread and active participation of women has begun in Libya, with positive steps. We have seen Libyan women representing the Libyan people in the Parliament. We have seen their presence in political debates. We have seen women judges and women in security and military posts. On top of all that, we are working to increase the participation and representation of women, who make up half of our society.

Since our previous briefing to the Security Council nearly one month ago (see S/PV.9047), at which we tried to convey the voice of the Libyan people, their suffering and their needs, free from any political debate, we have unfortunately not seen any progress to speak of. The political situation remains at an impasse, and the suffering of the people is getting worse.

Most Libyan regions are currently experiencing an energy and electricity crisis. The people are becoming angrier. I doubt that any Libyan would care to follow this meeting. I would therefore like to apologize to the men and women of Libya if I repeat today what they have already heard at previous meetings. I know that we are in a vicious cycle. The truth is that what we say today will not change much in terms of their daily suffering.

As Council members heard today, we welcomed the recent talks between the House of Representatives and the High Council of State, held in Cairo. I take this



opportunity to thank the members of both chambers for their efforts to reach consensus. Unfortunately, they were unable to reach an agreement during the third round of talks. Contentious critical issues remain that must be resolved, as they are preventing the conclusion of the constitutional process, or the constitutional preparations. Even establishing the appropriate terminology is a cause of contention among the parties.

However, we look forward to the meeting between the House of Representative and the High State Council to be held in Geneva tomorrow. We hope that they will reach an agreement on all the outstanding issues in order to overcome the current political stalemate and prepare for the holding of credible presidential and parliamentary elections as soon as possible, while guaranteeing the greatest participation among all political factions and not excluding anyone. That would enable us to reach a truly Libyan-owned and Libyan-led solution.

Our past experiences and various political agreements, such as the Skhirat and Geneva agreements, have demonstrated that the Libyan crisis is not related to a legal document, road map or deadline. It is a purely political crisis, as it relates to the conflicts among several regional and international Powers that are competing in my country.

In that context, although the High Electoral Commission announced on many occasions that it was ready to organize the holding of elections, we have yet to agree on the necessary legislation. Therefore, we call on the Security Council once again to mandate the United Nations and its various agencies to support the electoral process, send teams to assess our needs immediately and support the High Electoral Commission in helping it to prepare for the elections at every stage, as soon as we agree on the corresponding legislation and timetable.

We need technical and logistical support, as well as international and regional monitoring, in order to maintain the current momentum. The electoral process should be transparent, fair and agreed by all parties, and we should avoid any falsification, manipulation or questioning of the results.

We have seen once again the extent of the divisions within the Council, as evidenced by the debate we have heard on the matter. The future of the Libyan people is undermined by such divisions. Our people have become hostage to the disagreements of Council members and some regional Powers, which even go as far as to intervene directly in Libyan affairs. To

date, no consensus has been reached on the mandate of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya or the appointment of a new Special Envoy of the Secretary-General. It is not the first time that has happened, and it is unlikely that it will be the last.

On previous occasions, we reiterated that the crisis in Libya does not depend on the selection of envoys or their capabilities. We believe that international disagreement, external interference and the divisions within the Council are what actually account for the failure of all previous Mission mandates, regardless of the Head of Mission.

In that regard, we would like to express our objections and reservations concerning the current mechanism for the appointment of the Special Envoy, which gives the Security Council control over the appointment process. We, the State concerned, are only notified of the person's name and have no say in selecting the appointee.

In order to ensure that the work of any envoy or international mediator is successful, we call on the Secretary-General to consult first with the Libyans on the appointment of the candidate and obtain the approval of the relevant political actors before proposing a name to the Security Council, since he or she will be an envoy or representative of the Secretary-General, not the Security Council. We assure members that Council members will not reject a candidate if they know that there is local consensus to select him.

Concerning the working methods of the Security Council, we would also like to express our reservation about the Council's procedure for adopting draft resolutions and presidential statements. Again, the Council fails to take into account the position of the State concerned because Council members and penholders are not obliged to include the State concerned in their consultations or discussions. They only consult with us informally, as if we were not directly affected by their decisions.

It is time to make those mechanisms more transparent and fairer, not only with regard to Libya but also all the countries on the Council's agenda. Those mechanisms are based on the Council's long-standing customs and not on rules or regulations.

Despite all the challenges and difficulties, we remain hopeful that we will overcome the current crisis. We welcome any initiative that aims to unite Libyans and end the conflict.

In that context, we ask the Council to support the strategic vision for national reconciliation launched by the Presidency Council a few days ago, which is supported by several national institutions and international and regional organizations. The Speaker of the Parliament, the President and members of the Presidency Council, the African Union, the League of Arab States and the United Nations all participated in launching the strategic vision. It is something that should be implemented, and we hope to build on it and obtain support for it.

National reconciliation is as important as the political process. It is no exaggeration to say that, if the strategic vision is implemented effectively, it will enable us to realize the aspirations of the Libyan people to achieve stability and peace. We need good faith and de-escalation to reach a genuine consensus. The deep conflict among the various Libyan stakeholders, the complex political landscape and the lack of international will to resolve the crisis make the Libyan people fear for their present and their future.

We have found only superficial solutions to today's problems, which will definitely recur and create more suffering because of the current disagreements, with no effective solutions in sight. Therefore, we hope that the strategic vision will achieve its goals, including comprehensive national reconciliation and the establishment of a stable environment in which the people can live in security without discrimination or exclusion.

Before concluding, I would like to make some remarks about national reconciliation, and I will address the Council in English so that members can clearly understand my meaning.

*(spoke in English)*

Despite all the initiatives and dialogues and everything that we have gone through in past years, national reconciliation has never been

effectively addressed. We note that all the tracks that have been introduced have been either political, military or economic — we can call them technical tracks — but none have addressed the root cause of the problem, which is national reconciliation. We have been stuck in a vicious cycle since 2011. Every initiative that has been introduced has been fragile, and none of them have been sustainable. We are now entering the same cycle again. It is therefore vital to introduce and support a national reconciliation track. We call on the African Union to launch that process and on the United Nations to complement the African Union's efforts. Every initiative and idea that has been provided has taken a top-down approach, when we should really be looking at the base, at the people. We need to heal the nation, or nothing we are doing will succeed. That process should complement every effort, including political efforts, aimed at creating a constitutional framework and finalizing all that we have been working towards in recent years.

*(spoke in Arabic)*

In conclusion, we call on our people to support every initiative and proposal aimed at building trust, rejecting violence and hate speech and achieving a radical end to the crisis without depending on foreigners. We must work hand in hand in order to put an end to every kind of foreign presence. We have all seen, day after day, how States that once were enemies have agreed, reconciled and prioritized their own interests. Today we must therefore prioritize our own national interests, because that is the only way we can overcome the vicious cycle of the conflict and build a modern Libyan State on the basis of institutions and the rule of law.

**The President:** There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers. I will now adjourn the meeting so that the Council can continue its discussion on the subject in closed consultations.

*The meeting rose at 4.40 p.m.*