Security Council

Seventy-third year

8322nd meeting
Monday, 30 July 2018, 10.25 a.m.
New York

President:  Mr. Skoog ........................................... (Sweden)

Members:  Bolivia (Plurinational State of) ...................... Mr. Llorentty Solíz
          China .......................................................... Mr. Zhang Dianbin
          Côte d'Ivoire ................................................ Mr. Ipo
          Equatorial Guinea .......................................... Mr. Esono Mbengono
          Ethiopia ....................................................... Mr. Alemu
          France .......................................................... Mrs. Gueguen
          Kazakhstan ..................................................... Mr. Umarov
          Kuwait ........................................................... Mr. Alotaibi
          Netherlands .................................................... Mrs. Gregoire Van Haaren
          Peru ............................................................... Mr. Meza-Cuadra
          Poland ............................................................ Mr. Radomski
          Russian Federation ......................................... Mr. Polyanskiy
          United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . Ms. Pierce
          United States of America ................................. Mr. Cohen

Agenda

The situation in Somalia

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The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Somalia

The President: In accordance with rule 37 of the Council’s provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Djibouti, Eritrea and Somalia to participate in this meeting.

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

At this meeting, the Council will hear a briefing by Ambassador Kairat Umarov, Permanent Representative of Kazakhstan, in his capacity as Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolutions 751 (1992) and 1907 (2009) concerning Somalia and Eritrea.

I now give the floor to Ambassador Umarov.

Mr. Umarov (Kazakhstan): As mandated by sub-paragraph (g) of paragraph 11 of resolution 1844 (2008), I have the honour of briefing the Security Council in my capacity as Chair of the Sanctions Committee established pursuant to resolutions 751 (1992) and 1907 (2009) concerning Somalia and Eritrea.

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The visit to the region was a diplomatic and trust-building exercise. The goal was to engage directly with the authorities to obtain first-hand information on the situation in the region, including on the implementation of sanctions measures on Somalia and Eritrea, and assess and the effectiveness of the measures and their implementation so as to promote peace and security in the Horn of Africa. While acknowledging and encouraging their efforts, particularly concerning notifications to the Committee, I reminded Somali officials of their obligations under the partial lifting of the arms embargo and the requirement to comply with them.

With regard to the charcoal ban, the Somali authorities expressed serious concern about the continuing charcoal trade, which contributes to
financing of the terrorist activities of Al-Shabaab. The President of Somalia noted the importance of adequate implementation of the charcoal ban, while the Prime Minister requested that the Committee sanction those individuals and entities responsible for receiving illicit Somali charcoal. The Committee will consider that request very seriously. With regard to regional dynamics, all interlocutors cited the destabilizing effects of the Yemen war on the stability of the region. The war has had an impact not only on arms flows, but also on commercial relations, investment, trade and tourism between Yemen and countries in the Horn of Africa.

In terms of sanctions on Somalia, we observed the firm resolve of the Federal Government of Somalia to portray the new Administration in a new light of reforms and willingness to take responsibility for their security and future. Although that is commendable, it is the view of the Committee that the arms embargo should not be completely lifted until Somalia undergo political and security reforms, and creates strong institutions capable of securing an adequate level of weapons and ammunition management. All interlocutors cautioned against the premature withdrawal of the African Union Mission in Somalia from the country, as they believe that Somali forces are not yet ready to fully take over responsibility for their own security. The Committee fully endorsed other recommendations aimed at the strengthening and the implementation of the sanctions measures. As such, two notes verbales reminding Member States of their respective obligations under the terms of the arms embargoes and the charcoal ban were distributed respectively on 25 and 28 of June.

I also proposed that the Committee discuss the recommendations made by the joint verification team in its first report of 1 May. The Committee met on 25 June. In that regard, the Committee has revised its implementation assistance notice on the arms embargo to include some of the recommendations made by joint verification team. As the delegation was unable to meet Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia Michael Keating during our trip to Mogadishu, the Committee held informal consultations on 20 July, during which Mr. Keating shared his insights on peace and security matters in Somalia as they relate to the sanctions regime.

In conclusion, this was an important visit during which the Committee gained invaluable insights into the current political and security situation pertaining to the Horn of Africa. The information that we gathered enabled the Committee to act so as to enhance the implementation of the sanctions measures on Somalia and Eritrea. I would like to assure Council members that the Committee will continue its contribution to the Council’s efforts to achieve durable peace and stability in Somalia and the Horn of Africa.

The President: I thank Ambassador Umarov for his briefing and I express my appreciation for his leadership of the Committee.

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

Mr. Alemu (Ethiopia): I want to thank Ambassador Kairat Umarov, in his capacity as Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolutions 751 (1992) and 1907 (2009) concerning Somalia and Eritrea, for his briefing and for his dedicated efforts in guiding the work of the Committee. We appreciate the outcome of his visit to the region, which took him to Djibouti, Ethiopia and Somalia. I must reiterate how much we appreciate the objectivity and integrity with which he has managed the work of the Committee. Of course, much has happened since the Chair’s visit, and those events have enormous implications for the work of the Committee, as well as for the sanctions regime in a number of ways.

It is altogether impossible to deny that the politics of the Horn of Africa are in the process of rapid change, with salutary implications, all of which is the result of the rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea, which would have been totally inconceivable only a few months ago. What has happened over the past couple of weeks is indeed historic. Following a 20-year hiatus, Ethiopia and Eritrea have decided to turn the page and open a new chapter concerning not only the normalization of relations, but the expression of commitment to building relations that truly reflect the long-standing ties between their peoples. What was once considered impossible has been made possible thanks to the courageous and bold steps taken by the leadership of the two countries. The Ethiopian and Eritrean peoples, who have longed for peace for two decades, have warmly welcomed the breakthrough with much jubilation and optimism. Gone are the days when no one could be sure how long the guns would continue to be silent between the two countries.

As just indicated, that has enormous meaning and significance not only for the peoples of the two countries, but also for the region, which has been
The situation in Somalia

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The situation in Somalia has been ravaged by conflict and crisis for far too long. It will also make a major and historic contribution to the efforts to silence the guns in Africa, while setting an example of resolving conflicts in the continent. Undeniably, the region will be in a far better position to contribute to peace in Somalia. The Intergovernmental Authority on Development will be more effective in bringing the countries of the region together to work for peace and regional cooperation in all areas much better than before.

It is in that broader context, that we would like the Security Council to understand what is happening in the region. Undoubtedly, the positive momentum generated over the past couple of weeks must be sustained, and the international community has a responsibility to support the efforts of the two countries. We believe that the Council has a particular responsibility in that regard. Already, improved relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea seem to have facilitated the restoration of friendly relations between Eritrea and Somalia, as was evident when the President of Somalia, Mr. Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed Farmajo, paid a State visit to Eritrea a few days ago. It is impossible to ignore that this is a major boost for progress in the stabilization of the situation in Somalia. The Council must appreciate the significance of that development for the security of the region.

It appears to us very proper that the Council should support and encourage the bold steps taken by the Ethiopian Prime Minister. That has underlined how much doing things outside the box is necessary to break log jams in conflict situations, no matter how intractable they might have been in the past. If there is a recognition of the broader context that I have tried to explain just now, I do not think it would be difficult to find innovative ways of acknowledging the significance of that development in our region at a time when conflict resolution is becoming very complex and we have come to acknowledge how much the prevention of conflict should be prioritized.

The breakthrough for peace achieved between Ethiopia and Eritrea is without any doubt to be celebrated. It is Ethiopia’s conviction that this welcome development is not meant to be limited to relations between the two countries. I would like to take this opportunity to assure the Council that the prevailing spirit is one of embracing, not excluding, people in the region. It is in that spirit that we are trying to do our part to help restore friendly relations between the good peoples of Djibouti and Eritrea. The Djibouti Foreign Minister visited Addis Ababa last week to deliver a message on behalf of President Guelleh to my Prime Minister. He was able to conduct very productive and useful discussions both with our Prime Minister and his counterpart, our Foreign Minister.

Ethiopia has expressed its readiness to do whatever is necessary to contribute to the normalization of relations between Eritrea and Djibouti. It is our firm conviction that such efforts are critical to peace and security in our region. The new spirit that has been created should exclude no country and is the foundation on which Ethiopia’s policy is based. Naturally, that new spirit also demands that no country should continue to be isolated. The Council has an obligation in that regard.

Let me conclude by expressing our readiness to work closely with the Council in the coming months to sustain this remarkable achievement, which has enormous implications for peace and prosperity in the whole of Africa and even beyond.

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

Mr. Osman (Somalia): The Federal Government of Somalia was pleased to host the visit of Ambassador Kairat Umarov, Chair of the Committee pursuant to resolutions 751 (1992) and 1907 (2009) concerning Somalia and Eritrea, and other Committee members to Mogadishu on 8 May. The Committee members were briefed on some significant areas of progress during their visit. There is no doubt that the peace and security challenges facing Somalia remain daunting but the Administration of President Farmajo is making a serious attempt to address them, in line with many of the recommendations of the Somalia and Eritrea Monitoring Group.

Sanctions are designed as a tool to help tackle security challenges, and we share the same aims of preventing weapons from falling into the hands of terrorists, cutting off funding to Al-Shabaab and ensuring that Somalia’s resources of fish stocks and charcoal cannot be exploited for the purpose of destabilizing the country. Combating terrorism is not only a military endeavour; it must include good governance, inclusive politics, reconciliation and the work of combating corruption. The objectives of the Federal Government of Somalia and those of the Sanctions Committee are aligned in those areas. But the Somalia of today is not the Somalia
on which sanctions were first imposed. Al-Shabaab remains a vicious threat and we must continue to implement measures that choke off its resources and limit its ability to attack innocent people. However, Somalia has made considerable progress with regard to public financial management, security-sector reform, weapons management and accountability.

There is a long way to go, but the Committee and the Monitoring Group should focus their efforts on areas where the threat of instability is greatest. The Monitoring Group has one of the widest mandates of all sanctions regimes. We believe that Somalia’s progress should be reflected in the Group’s mandate and focus and that the Security Council should take into account the Federal Government’s strong commitment to continued progress. My Administration is making a genuine attempt to improve our system’s processes and standards. We recognize that there are those who benefit from the status quo and seek to slow down or reverse our progress. We therefore urge the Council to support us by focusing on spoilers, not on the people engaged in the challenging tasks of State-building.

We have demonstrated our commitment to improving aspects of our compliance with the sanctions regime through requests for the Security Council to review and update its existing measures. For example, paragraphs 10 (c) and 11 (a) allow weapons to go to security institutions in Somalia that fall outside national structures, such as undefined Somali security forces and strategic partners of the African Union Mission in Somalia, without prior notification or proper weapons-and-ammunition management processes in place, which is problematic and exacerbates arms proliferation in our country. Our Government would appreciate a careful review and revision of those paragraphs. The Somali Government will continue to build on that and, as set out in Somalia’s Transition Plan, will develop standard operating procedures to achieve a comprehensive weapons-and-ammunition management system and establish a management commission to counter the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, with the aim of ensuring safe and effective distribution, storage and security of stocks and trained personnel at both the Federal Government and federal member state levels.

We are committed to ensuring that Somalia’s resources are not used to finance Al-Shabaab’s operations. In February the National Security Council endorsed an interim fisheries revenue-sharing agreement. In April the Cabinet agreed to ban the domestic sale of charcoal along with improving the implementation of the charcoal ban. It is also important to us that Somalia’s precious natural resources be retained to assist in the vital process of our economic regeneration. That means tackling illegal fishing and ensuring that Somalia’s waters and rich fish stocks can provide a livelihood for Somalis and help make stability sustainable. On 5 June the National Security Council reached an agreement on the ownership, management and sharing of the country’s natural resources, as was stated in our agreement on natural-resource sharing.

Somalia is a country emerging from decades of war battling brutal insurgents. We are demonstrating a strong commitment to reforming our institutions and meeting our obligations under the sanctions regime. Our efforts are slowly bearing fruit, but too often we are criticized for what we have not yet achieved rather than recognized for our progress. Our capacity is still in the early stages, but building it will require the support of our partners in the Security Council and its subsidiary bodies. We hope we can count on their steadfast support to our continued progress.

Lastly, we should not ignore developments in the region. I would like to take this opportunity to again welcome the most recent developments in the protracted conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia. We also welcome the signing of steps to implement the Joint Declaration of Peace and Friendship on normalizing relations between the two brotherly countries. President Farmajo made a State visit to Eritrea last week. Somalia stresses the importance of ensuring that Eritrea and Djibouti can agree as soon as possible on the means for a peaceful settlement of all the unresolved disputes between the two States. I thank the Council again and wish it the best.

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

Mr. Idris (Eritrea): It is a great honour to address the Security Council on behalf of the Eritrean people, whose struggle to create a peaceful and cooperative neighbourhood is a matter of historical record. Three generations of Eritreans have paid the ultimate sacrifice to establish a regional order based on international law and economic complementarity, while being mindful of the shared culture and history of the people.

In recent weeks, the Horn of Africa has witnessed a development of historic proportions. Eritrea and Ethiopia have taken a bold step to end their state of
war and open a new chapter of peace and friendship. The war that prevailed for the past two decades has had devastating consequences that have gone beyond the two countries and peoples involved. It has obstructed meaningful cooperation and undermined regional conflict-prevention and -resolution mechanisms. The agreement between Eritrea and Ethiopia puts an end to that distorted regional order of enmity and competition, and opens new horizons for sustainable peace and economic integration. It will strengthen the subregional conflict-prevention and -resolution mechanism. Moreover, today Eritrea and Somalia signed the Joint Declaration of Peace and Friendship during the historic visit of His Excellency Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed Farmajo to Eritrea. They have agreed to exchange ambassadors, forge political, economic, social, cultural, defence and security cooperation and join hands to address obstacles to regional peace and security. The positive repercussions of those developments for the entire region cannot be overstated.

It has long been evident that the sanctions on the people of Eritrea cannot be justified in the name of maintaining international peace and security. They have been kept despite the fact that the pretexts for their imposition have been shown to be false for years. In that regard, far from helping to promote peace and amity in the region, the Council has undermined and derailed regional cooperation for a decade. Within the emerging regional context, we find it inexplicable that the Council is discussing the sanctions on Eritrea today. The most appropriate action for the Council would have been lifting the sanctions, thereby indicating in unequivocal terms its support to the recent positive developments. Eritrea welcomes the calls by several countries, including Ethiopia and Somalia, for lifting the sanctions. We find it unacceptable that just a few members of the Council continue to set conditions and move the goalposts, with the intention of keeping political pressure on the people of Eritrea for reasons not related to the maintenance of international peace. As in the past, it is clear that whatever Eritrea does in fulfilling its commitment to the Council’s resolutions, and regardless of the changes that the region has been witnessing, those members are unwilling to lift these unjustified punitive measures.

The Security Council should not miss another opportunity to contribute positively to regional peace and security in the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea. What is at stake is the Council’s credibility in the eyes of the citizens of the region. By lifting the sanctions immediately and unconditionally, the Council can send a positive message that it supports the desire of the citizens of the region to live in peace and prosperity together, and that the Council is ready to accompany them on their arduous journey to remove the obstacles to regional integration. The other option for the Council is to maintain business as usual by imposing preconditions, moving the goalposts and keeping these politically motivated sanctions without justification. The message to the citizens of the region will be that the Council is unwilling to work together with the regional developments and will continue to encourage spoilers seeking to undermine the unfolding peace and integration.

For its part, Eritrea will remain committed to redoubling its efforts and joining hands with the countries in the region to ensure peace and accelerate socioeconomic progress in the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea region.

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

Mr. Doualeh (Djibouti): At the outset, I would like to thank Ambassador Kairat Umarov, Chair of the Committee pursuant to resolutions 751 (1992) and 1907 (2009) concerning Somalia and Eritrea, for his briefing covering the period from March 2018 to the end of July 2018, and particularly for his visit in May to the region, including Djibouti. I believe the visit gave the Committee an excellent opportunity for direct interaction with the authorities in the region and consultation with them on how best to address some of the issues that continue to plague the region and damage efforts to achieve peace, development and prosperity.

Djibouti too regrets that Eritrea did not invite its delegation or take this opportunity to provide its views on the situation in the Horn of Africa, including the implementation of sanctions. As its refusal to invite the Chair or cooperate with the Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea demonstrated, Eritrea continues to display a pattern of behaviour characterized by denial, obstruction and obfuscation.

As we stated in our letter to the Secretary-General, which has been circulated to the members of the Security Council, Djibouti welcomes the latest positive developments regarding the protracted conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia and the Council’s readiness to support both countries in their implementation of their
Joint Declaration of Peace and Friendship. That is indeed a development we should all embrace and celebrate, because the region has experienced various intra- and inter-State conflicts with dire economic and social consequences for far too long. They have depressed and disrupted economic development and hampered efforts towards regional integration. Apart from the physical destruction of life and property, these conflicts have diverted scarce resources from development to support war. It might be worth assessing the region’s cumulative losses in gross domestic product as a result of conflicts, since it stands to reason that any such study would undoubtedly prove that the benefits of investing in peace far outweigh the costs. Silencing the guns and realizing a conflict-free Africa is a challenging task, but we should all work in earnest with full commitment to that goal. The peoples of the Horn are incredibly brave and talented and, given a chance, they can show a phenomenal can-do spirit.

Djibouti concurs with the assessment by the Heads of State of the African Union (AU), as underlined in the AU Assembly decision adopted on 2 July in Nouakchott regarding the unresolved border dispute between Djibouti and Eritrea. It emphasizes that there is an urgent “need for all countries in the Horn of Africa to engage towards maximizing possibilities for achieving lasting peace in the entire region”.

It requests the AU Commission to continue with its efforts to assist Djibouti and Eritrea in reaching a peaceful solution to their territorial dispute and urges both countries to extend the necessary cooperation to the Commission. Let me state unequivocally that Djibouti stands ready to work with the Commission. In the same vein, Djibouti welcomes the letter dated 17 July by the Secretary-General regarding the ongoing border dispute between the Republic of Djibouti and the State of Eritrea with a view to assisting the countries, in collaboration with the Security Council, in finding a way forward either through mutually agreed arbitration or other means of peaceful dispute settlement for both parties.

Djibouti has invested in peace. We have submitted a legal memorandum and a comprehensive statement of the pertinent facts and legal principles applicable to this matter and other matters that form part of the dispute and have promptly provided a list of prisoners of war in our custody. As the Secretary-General begins to undertake consultations, we need to approach the resolution of this conflict in good faith and with an open mind, while bearing in mind that the conflict has been going on for the last 10 years, and we have gone through six years of fruitless negotiations under the auspices of Qatar. The Council should urge Eritrea, in line with paragraph 40 of resolution 2385 (2017), to meaningfully engage in the mediation efforts led by the Secretary-General in collaboration with the Security Council. We cannot afford to squander the opportunity we have to build and own a future of peace and development in the region. It is worth recalling that the Qatar-led mediation effort broke down as soon as it began because Eritrea refused to appoint a member to the body that was established to mediate and has never really shown any serious commitment of peace.

While noting the potential prospects for peace in the region, there is no escaping the fact that the international boundary remains disputed. Eritrea continues to occupy Djiboutian territory, prisoners of war remain unaccounted for, threats of force continue to emanate from the Eritrean side and the risk of violent confrontation remains high. As documented in the most recent report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea (S/2017/925), there is ongoing activity on the Eritrean side of the border at Ras Doumeira, and the situation is vulnerable to manipulation by spoilers. Furthermore, as documented in successive Monitoring Group reports, Eritrea continues to recruit, train and equip Djibouti rebels at the Anda’ali training camp, from where they conduct violent raids on villages in Djibouti and attacks on Djiboutian security forces. The Monitoring Group’s report goes on to provide a detailed account, based on testimonies by former fighters, of how they participated in violent cross-border abduction raids, including the abduction of children. We call on Eritrea to stop stealing the lives of these children, who are often psychologically traumatized and are a loss to their communities and nation.

When it does these things, Eritrea defiantly ignores Security Council resolutions. If those resolutions are to be regarded as more than empty and meaningless gestures, the sanctions for non-compliance must remain in place as long as Eritrea refuses to comply with them. At the same time, Djibouti would support action by the Council to facilitate Eritrea’s compliance by laying out a clear path within a reasonable timetable towards that end. In that regard, Djibouti would like to make the following observations.
First, with respect to ending Eritrea’s support to armed groups, the Council should resolve to send a monitoring mission to Eritrea within a month, on condition that Eritrea commits to full cooperation with it, including granting full access to all information and records deemed necessary and all personnel whom the mission considers it necessary to interview. The mission would report to the Council within 30 days of its return from Eritrea.

Secondly, with regard to prisoners of war, the Council should require that Eritrea account for them to the same monitoring mission and permit access for the mission and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Lastly, based on the good offices of the Secretary-General and in close collaboration with the Security Council, the Secretary-General should convene an urgent meeting of the parties to facilitate an agreement between them through mutually acceptable means for peaceful dispute settlement, as set forth in Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations. The Secretary-General should issue his recommended solution within 120 days and require that Eritrea and Djibouti either accept that solution or, in the event that one of them does not, submit the dispute to the International Court of Justice for a final and binding resolution. It is Djibouti’s view that this path and timetable would offer Eritrea a fair, reasonable and prompt way to resolve outstanding issues in a manner that vindicates the actions of the Council and ensures compliance with international law.

On Somalia, Djibouti is heartened by the outcome of the Somalia partnership forum and the progress that Somalia is making in a number of critical areas. We welcome the endorsement of the transition plan by the African Union Peace and Security Council and the commitment to its implementation as expressed in its communiqué of 27 July. The African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) continues to play a critical enabling role as Somalia strives to develop its capabilities in order to gradually assume responsibility for security. AMISOM deserves the continued support of the international community. In that regard, Djibouti welcomed the renewal of AMISOM’s mandate through the adoption of resolution 2431 (2018) earlier this morning.

In conclusion, the emergence of a new Horn of Africa is now possible and a goal that is within our reach. Djibouti stands fully ready to deliver on its contribution with the aim of achieving a comprehensive, lasting and robust peace in the region for the benefit of our peoples. Getting bogged down in the past is not an option. Let us work together to build a better future for our children.

**The President:** There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers. Before adjourning the meeting, and as this may be the Council’s last meeting in the month of July, I would like to express the sincere appreciation of the delegation of Sweden to all those who have supported us in our presidency during the past month.

First, I want to thank our colleagues from the Security Council Affairs Division for their professionalism and courtesy over the past month, including the Conference Management Service, officers, interpreters, verbatim reporters and security staff, who have, as always, done an outstanding, very generous and supportive job. I thank all of them. I also want to thank other parts of the Secretariat that have supported us on substance updates, and so forth, and as briefers on a regular basis.

Of course, I want to thank all the members of the Council and their teams for their support, excellent cooperation and constant good spirits at every level. I am particularly pleased that we have been able to come together to speak with one voice on so many issues this month. I also thank other Member States for their engagement, support and, in many cases, very valuable contributions to the open debates that we have had. I also thank the media and civil society for their consistent engagement.

Finally, I want to say a huge thank-you to my fantastic team, many of whom are here today and who have worked very hard over the past month. As a final comment, I know that I have the support of all members in speaking on their behalf when I say good luck to Ms. Pierce and her team. We feel absolutely at ease handing the gavel over to her.

*The meeting rose at 11.05 a.m.*