



Security Council

Seventy-seventh year

9223rd meeting

Friday, 16 December 2022, 10.05 a.m.

New York

Provisional

President: Mrs. Kamboj (India)

Members:

Albania	Mr. Hoxha
Brazil	Mr. Jardim Oliveira
China	Mr. Geng Shuang
France	Mrs. Broadhurst Estival
Gabon	Ms. Bongo
Ghana	Mr. Korbich
Ireland	Mr. Mythen
Kenya	Mr. Kimani
Mexico	Mr. Cisneros Chávez
Norway	Ms. Juul
Russian Federation	Mr. Polyanskiy
United Arab Emirates	Mr. Abushahab
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Dame Barbara Woodward
United States of America	Mr. Wood

Agenda

The situation in Libya

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (S/2022/932)

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

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Libya

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (S/2022/932)

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 Mr. Abdoulaye Bathily, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Libya and Head of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya, to participate in this meeting.

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

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2022/932, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Support Mission in Libya.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear briefings by Mr. Bathily and myself, in my capacity as Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya.

I now give the floor to Mr. Bathily.

Mr. Bathily: Since my last briefing on 15 November (see S/PV. 9192), I continued my dialogue with Libyan stakeholders and international partners to advance the political process and revive the electoral track, in accordance with resolution 2656 (2022). In that regard, I undertook a tour of the region to meet with regional partners. From 19 to 30 November, I travelled to Türkiye, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt and Tunisia. In my meetings, I sought my interlocutors' continued and coordinated support for the efforts of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) to help the Libyan leaders overcome their differences and resolve the legitimacy crisis of the interim institutions that have been in place for too long.

I reiterated that the first important step on the path to legitimacy, security and sustained stability is to afford the 2.8 million Libyans registered to vote the

opportunity to cast their ballot and freely select their country's future leaders, to begin a new era for Libya, its neighbours and the region. I am thankful for the unanimous expressions of support and commitment to United Nations efforts to support the resumption of the intra-Libyan dialogue. In the coming weeks, while intensifying my engagement with the Libyan actors, I plan to conclude my regional tour and visit other international partners to seek their views on the ongoing crisis in Libya and how best to support UNSMIL in carrying out its mandate.

I have urged the leaders of the House of Representatives and the High State Council to rise above personal and group interests and work constructively towards finalizing the constitutional basis for elections, within a well-defined time frame, in line with the pressing aspirations of the majority of the citizens of Libya. Following my repeated calls to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the High State Council to meet inside Libya to demonstrate to all Libyans their willingness to initiate dialogue in earnest to find a way out of the crisis, Mr. Agila Saleh and Mr. Al-Mishri agreed to meet under the auspices of the United Nations in the city of Zintan on 4 December. The meeting would have been an occasion to signal a resumption of the political dialogue on Libyan soil. Regrettably, it had to be postponed due to unforeseen logistical reasons as well as emerging political obstacles. We are working with the Chairs of the House of Representatives and the High State Council to identify a new date and location in Libya for the meeting to take place. I am also in touch with the Presidential Council to facilitate a meeting among the three institutions, based on the recent proposal put forward by Mr. Menfi, President of the Presidential Council, in that regard.

While the meetings outside the country remain useful, it is evident that seeing national leaders meet inside the country will help to set a positive example for the citizens in healing the wounds of division in society and signal their willingness to mitigate the risks of the country's partition. In order to garner maximum support for the process, I informed the Prime Minister, Mr. Al Dabiba, of the forthcoming meeting of the heads of the two chambers and the Presidential Council. I have also highlighted my readiness to work with all actors to reach consensus on a Libyan-owned and Libyan-led political process that can help the country emerge from its more than 10 years of political pitfalls and

increasing economic and social hardship for a majority of its population.

Today I am asking the Council, its members and all those with convening power to support UNSMIL's efforts to bring Libyan political leaders back to the negotiating table and prevent a further deterioration of the situation on the eve of the first anniversary of the postponement of the 24 December elections in 2021. The protracted crisis in Libya significantly affects the people's welfare, compromises their security and threatens their very existence. It also carries a serious risk of further dividing the country and its institutions. We are already witnessing the signs of the partition with two parallel Governments, separate security apparatuses, a divided central bank, the decision by the House of Representatives to establish a constitutional court in Benghazi in the east of the country in the absence of an agreed Constitution, and the growing discontent in all regions about the unequal allocation of the country's substantial oil and gas revenues. Political leaders of all sides should be held responsible for those developments, which are such an ominous portent for the future of the country.

In contrast to their political counterparts, under the leadership of the 5+5 Joint Military Commission the security and military track has demonstrated greater will for making progress towards the implementation of the ceasefire agreement and unifying the country's security institutions. The ceasefire has continued to hold and there have been no violations recorded since my last briefing, despite a reported build-up of forces on both sides. However, the situation remains tense and unpredictable throughout the country. On 8 December, I attended a plenary session of the Security Working Group of the International Follow-up Committee on Libya with other co-Chairs in Tunis, in the presence of most members of the Berlin process, the 5+5 Joint Military Commission and officials of the Libyan Ministry of Interior in charge of ensuring the security of the electoral process. Following up on its previous meeting in Sirte on 27 October, the Security Working Group discussed and agreed on the establishment of a disarmament, demobilization and reintegration subcommittee of the Joint Military Commission, in accordance with the fourth provision of the ceasefire agreement. UNSMIL will provide the subcommittee with the relevant technical support and expertise, as requested by the 5+5 Commission.

In the absence of the Libyan authorities' necessary authorization for the effective establishment of the UNSMIL ceasefire monitoring mechanism in Sirte, international ceasefire monitors continue to operate from Tripoli. During the meeting, I urged the 5+5 Commission to help overcome that hurdle in order to enable the ceasefire monitoring mechanism to be fully operational, in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions. I hope that the commitment made by the 5+5 Commission to support the deployment of UNSMIL monitors to Sirte will materialize in the coming meeting of the Commission in Sirte on 15 January, under the auspices of UNSMIL.

The proliferation of weapons under the control of various State and non-State actors and the presence of foreign fighters, foreign forces and mercenaries continue to pose a serious challenge to the safety and security of Libyans and undermine efforts to unify the country's security institutions. This year alone, 39 people, including 11 children, have been killed or maimed in incidents involving explosive remnants of war. Approximately 75 per cent of those affected were civilians.

The co-Chairs of the Economic Working Group of the International Follow-up Committee on Libya continue to engage with Libyan institutions to advance discussions on an agreement for a temporary expenditure and oversight mechanism. I reiterate the importance and urgency of establishing a Libyan-led mechanism that brings together stakeholders from across the country to agree on spending priorities and ensure that oil and gas revenues are managed in a transparent and equitable manner, in line with resolution 2656 (2022).

UNSMIL continues to observe a systematic campaign by Libyan security actors attempting to undermine and silence civil society, humanitarian actors, human rights defenders and political activists, including women and young people. It is my belief that a robust civil society is key to a safe, open, and democratic discourse between the State and its citizens and represents the very foundation required for Libya's political transition. On 8 December, to mark International Human Rights Day, I hosted a digital dialogue with Libyans, during which participants expressed concern about the prevailing security situation and the serious deterioration in basic services, including access to health care, education, housing and electricity. They also called for elections to be held.

My briefing today comes at the end of a global 16-day campaign on violence against women. On 25 November, I issued a statement calling on all concerned parties in Libya to take concrete steps to combat violence against women and girls in all its online and offline forms. I have also called for the adoption of laws that would provide protection for women and girls who are victims of violence.

Violence against women is not an isolated phenomenon, and its prevalent occurrence is enabled by Libya's institutional fragmentation and inadequate legal framework. On a positive note, on 19 October, the Government of National Unity issued a decision that provides children of Libyan women married to non-Libyans access to basic services such as education and health care. It also waived the visa requirements for their children. That is a step in the right direction that needs further consolidation through the adoption of relevant laws and the strengthening of institutions. I urge the relevant authorities to continue to take all the necessary measures and adopt laws that protect and enhance the rights of women and children.

I am concerned about new bureaucratic obstacles and movement restrictions faced by humanitarian organizations, which are impeding humanitarian access and the delivery of life-saving humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons, as well as the thousands of detainees held without judgment in numerous detention centres across the country. I call on all Libyan authorities to facilitate the renewal of the registration of international non-governmental humanitarian organizations and expedite visa approvals for their staff operating in Libya.

In summary and in conclusion, work on the security track has resulted in some notable achievements, and the economic track is building some momentum, which can be built upon. The political track, however, is showing little sign of progress. With the support of the Security Council and its individual member States, we need to apply pressure on the country's political leaders with regard to the urgency of finalizing the constitutional basis. The continued disagreement between two individual men, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the High State Council, on a very limited number of provisions of the constitutional basis can no longer serve as a justification to hold an entire country hostage. The patience of the people of Libya is not limitless. If the two institutions cannot reach an agreement swiftly,

alternative mechanisms can and should be used to alleviate the suffering caused by outdated and open-ended interim political arrangements.

We need to think creatively about ways to ensure that free, fair, transparent and simultaneous presidential and parliamentary elections are organized and held under a single, unified and neutral Administration, and that those who wish to run as candidates resign from their current functions to create a level playing field for all.

Finally, we need to hold those individuals and entities taking or supporting actions that prevent or undermine the holding of elections accountable. That applies to actions committed before, during and after the elections.

Together we must resolve to help Libyans to ensure that the year 2023 marks the beginning of a new era through the rise of legitimate institutions through free and fair elections. I hope I can count on the active engagement of the Security Council to that end.

The President: I thank Mr. Bathily for his briefing.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya.

In accordance with resolution 1970 (2011), paragraph 24 (e), I have the honour to report to the Security Council on the work of the Committee established by the same resolution. The report covers the period from 31 August to 16 December, during which time the Committee met once in informal consultations and conducted additional work by silence procedure.

At the outset, I would like to note that during the informal consultations held on 4 November, the Committee heard a briefing by the Panel of Experts on its programme of work under resolution 2644 (2022). The presentation was followed by an interactive discussion between Committee members and the Panel. A press release was issued in that regard.

In relation to the arms embargo, the Committee approved a request for exemption under resolution 1970 (2011), paragraph 9 (c), submitted by Malta. The Committee received a vessel inspection report from the European Union Naval Force Mediterranean Operation IRINI, which refers to the seizure of cargo and on which the Committee expects a second report to be submitted. The Committee members expressed varying

views on the seizure of the cargo. The Committee also received a report on an attempted vessel inspection. The Committee further received two letters from the Panel of Experts concerning the seized cargo and correspondence submitted by a Member State concerning the application of the exception to the arms embargo under resolution 2009 (2011), paragraph 13 (a), as modified by resolution 2095 (2013), paragraph 10, to the seized cargo.

With respect to the assets freeze, the Committee dispatched a letter to Bahrain in relation to a previously reported notification invoking resolution 1970 (2011), paragraph 21. The Committee received a note verbale from Türkiye on the scope of the claims provision set out in resolution 1973 (2011), paragraph 27, to which the Committee responded. The Committee also responded to a letter from Mauritius providing clarification on the Committee's implementation assistance notices related to the assets freeze, after considering technical inputs provided by the Panel of Experts on the matter. The Committee responded to Libya on the same topic as well. Additionally, members of the Committee met at a technical working level to further discuss two assets-freeze-related recommendations contained in the final report of the Panel of Experts under the previous mandate (see S/2022/427). Thereafter, the Committee agreed to dispatch a note verbale to all Member States on the Panel's recommendation regarding negative interest rates in connection with frozen assets.

Regarding the travel ban measure, I would like to refer to the previously reported travel notification from Ms. Aisha Al-Qadhafi for travel to Italy, under the six-month extension to the exemption from the travel ban granted for humanitarian purposes. Owing to technical issues, the Chair's previous report inadvertently omitted that Italy, as the country of destination, had already notified the Committee on the matter within the required notification time frame. Subsequently, a communication was also received from a representative of Ms. Aisha Al-Qadhafi confirming her return to Oman. During the reporting period, the Committee extended for a fourth time the six-month exemption request granted for humanitarian purposes to three individuals on the Committee's list — Ms. Safia Farkash Al-Barassi, Ms. Aisha Al-Qadhafi and Mr. Mohammed Al-Qadhafi. With regard to the sanctions list, the Committee received an eighth communication from the focal point for delisting established pursuant to resolution 1730 (2006) in connection with the delisting

request of a listed individual. The focal-point process is still ongoing.

During the reporting period, the Committee dispatched a note verbale to all Member States in a follow-up to paragraph 8 of resolution 2644 (2022), in which the Security Council calls on them to report to the Committee on their steps taken to effectively implement the travel-ban and asset-freeze measures regarding all individuals on the Libya sanctions list. In that regard, the Committee received three implementation reports from Bahrain, Malta and Moldova.

Before I conclude, given that this is very likely the last time that I will be addressing the Security Council as Chair of the Sanctions Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), on behalf of my predecessor, Ambassador Tirumurti, my team and myself, I would like to thank the members of the Committee for the support they have provided in the past two years and to reiterate the Committee's commitment to contributing to promoting peace and stability in Libya.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

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

Dame Barbara Woodward (United Kingdom): I would like to start by thanking Special Representative of the Secretary-General Bathily and you, Madam President, as Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya, for your briefing and updates. I would like to make three points.

First, we welcome Mr. Bathily's clear message to Libya's political elite that they are blocking progress and must urgently come together to agree on a way forward on the political process. As we approach a year since elections were due, the lack of progress is striking, despite the demonstrable desire of the Libyan people to vote. We stand ready to support Mr. Bathily as he works for an inclusive, Libyan-led process that can deliver long-term political stability, economic prosperity, security-sector reform and the removal of foreign forces and mercenaries, including the Wagner Group, from Libya.

Secondly, we note with disappointment the lack of progress towards agreement on a legal and constitutional basis for elections. The continued inability of the House of Representatives and High State Council to deliver

that undermines their credibility and stalls progress. As a Council, we should collectively bring pressure to bear on Libya's political leaders to work constructively with Mr. Bathily and a broader range of Libyan actors to agree on an achievable basis for free, fair and inclusive parliamentary and presidential elections without further delay.

Thirdly, a vibrant and open civil society should be an integral part of the political process. I remain deeply concerned about the reports of increased restrictions and decreasing operating space for civil-society organizations. I therefore call on all the Libyan parties to ensure that civil-society actors, including women activists and peacebuilders, can continue their roles safely and unhindered. I also ask Special Representative of the Secretary-General Bathily to ensure that civil society and the voices of Libyan citizens are represented in the political process that seeks to determine their future.

This past year Libya has faced many obstacles and a disappointing lack of sustainable progress on the way forward. I therefore urge all Libyan actors, with support from the region and the wider international community, to fulfil their responsibilities to deliver political progress in 2023. We in the Security Council should give our full support to Mr. Bathily in ensuring they achieve that.

Mr. Kimani (Kenya): I have the honour to deliver this statement on behalf of the three African members of the Security Council (A3), Gabon, Ghana and Kenya.

We thank Special Representative of the Secretary-General Abdoulaye Bathily and you, Madam President, as Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya, for our briefings, and welcome the participation of Ambassador Taher Elsonni, Permanent Representative of Libya. We have taken note of the report of the Secretary-General (S/2022/932) and commend the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for his continued mediation efforts. We also commend the staff of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) for their work.

It is good that as of today's meeting there has been relative calm, especially in and around Tripoli. However, we are acutely aware of how delicately the ceasefire is holding. Any more time that we spend on this file should therefore be geared to a serious dive into the practical aspects of guiding and supporting the

peace process. That is why we are particularly keen on the Special Representative of the Secretary-General's plan of action, informed by wide consultations with Libyan stakeholders. In that regard, we propose four elements that we consider critical to the success of the peace process.

First, the process must be truly Libyan-led and -owned. The people of Libya are capable of deciding what is best for Libya. As Libyans, they understand their history and the vision of their country. They know what has worked, what has not and why. They understand the psyche of the people and are able to prescribe practical solutions. For that to happen, the international community should refrain from dictating solutions, which is tantamount to foreign interference. When played out in public, it is utterly careless and leads to confusion. We demand the departure of foreign forces, foreign fighters and mercenaries from Libya, as they undermine Libya's territorial integrity and national ownership of the peace process.

Secondly, if Libyans are to be able to make such Libyan-led and -owned decisions, we must provide them with the space for dialogue and national reconciliation, linked to every stage and track of the peace process as acknowledged under resolution 2656 (2022). Intra-Libyan dialogue is critical and should include all Libyan stakeholders, including the full, equal and meaningful participation of women and young people. UNSMIL should be strengthened to enable it to provide the requisite support, not only at the central political level but in grass-roots engagement as well. We commend the Presidential Council for taking leadership of the national reconciliation process, including the drafting of a reconciliation law and the plans for a national reconciliation conference, with the support of the African Union. An inclusive national dialogue and reconciliation process will make for the firmest foundation for the development of a consensus constitutional basis on which credible national elections can be conducted as the people of Libya desire.

The third element is the coordination of international support through the United Nations-led process. Foreign interference in Libya is also manifest through uncoordinated international support. Some of it is driven by narrow foreign interests in Libyan resources, while others are doing it to advance proxy wars. In that regard, we call on all Libyan political actors, especially those who may be advancing the cause of foreign interests, to consider the overall interests of

Libyans as a matter of urgency. To counter that, any international assistance offered to Libya for the peace process should respect the United Nations-mandated leadership of the process, as stipulated under resolution 2542 (2020). International assistance is important, but should be channelled in a manner that does not feed the ongoing political impasse to further divide Libyans and advance foreign agendas on Libyan soil.

The fourth and final element is the critical role of neighbouring States and regional and subregional organizations. Libya is inextricably linked with its neighbours in history, culture, politics and economics, among other areas — hence the direct bearing of the conflict on the region. We call for active coordination and collaboration by the United Nations-led process with neighbouring States and regional initiatives. That is indispensable to a successful peace process in Libya and a stable region. We urge coordination and cooperation in, among other areas, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration; counter-terrorism; and the trafficking and smuggling of arms and humans.

The inhumane treatment of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers continues unabated, despite our repeated calls for further action to tackle it. We have repeatedly called for closer monitoring of resources and information channelled towards tackling illegal and irregular migration in Libya through the Mediterranean Sea and to the southern outline of the European coast. We reiterate that call.

Given the magnitude of the issue, support for border and migration management programmes on the northern frontier of the African continent needs to have international transparency and corresponding systems of accountability. We call on the European Union and its members to factor that into their migration policies.

We demand that refugees, migrants and asylum seekers be treated with dignity as a basic requirement of international law. To provide a clearer status of the intensity of the problem, we request a more comprehensive segment on the same in the Secretary-General's report. Including representatives of the United Nations agencies for refugees and migration as briefers in Council meetings on Libya would also be informative.

We acknowledge the work of the Sanctions Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) and recall that sanctions are not perpetual but are a means towards the ultimate goal, which is the

peace and stability of Libya. In that regard, there should be close coordination with Libyan authorities in the administration of sanctions. We emphasize that all Libya's frozen assets belong to Libyans and therefore should be preserved for the eventual return to and benefit of Libyans.

Finally, we reaffirm our respect for Libya's territorial integrity and sovereignty and support for the people of Libya for a truly Libyan-led and -owned peace process.

Before I finish, I wish to make some remarks in my national capacity. This is the last briefing on the situation in Libya in which Kenya is participating as an elected member of the Security Council for the period 2021–2022. As we covered the Libya file, we sought to speak for the people of Libya. We thank Ambassador Taher Elsonni, Permanent Representative of Libya, for helping us to see and understand the aspirations of Libyans. We assure him, and through him the people of Libya, that Kenya will continue to support them in their aspirations for peace and stability.

Finally, my delegation found great strength in the unity of the A3, so I thank Gabon and Ghana for their great support. We will keep our doors of cooperation open.

Mr. Geng Shuang (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Bathily, and you, Madam President, as the Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya, for your briefings. I welcome the presence of the Permanent Representative of Libya to today's meeting.

It has been nearly a year since the postponement of Libya's elections, which were planned for 24 December 2021. During this period, the Libyan parties have been disputing the legitimacy of the Government, security incidents have occurred one after another, and there has been little progress on the important work related to the long-term stability of Libya, such as disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and the reunification of State institutions. The status quo is therefore unsustainable. China hopes that all parties in Libya will put the interests of the country and its people first, avoid any actions that might complicate the situation and restart the dialogue and negotiation process as soon as possible under the good offices of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

The top priority remains to reach agreement on the constitutional basis for the elections as soon as possible, to hold the elections in order to overcome the political division Libya is facing, and to create a political environment conducive to Libya's national development and reconstruction.

The United Nations is the main channel for good offices on Libya. Special Representative Bathily has recently done a great deal of work to restart the political process in Libya, which China appreciates. We call upon the international community to implement the Libyan-led and Libyan-owned principle, respect Libya's sovereignty and territorial integrity, actively support the good offices of the United Nations and avoid imposing external solutions.

The national reconciliation of Libyan parties and their harmonious coexistence will help to create a propitious environment for the Libyan political process and help to resolve the deep-rooted antagonisms of Libya's years of turmoil.

China supports the promotion of the strategic vision of national reconciliation by all parties in Libya, welcomes the upcoming national reconciliation conference and encourages the African Union and other regional organizations to give full play to their advantages in the field of reconciliation and to provide active support to the Libyan reconciliation process so as to lay a solid foundation for Libya to achieve long-term peace and stability.

According to the report of the Secretary-General (S/2022/932), the ceasefire in Libya is generally holding, but the security situation is tense and fragile, which is of concern to China. The Libyan issue cannot be solved by military means. We call upon all parties in Libya to adhere to the general direction of a political settlement, exercise maximum restraint and maintain the hard-won peace.

The 5+5 Joint Military Commission has an irreplaceable role in implementing the ceasefire agreement. The Libyan parties should continue to strengthen their communication through the Commission to avoid miscalculation. All foreign combatants and mercenaries in Libya should be withdrawn from the country as soon as possible in a balanced and orderly manner, in accordance with the will of the Libyan people. In that process, all parties concerned should strengthen coordination with

neighbouring countries to avoid increasing regional security risks.

Mr. Cisneros Chávez (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Special Representative Abdoulaye Bathily for his briefing and reiterate Mexico's support for his efforts to restart the political process in Libya. I also take this opportunity to congratulate India on the excellent work it spearheaded as Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya. I welcome the Permanent Representative of Libya to this meeting.

In recent months, it has become clear that parliamentary and presidential elections are the only way to make progress on the unification of Libyan institutions and put an end to the current uncertainty.

While we recognize the importance of reforms in the economic and security spheres, we are aware that the current institutions face structural problems in implementing those reforms and the agreements inherited from the Libyan Political Dialogue Forum and the Berlin Conferences on Libya.

We therefore believe that only a popular vote will make it possible to renew the State's authority and to extend it across the entire Libyan territory in order to successfully promote the pending reforms. Consequently, we urge the Special Representative and the Libyan parties to continue steering the various ongoing dialogue processes towards the organization of credible, inclusive and fair elections.

Mexico calls on the political actors involved to explore creatively and in good faith the options that will make it possible to overcome the differences with respect to the legal framework for elections.

Unfortunately, the influence of external actors has contributed to deepening divisions among Libyans. As long as that polarization continues and is incited by actors outside the country, the security and stability of the entire region will be at risk. The absence of a strong State is precisely why we are seeing situations where Chadian armed groups are active in southern Libya, terrorist groups have a presence on the country's territory and illicit arms are flowing into the region. We have emphasized the harmful effects of those situations, particularly in the Sahel, on many occasions. That is why for the past two years my country has insisted on the need to strengthen regional cooperation in implementing the arms embargo and preventing

the flow of arms to the Sahel and North Africa. Considering the current situation in Libya, Mexico believes that the Security Council and the various United Nations agencies present in the country have a special responsibility to protect the rights of the groups most affected by the conflict.

In that regard, we once again condemn the abuses that have been committed against migrants and refugees in Libya, as well as activists, particularly women activists. We also deplore the shrinking of the civil-society space. It is imperative that the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) keep the Security Council informed on all the aspects of the conflict related to the human rights situation, including sexual violence. At the same time, we call on the Libyan authorities to cooperate with the International Criminal Court and the Independent Fact-Finding Mission on Libya. Accountability is essential if the Libyan people are to move towards a true national reconciliation that will enable them to achieve the peace and freedom they have been fighting to secure for so many years.

As this will be Mexico's last statement on this issue during its term as an elected member of the Security Council, I would like to conclude by expressing our appreciation for the work of the Special Representative and UNSMIL. I also renew my country's commitment to Libya's sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

Mr. Jardim Oliveira (Brazil): I would like to thank you, Madam President, for your briefing in your capacity as Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), and for India's chairmanship of the Committee throughout its mandate. I also thank the Special Representative Bathily for his briefing and welcome the Libyan delegation to today's meeting.

Last month we heard the Special Representative speak about some of the obstacles preventing progress towards elections in Libya (see S/PV.9192). The picture painted today differs little from what we heard then. Mr. Bathily spoke very candidly of some Libyan institutional players who are actively hindering the progress towards elections. In that regard, Brazil would like to emphasize that through its 1970 Sanctions Committee, the Council remains in a position to target individuals who undermine the successful completion of the Libyan political transition. It is worth reminding the Council that should there be evidence supporting any findings that individuals are obstructing elections, the Committee can extend to those persons the measures

set out in resolution 1970 (2011) and as modified by subsequent resolutions. That was indeed the Council's reminder through its adoption in October of paragraph 8 of resolution 2656 (2022), demonstrating the unity that is needed to address the situation in Libya. In addition, the unity of the Council should go beyond its call for elections. We concur with the Special Representative that there is a deficit of legitimacy in the parallel Government institutions that emerged from an incomplete transitional period that has already expired. Against that backdrop, we should be careful not to allow the domestic bifurcation of Libya's institutions to replicate itself internationally.

In that regard, Brazil emphasizes the need to coordinate international efforts aimed at Libya under the auspices of the appropriate United Nations agencies, as well as the mediating role of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL). Channelling those efforts adequately through the appropriate multilateral forums is essential to ensuring a true Libyan-led and Libyan-owned political process. We welcome the Special Representative's recent engagement with actors in the region and hope it can actually contribute to the implementation of Libyan solutions reached within Libya through negotiations involving all Libyan stakeholders. In that regard, we also recall the significant role that the Peacebuilding Commission can play, on Libya's request, in mobilizing and coordinating international attention to the country in full respect for Libya's sovereignty.

Brazil emphasizes the importance of enforcing the arms embargo in Libya in a transparent and non-discriminatory manner. Today the authorization for Member States to inspect vessels suspected of violating the arms embargo is for all practical purposes being acted on by only one regional organization. That circumstance increases the demand for neutrality and impartiality on the part of the operation implementing the embargo. We welcome the French Mission's organization last week of a briefing session on the European Union Naval Force Mediterranean Operation IRINI, with the participation of the Force Commander. A better understanding of the obstacles related to logistics and capacity that are preventing Operation IRINI from identifying more vessels in potential breach of the arms embargo would certainly strengthen perceptions that it is objectively contributing to reducing the flow of weapons into Libya.

Brazil commends the contribution of the 5+5 Joint Military Commission to consolidating the ceasefire agreement reached in 2020. We particularly welcome the Commission's endorsement last week of terms of reference paving the way for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of armed groups in Libya. We look forward to further results on that front, bearing in mind the Commission's upcoming meeting scheduled for next month.

Regarding the withdrawal of foreign forces and mercenaries from Libya, we would like to highlight resolutions 2647 (2022) and 2656 (2022), the two most recent in this area, adopted in July and October. Both acknowledged the need for a synchronized, phased, gradual and balanced withdrawal. At the same time, they both also urged for the withdrawal to begin immediately, without further delay. Brazil therefore calls on all parties to act accordingly.

Finally, we would like to reiterate the concerns that have been expressed about the active management of Libyan assets frozen abroad, as well as the application of policies that can contribute to the erosion of those assets. We recall the conclusion by the Panel of Experts that active management of Libyan assets is not allowed under the auspices of operative paragraph 19 of resolution 1970 (2011). We also recall the Panel's observation that some national policies used in commercial banking may actually contradict the aim of the sanctions regime, which is to preserve those funds for the benefit of the Libyan population.

Brazil stands committed to further contributing to a restoration of peace and stability in Libya in a manner that is respectful of Libya's sovereignty and territorial integrity. We continue to believe that in order to achieve that goal, our efforts should focus on allowing Libyan priorities to materialize. These are most prominent in the fields of national reconciliation, institution-building, peacebuilding and economic development, and should be pursued without foreign interference and for the benefit of the Libyan people, under a unified Libyan State.

Mrs. Broadhurst Estival (France) (*spoke in French*): I thank the Special Representative for his briefing and efforts to engage with Libyan and international actors. I also welcome the participation of the Permanent Representative of Libya in today's meeting.

The Libyan authorities failed to implement the agreement reached in the Libyan Political Dialogue Forum on holding presidential and legislative elections on 24 December 2021. Almost one year later, the promise made to the Libyan people of a return to democracy remains unfulfilled. In that regard, relaunching the electoral process remains France's foremost priority for Libya. The first prerequisite for that is the formation of a unified Government capable both of holding credible presidential and legislative elections simultaneously throughout Libya and of ensuring governance everywhere and for all.

Secondly, an agreement on a constitutional and legal framework, as well as a new and credible political road map, are also required in order to ensure that the elections are held. The road map must include political and financial safeguards. The absence of corruption and the acceptance of the results by all will be key to ensuring the success of the elections.

France continues to support the full implementation of the ceasefire agreement, in coordination with the United Nations. At the meeting of the 5+5 Joint Military Committee on 8 December in Tunis, which brought together security actors from both the east and west of the country, the Committee expressed its willingness to move towards establishing a unified Libyan army capable of maintaining the ceasefire and controlling the borders. Those stakeholders also called for the process of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of the militias to speeded up. The Libyan authorities must therefore rise to those challenges and support the 5+5 Joint Military Committee.

Finally, continued work is also essential to ensure compliance with the arms embargo and the withdrawal of all foreign forces, foreign fighters and mercenaries from Libya's territory, in cooperation with its neighbours.

France calls for concrete action to be taken in support of the equitable and transparent redistribution of revenues for the benefit of the entire population. We regret the lack of progress in the reunification process of the Central Bank of Libya.

France is concerned about the human rights violations that human traffickers and militia groups have been perpetrating, in particular against migrants and refugees. We deplore the restrictions on the freedom of expression of civil society, as well as the entrenchment of obstacles to the work of

non-governmental organizations, particularly in the Tripoli area. Those organizations need to be able to carry out their humanitarian and development activities in the service of the Libyan population.

Maintaining the status quo risks leading to a de facto partition of the country, a situation that endangers regional stability. France reiterates its full support to Special Representative Abdoulaye Bathily's mediation efforts and calls on all actors to work together towards a united, sovereign and democratic Libya.

Mr. Mythen (Ireland): I would like to thank you, Madam President, for your briefing today and your work as Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya. I also thank Special Representative Bathily for his informative update. As this is Ireland's last scheduled briefing on Libya during our tenure on the Security Council, I wish to acknowledge and express our appreciation for the vital work Mr. Bathily has done since taking office and assure him of our support going forward.

Next week will mark one year since the postponement of Libya's planned presidential and parliamentary elections. Those elections were intended to mark a crucial stage in securing a peaceful, stable and prosperous outlook for all Libyans. They were intended to return the future of Libya into the hands of the Libyan people. Regrettably, since the postponement last December, we have not seen the progress required to bring us back to the ballot box. The prolonged divide over executive power is deeply troubling, and we are concerned that political and institutional divisions could become even more entrenched.

There is an urgent need for all Libyan leaders to come together and agree on a constitutional basis for the holding of free, fair and inclusive elections as soon as possible. We urge all Libyan institutions, including the House of Representatives, the High State Council and the Presidential Council, to reinvigorate efforts to that end through good-faith dialogue. All stakeholders, both in Libya and internationally, must set aside self-interest in service of a peaceful, stable and prosperous future for the people of Libya.

We are very encouraged by the Special Representative's commitment to an inclusive process for overcoming the deadlock. We welcome his visit to Sebha, in southern Libya, last month. We also agree with his assessment that Libyan women have

a critical role to play in Libya's journey to stability. We should not accept that only those who have been involved in conflict get a chance to shape the peace. The full, equal, meaningful and safe participation of women and the inclusion of young people in all areas of Libya's political, economic and security sectors must be secured.

While the ceasefire continues to hold, we are concerned that the protracted political stalemate and prominence of politically aligned militias will lead to deeper instability and conflict, as we witnessed in Tripoli in August. All actors have a responsibility to protect civilians and refrain from escalatory actions or rhetoric.

We welcome the continued work of the Joint Military Commission, a key enabler of the ceasefire agreement. The establishment in November of a subcommittee on armed groups and the convening of the security working group in Tunis earlier this month are welcome steps. The unification of the military and security architecture is clearly a key component for any sustainable solution.

On the other hand, we remain deeply concerned about the shrinking civil society space in Libya. The deliberate targeting of civil society, including women's rights activists, as well as arbitrary detentions must end. Migrants and refugees continue to be subject to human rights violations and face serious humanitarian and protection concerns. The killing of at least 15 migrants and asylum seekers in Sabratha in October serves as a shocking reminder of that grim reality.

We urge the Libyan authorities to address impunity and ensure accountability for all those who have suffered violations of international humanitarian law, as well as violations and abuses of human rights. Ensuring accountability and justice is essential not only for victims and survivors, but also to counter impunity and prevent future violations.

We welcome efforts made by the authorities to advance durable solutions for internally displaced persons, including through the finalization of a national strategy in line with the United Nations Sustainable Development Cooperation Framework.

Let me conclude by echoing the Special Representative's call for a Libyan-led and -owned process, under United Nations auspices, that addresses the aspirations of the Libyan people to choose their own

leadership. We urge all members around this table to remain united in support of those legitimate aspirations. The status quo, which serves only the few and not the many, is unsustainable and, frankly, unacceptable. We hope that 2023 will find Libyans on the path to a genuine and sustainable peace.

Mr. Polyanskiy (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We thank Mr. Abdoulaye Bathily, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Libya and Head of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL), for his briefing. We also thank you, Madam, for your briefing as Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya.

We continue to pay close attention to the developments in Libya. Having reverted to a system of duality of power, Libya is once again balancing on the verge of a resumption of armed conflict. We cannot rule out a possible escalation in the foreseeable future. The country's leading political forces are mobilizing their supporters and trying to secure additional support from the outside, while promising the external stakeholders that their interests in Libya will be guaranteed once their opponents in the struggle for power are defeated. That is hardly the path that ordinary Libyans deserve, given the fact that their country has been in a permanent state of chaos and uncertainty since 2011.

In order to overcome that impasse, Libya needs to agree on a draft of its future constitution and convene nationwide inclusive elections. The involvement of the entire spectrum of Libya's leading political forces, including representatives of former authorities, is a cornerstone of national reconciliation. We therefore welcome the efforts of the African Union to organize an all-Libyan conference to that end.

However, as we can see, there is still a long way to go before the situation can be resolved. We regret to note the lack of meaningful progress on the political track. The intensive consultations between the leadership of the House of Representatives and the High State Council have yet to yield any breakthroughs. They were merely limited to the discussion of plans for distributing the high-ranking leadership positions of the executive and a mutual affirmation of an intent to conduct a popular vote as soon as possible.

At the moment, the prospects for implementing concrete steps towards agreeing on a draft constitutional framework and conducting a national vote are becoming

even more elusive against the backdrop of the suspended interaction between the House of Representatives and High State Council because of the disagreements that arose in early December. It seems, unfortunately, that the Libyan politicians themselves are not very interested in finding a compromise.

We are convinced that the role of the United Nations is more relevant today than ever before. We are counting on UNSMIL to step up its activity as an impartial and neutral mediator in moving forward the political process in Libya. It would be a mistake to build a Libyan settlement outside of the framework set by the Security Council. We once again express our support to Special Representative Bathily and hope that his efforts to revive the Libyan settlement in all areas will be successful. We are ready for close cooperation and a substantive exchange of views with Mr. Bathily on the situation in Libya.

Given the current trends in Libya, engagement on the military track is key. We took note of the agreements reached earlier in December under the Special Representative's mediation to convene a session of the 5+5 Joint Military Commission in January 2023 in Sirte, Libya. We call on the parties to deliver on their respective obligations under the ceasefire agreement and to stop delaying the unification of the national armed forces, especially in the light of the constructive approach clearly demonstrated in that regard in both eastern and western Libya. Any inadvertent accident or deliberate provocation could trigger a new outbreak of violence or lead to a military disaster. In that context, the issue of eliminating the foreign military presence in Libya remains crucial. We have consistently advocated for a synchronized, well-balanced and step-by-step withdrawal of all non-Libyan armed groups and military units, without exception.

We understand the Libyan people's desire to ensure stable exports of their hydrocarbons, considering that they are critical to Libya's economic recovery. We underscore that oil revenues must be distributed in a fair and transparent manner. Otherwise, the Libyan people could once again fall victim to the duplicitous agenda of the Western States, which are ready to sacrifice a comprehensive and lasting settlement in Libya to their own geopolitical and commercial interests.

There should also be a continued focus on the management of the Libyan assets that were frozen by the relevant Security Council sanctions. The international

restrictions are supposed to help guide the political process and a return to stability while safeguarding Libya's money, rather than helping Western States enrich themselves. It is unacceptable that financial institutions in third countries profit from Libyan assets, which should be preserved for succeeding generations of Libyans. We will continue to monitor that aspect closely, including in the context of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011).

Ms. Juul (Norway): I thank Special Representative of the Secretary-General Bathily for his briefing on the latest developments in Libya. I also thank the Permanent Representative of India for her briefing on the work of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya, and warmly welcome the Permanent Representative of Libya to today's meeting.

Norway strongly supports the important work of Mr. Bathily and the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) to get the Libyan-led and -owned political process back on track. In particular, we applaud his ongoing work to engage in consultations with a broad range of relevant stakeholders and actors, including regional organizations and neighbouring countries, as well as civil society, women and young people's groups from across Libya. We call on all Libyan institutions and parties to engage with the Special Representative in good faith and work constructively with him to find a solution to end the political impasse. This month we mark one year since elections were postponed and progress brought to a standstill. It is important that all sides agree on a consensus-based way forward to preserve the country's unity and stability and meet the demands of the Libyan people themselves. We echo the Secretary-General's call for agreement on the way forward so that the Libyan people can determine their own future through national, transparent and inclusive elections. Sadly, we have yet to see Libya's political leaders demonstrate the necessary political will. The political and institutional divide is widening and deepening, the security situation is fragile, and the people of Libya are suffering. A strong and persuasive United Nations is needed to lead a united international effort to put an end to that unsustainable deadlock. The international community must speak with one voice on Libya.

It is a positive step that the 5+5 Joint Military Commission (JMC) has agreed to resume its work and move forward with the implementation of the ceasefire agreement. We understand that the Commission plans

to convene in January, and we hope it will use that opportunity both to build on its previous achievements and reinvigorate progress on outstanding issues. We are especially pleased to note that the Commission has agreed to establish a technical subcommittee on the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) process, which is a crucial element of the ceasefire agreement. The DDR process, together with steps to unify Libya's armed forces, as well as to ensure the full withdrawal of foreign fighters and reform of the security sector, remains an essential component for building lasting peace and stability both in Libya and the wider region.

Norway remains concerned about the reports of the arbitrary arrests, detention and sentencing of civil-society representatives, human rights defenders, humanitarian workers and social activists for exercising their right to freedom of expression. We also underline the importance of an independent judicial system for securing the rule of law. Similarly, we are deeply troubled that UNSMIL has observed a "significant surge" in verified cases of violations against children this fall, as well as attacks on schools and hospitals. That is simply unacceptable. We call on the Libyan authorities to fulfil their obligations to protect human rights and the space for civil society.

Finally, we encourage all the parties to show restraint, refrain from any escalatory actions or rhetoric and tackle the resolution of this conflict through peaceful solutions with a sense of urgency. As this is the last meeting on Libya during our country's tenure on the Security Council, I want to assure everyone that Norway will continue to stay engaged in and support the United Nations efforts to find the political solution that the Libyan people desperately want and deserve.

Mr. Hoxha (Albania): I thank Special Representative of the Secretary-General Bathily for the update. I would also like to thank you, Madam President, for the briefing of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), and I congratulate you on the work that India has conducted as Chair of the Committee over the past two years.

Almost one year has passed since 24 December 2021. The elections were called off, dashing the strong desire of the Libyan people to go to the polls, elect their representatives and give Libya the sense it still lacks in its path to the future. It was a monumental setback with serious repercussions, which, as we see, continue

to this day. The latest unilateral decisions — the attempt by the House of Representatives to set up a constitutional court in Benghazi and in return, the decision by the High State Council to suspend all interactions with Parliament — add to a long list of unwelcome events. All of that is wrong, disappointing, bad and counterproductive, and only feeds into the never-ending, frustrating impasse that Libyan leaders have made their refuge. Such unilateral initiatives only foment more divisions in an already sharply divided country and seriously undermine the United Nations-facilitated efforts to set the stage for presidential and parliamentary elections. We have reiterated a number of times this year — and it needs to be repeated again — that only elections will provide legitimacy to the Libyan leaders and institutions and open a path to unifying the country.

We are encouraged by the clear sense of direction emerging from the statements and public declarations of the Special Representative, whom we want to assure of our full support. We reiterate our call to the Libyan and international stakeholders to set their personal and factional interests aside and work hand in hand with the Special Representative to find the much-needed compromises that will enable the elections to be held as soon as possible. In our view, the road map to national elections depends on a timely and comprehensive solution that encompasses the finalization of the constitutional basis; striking an agreement to create a purpose-driven Government that is unified, neutral and capable of holding interference-free elections everywhere in the country; and ensuring the equitable and transparent management of oil-industry profits and other national resources. The Libyan people have grown increasingly weary of the corruption and wasteful management perpetuated by a few while the population faces increasingly difficult living conditions. The common wisdom indicates the need for every opportunity to be seized and every possible solution be explored to revive the intra-Libyan dialogue. Time is of the essence, and that should be of concern to Libya's leaders. They must know that with their stubbornness, they continue to stand between the current stalemate and hope for Libya.

Albania welcomes the fact that the 2020 ceasefire is still holding. We commend the outcomes of the plenary meeting of the Security Working Group of the International Follow-up Committee on Libya, held on 7 December in Tunis under the leadership of the Special

Representative. We are pleased with the agreement among the 5+5 Joint Military Committee on some complex issues related to demobilization, disarmament and reintegration and in favour of starting dialogue with armed groups across the country. The commitment to re-energizing efforts for the withdrawal of foreign combatant forces and mercenaries is a relevant and necessary step. We look forward to a resumption of the meetings in Sirte on 15 January under United Nations auspices.

The Council should support that progress and jointly call for all international partners to refrain from any interference or obstruction. Albania — and, I hope, the entire Council — will not stand idly by before any actions affecting Libya's sovereignty, territorial integrity or prosperity. The same goes for the much-needed support for civil society and freedom of expression.

Time is being unforgivably wasted in Libya. The interim institutions there are rusting. The Libyan people do not deserve to wait endlessly — they deserve a democratic, free, united, stable and prosperous country, and that perspective starts with elections.

Mr. Abushahab (United Arab Emirates) (*spoke in Arabic*): I thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Abdoulaye Bathily, for his valuable briefing, and I also thank Your Excellency Ambassador Ruchira Kamboj, for your briefing. I would like to seize this opportunity to commend you on the important role that you and your predecessor, Ambassador T. S. Tirumurti, have played in chairing the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya. We wish the incoming Chair every success. I would also like to welcome His Excellency Ambassador Taher Elsonni to today's meeting.

Nearly a week from today will mark one year since the elections were postponed in Libya. While the elections have not taken place yet, we hope that the Libyan parties are able to unite and overcome their remaining differences. However, that aspiration for unity must also be matched by the unity of Council members and partners through support for the Special Representative's efforts.

We believe that the effective engagement of the Libyans and the international community with Mr. Bathily is encouraging and should be intensified. Such engagement adds momentum to the political track

and advances the electoral process. In that regard, we must commend the good offices of Libya's neighbouring States that are invested in aligning different points of view in order to enable Libya to hold parliamentary and presidential elections, thus ending the transitional period. Therefore, we call on all actors to coordinate their efforts with the Special Representative to ensure that they complement his good offices. We also stress the importance of ensuring the full, equal and meaningful participation of Libyan women in the political process.

We note the importance of Libyan national reconciliation in order to turn the page on the past and strengthen national cohesion in a way that serves peace and security in the long term. In that regard, we commend the United Nations and regional organizations for prioritizing support for de-escalation efforts and a comprehensive and inclusive reconciliation process. In conjunction with political efforts, it is imperative to continue building on the gains made in the security sector, especially in defeating terrorism and maintaining the ceasefire.

We continue to demand the gradual, balanced and parallel withdrawal of foreign forces, foreign fighters and mercenaries. We thank the military leaders and members of the 5+5 Joint Military Commission for their impartiality and for prioritizing national interests to safeguard the ceasefire agreement, which should be made permanent. We urge them to take concrete steps to unify security institutions to serve the Libyan people. That would also prevent the illegal proliferation of weapons and ensure that clashes affecting the safety and security of the Libyan people are not repeated. It would also address the threats posed by unexploded ordnance to the population. We further support calls by the United Nations Support Mission in Libya for disarmament and security sector reform, as well as the joint statement by the United Nations Children's Fund and the United Nations Mine Action Service on the danger of unexploded ordnance to civilians, especially children.

Although Libya is a country rich in natural resources, there are many challenges that severely affect the everyday lives of Libyan citizens, including a lack of access to education and health care and delays in the payment of salaries. Therefore, we support the efforts of the United Nations to work and cooperate with Libyan institutions, including the United Nations Sustainable Development Cooperation Framework, which was initiated recently by the United Nations

for achieving sustainable development, and to ensure that the Libyan people, including women, youth and children, can build resilience in the face of current challenges. We also support the Organization's current efforts to provide necessary vaccines to all parts of Libya, especially vaccines that protect children, as there is a shortage of vaccines at the local level.

In conclusion, the United Arab Emirates looks forward to seeing the road map of the Special Representative, which we hope will present essential Libyan-led and -owned tracks for achieving progress in a manner that establishes stability and meets the aspirations of the Libyan people for security and prosperity.

Mr. Wood (United States of America): I thank Special Representative of the Secretary-General Bathily for his update on the current situation in Libya. We have been impressed with his perseverance so far in convening Libya's leaders, and we continue to support his efforts.

In the seven years since the signing of the Libyan Political Agreement, the Libyan people have witnessed conflict, Government mismanagement, rampant corruption and human rights abuses instead of the democracy and prosperity that they deserve. Libya's political transition remains stuck in the year since the failure of Libya's leaders to hold presidential elections. We support the Special Representative's efforts to help Libyan leaders work to solve Libyan problems in Libya and to encourage them to engage with the Libyan people to explain why they deserve their votes in free and fair elections.

In the past year, we have seen the continued manipulation of Libya's oil resources and the diversion of revenues to fund militias in both the east and the west of the country, instead of being used to benefit the Libyan people by building infrastructure, promoting a diversified economy or improving services such as health care and education. The leaders of sovereign institutions have been threatened, and technocrats have been sidelined in favour of a rotating cast of cronies. Phony legal justifications have been used to attempt to close State institutions to subvert their authority. Where does that leave Libya? Powerful Libyans have undermined the road map to elections, seeking only to protect their spheres of influence. They preside over turf battles among militias, criminal enterprises and foreign

fighters, as well as the horrific treatment of migrants and declining living standards for the Libyan people.

The Libyan people have long made it clear that they want better for themselves and their country. They have demanded elections. We reiterate that it is imperative for Libyan stakeholders to engage in good faith discussions facilitated by Special Representative Bathily and the United Nations Support Mission in Libya towards the establishment of a constitutional framework for presidential and parliamentary elections and a timeline for a vote.

We have seen that meaningful progress is possible. The meetings in September between representatives of the House of Representatives and the High State Council yielded considerable agreement on a draft framework for elections. We know the remaining items are not about substantive constitutional issues, but are instead about shaping the framework to accommodate the circumstances of specific individuals. It is time to set aside the ambition that has frozen Libya for years and finalize the framework. The finalization of a revenue management and transparency mechanism should help to blunt personal ambition by reducing opportunities for personal enrichment and access to funds to maintain personal security arrangements. It is hard to imagine a credible and reasonable objection to joint decision-making and transparent recordkeeping around the allocation of Libya's vast oil wealth. We appreciate Special Representative Bathily's efforts to prioritize the establishment of a transparency mechanism.

The work of the 5+5 Joint Military Commission has largely been positive. It is imperative to ensure that the group continues its collaboration on the implementation of the ceasefire agreement. We welcome the deliberate consideration of initiatives and pilot projects to unite the armed forces and look forward to detailed information about such ideas.

Once again, we thank Special Representative Bathily for his efforts to generate an agreement on the holding of free and fair presidential and parliamentary elections. The United States supports that work and urges Libyan leaders to engage constructively in order to deliver elections, which are desperately needed to restore the credibility of the Libyan Government and the faith of the Libyan people. Special Representative Bathily has a challenging mission before him, but we want to assure him of the continued steadfast support of the United States as he helps to move the Libyan people

towards elections, better governance and, ultimately, security and prosperity.

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

I thank Special Representative Bathily for his briefing today. I also welcome the Libyan Ambassador to this meeting.

As we near the end of our tenure, we feel compelled to reflect on the fact that the progress made after the signing of the ceasefire agreement in October 2020 is at risk of being undermined. It has been nearly a year since the missed deadline for elections and yet we have no agreement on the way forward. The political impasse continues and points of friction between various institutions have given rise to tensions. It is important that all actors resume their cooperation in order to overcome the political deadlock. That is in the interests both of the people of Libya and the region as a whole. Holding elections as soon as possible and in a free, fair, inclusive and credible manner is an urgent imperative.

Despite the call of the Libyan parties, the continued presence of foreign forces and mercenaries in Libya, in violation of multiple Security Council pronouncements, is a matter of concern. Their continuing mobilizations and clashes bring to focus the dangers they pose to Libya's security and stability. Violations of Security Council resolutions, especially its provisions on the arms embargo, have gone on with complete disregard for peace and stability in Libya and the region. We are also concerned about the resurgence of terrorist activities in the country and reiterate that terrorist groups and affiliated entities must not be allowed to operate unchallenged in Libya. Terrorism emanating from Libya is bound to have cascading effects in the Sahel region. It is therefore important for the international community to address it at this stage so as to avoid its collateral consequences for the wider African continent.

In conclusion, I reiterate that the political process in Libya should be fully Libyan-led and Libyan-owned, with no imposed or external interference. As we prepare to exit the Security Council, I want to assure everyone that India remains committed to supporting Libya and the Libyan people in their endeavour to seek lasting peace and stability.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I now give the floor to the representative of Libya.

Mr. Elsonni (Libya) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I want to congratulate you, Madam President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month, and to take this opportunity to thank you for your country's efforts during its membership of the Council for the past two years, as well as during its chairmanship of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank my colleagues who represent the other members leaving at the end of this month — Ireland, Kenya, Mexico and Norway — for all their efforts. I thank Kenya in particular for its efforts as one of the Council's three African members (A3), and my colleague Martin Kimani for his representation of the A3 in the Council.

Next week will mark the anniversary for the presidential and parliamentary elections that were supposed to be held on 24 December 2021. Those elections had almost 100 presidential candidates and 4,500 parliamentary candidates with nearly 3 million voters. All of them were looking forward to a democratic election as a way out of the spiral of conflict that has been going on for years and as the beginning of the end for all the transitional periods. However, those elections, unfortunately, did not take place, for reasons that are now well known to us all. The Security Council was unable to address the situation, despite its statements and resolutions and its calls for the elections to be held on that semi-sacred date. Nor was the Council unable to identify those who hindered and undermined the elections, whether locally or internationally. Why? That was why we lost hope and why the country was in a desperate mood. The door was opened once again to conflicting internal and international proposals and initiatives, until we finally arrived at an intense political impasse, division and stalemate in the entire political process. All of that begs the question as to whether anyone really has any serious intention of working together to get out of this vicious circle.

Today, unfortunately, the only thing we are left with is to reiterate to the Council and to Mr. Bathily what we have said in our previous briefings, which is that one cannot repeat the same mistakes made in the past and expect different results. Today we heard statements and briefings in the Council. However, what they all have in common is that they are merely narratives of events, with no proposed treatment. They are merely

diagnostic. And what we have to tell the Council is that we have been taking the very same medicine for years and the illness persists. In the light of that, everyone should listen to the voice of the Libyan people and their Libyan-owned and -led solution, along with their desire to end the conflict and achieve stability.

We need support for sincere efforts and national initiatives to reach consensus on a constitutional basis and on election laws, so that general elections can be held as soon as possible, and no effort is spared to end all the transitional periods. The elections should be a means, not an end in themselves, leading to an end to the ongoing crisis and to the conflict among the deteriorating legitimate governmental institutions, which Libyans are tired of. Radical solutions must then be found for the remaining challenges, which have been accumulating for years. In that context, we call on the Council to support national dialogues and initiatives that aim to bring together Libyan stakeholders around a single table, in Libya. The most recent of those was the political initiative launched by the Presidential Council to sponsor a dialogue together with the House of Representatives and the State Council in order to consult on the constitutional framework and a set timetable while taking into consideration the visions of national stakeholders and political parties leading to the fulfilment of the Libyan people's desire to holding see elections held as soon as possible.

We have continued to call for support of the Joint Military Committee, which held its latest meeting in Tunisia last week together with the Security Action Group, as they discussed the strategy for security reform together with the mechanisms and plans for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of combatants, ending the presence in Libya of all foreign military troops and discussing the means to unite the security and military institutions and build the nucleus of a unified Libyan army under civilian command and with a State monopoly on arms. Together, those steps are aimed at reinforcing stability and ending war and its scourge because we all believe firmly that there can be no military solution to the Libyan crisis.

Today we listened to the statement by the representative of India in her capacity as Chair of the Sanctions Committee. In that context, we want to reiterate our warning that certain States are manipulative and have tried repeatedly to seize Libyans' funds and frozen assets of the Libyan Investment Authority. Those funds and assets were frozen in the first place

to be protected and preserved, not to be used to exploit the current crisis and pillaged in an attempt to settle lawsuits or be used for compensation purposes. That flies in the face of all the Council's resolutions. We will not allow that to happen, and we will hold accountable every single person who tries to expropriate the wealth of the Libyan people.

Speaking of sanctions, we would once again like to remind the Council of our request to have the names of a number of our citizens removed from the sanctions list either for humanitarian reasons or because the reasons they were originally listed for have ceased to exist after all these years. We call for the support of the international community for national reconciliation efforts and for rebuilding trust among Libyans, which we see as one of the practical steps that should be taken. The relevant dossier should not be politicized if we are to realize justice and human rights.

In conclusion, we reaffirm once again that the solution to the Libyan crisis lies in putting an end

to external interventions, respecting our national sovereignty and ensuring the commitment of all parties to implementing all the entitlements needed. We need a genuine, honest desire on the part of the international community to support the Libyan people and our national determination for a solution in my country. Despite everything that has been said today, we are optimistic and fully confident in our people, both women and men, and particularly our young people, who can be capable of leading our country and who will contribute to finding a way out of the crisis so that Libya can once again be strong. Together we will build a modern Libya.

The President: There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers.

I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

The meeting rose at 11.45 a.m.