



Security Council

Seventy-seventh year

9233rd meeting

Wednesday, 21 December 2022, 3.55 p.m.

New York

Provisional

President: Mrs. Kamboj (India)

Members:

Albania	Mr. Hoxha
Brazil	Mr. Costa Filho
China	Mr. Geng Shuang
France	Mrs. Broadhurst Estival
Gabon	Mr. Biang
Ghana	Mr. Agyeman
Ireland	Ms. Miley
Kenya	Mr. Kimani
Mexico	Mr. De la Fuente Ramírez
Norway	Ms. Heimerback
Russian Federation	Mr. Nebenzia
United Arab Emirates	Ms. Shaheen
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Jacobs
United States of America	Mr. Wood

Agenda

The question concerning Haiti

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The meeting was called to order at 3.55 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question concerning Haiti

The President: In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Canada, the Dominican Republic and Haiti to participate in this meeting.

On behalf of the Council, I welcome Mr. Jean Victor Génés, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Worship of Haiti, and Mr. Roberto Álvarez Gil, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Dominican Republic

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the following briefers to participate in this meeting: Ms. Helen La Lime, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Haiti and Head of the United Nations Integrated Office in Haiti; and Mr. Kim Ives, Editor, *Haiti Liberté*.

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

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear introductory remarks by the Deputy Secretary-General, Her Excellency Ms. Amina Mohammed, and briefings by Ms. La Lime, Mr. Ives and Ambassador Michel Xavier Biang, Permanent Representative of Gabon, in his capacity as Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 2653 (2022), concerning Haiti.

I warmly welcome the Deputy Secretary-General, to whom I now give the floor.

The Deputy Secretary-General: I thank the Security Council for the opportunity to make introductory remarks on the situation in Haiti, a country that remains a priority for the United Nations and, more personally, for the Secretary-General and me.

During my last visit to Haiti, in February, I was encouraged by the nationally led efforts towards recovery. I saw strong efforts to rebuild after the tragic earthquake that struck the southern peninsula in 2021. Efforts to eliminate cholera were yielding results. And there were high hopes that political negotiations would set a new course for stability and sustainable development.

But at the end of 2022, Haiti is in a deepening crisis of unprecedented scale and complexity that is cause for serious alarm. Efforts to engage in dialogue continue to be made on a way forward. Insecurity has reached unprecedented levels, and human rights abuses are widespread. Armed gangs have expanded their violent criminal activities, using killings and gang rapes to terrorize and subjugate communities.

Gang violence is paralysing the country and obstructing the freedom of movement of people, goods and humanitarian aid. It has fuelled the resurgence of cholera, increased food insecurity to unimaginable levels, displaced 155,000 people and disrupted the education of thousands of children. The Secretary-General and the whole United Nations stand in solidarity with the people of Haiti during these extremely difficult times.

Special Representative La Lime, His Excellency Ambassador Xavier Biang and Mr. Kim Ives will brief the Council on the details of the situation unfolding before the eyes of the world. Allow me, in these brief remarks, to draw attention to two aspects of the crisis.

First, Port-au-Prince and the regions beyond are suffering the worst human rights and humanitarian emergency in decades. As always, vulnerable communities are suffering most. For example, 90 per cent of cholera cases are in areas already suffering high rates of severe acute malnutrition. I condemn in the strongest terms the reports of widespread sexual violence by armed gangs. The harrowing accounts in the report issued two months ago by the United Nations Integrated Office in Haiti and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights are a call to action and accountability. The United Nations will continue to provide a voice for women and girls living in communities controlled by gangs, to work to reduce their vulnerability to violence of all kinds and to call for justice and accountability for the perpetrators of those heinous crimes.

Secondly, there is an urgent need for international support and solidarity. Now is not the time for the world to turn away from Haiti. It is time to step up and turn the current crisis into an opportunity for Haiti to bounce back stronger. I urge every country with the capacity to do so to give urgent consideration to the Haitian Government's request for an international specialized armed force to help restore security and alleviate the humanitarian crisis. I have seen it on the ground: that is

absolutely essential if Haiti is to return to institutional stability and get back on the road towards peace and sustainable development. I reiterate the Secretary-General's call for international support to the Haitian National Police, as set out in his letter of 8 October (S/2022/747).

Despite the end of the siege at the Varreux oil terminal, there is a continued need for solidarity and action from the international community. Haiti's people, like people everywhere, have a right to go about their daily lives without the threat of kidnapping, rape or murder, to access basic and life-saving services and to exercise their political and civil rights, including the right to vote in elections.

There are many other crises around the world, but very few crises, if any, test our commitment and values like the one we are witnessing in Haiti. It is a test of the common humanity that should be at the heart of international cooperation. It is a test of our solidarity with people in deep suffering. During my visit in February, I spoke with members of civil society, students, women and girls. Those conversations gave me hope. Now we need to help Haitians keep that hope alive, for today and tomorrow. There is clearly an urgent need to respond to the most immediate needs. But Haiti will also need international support to address the structural causes of this crisis and break the cycles that have constrained its development for so long. Inclusive, sustainable development is essential in its own right; it is also humankind's ultimate crisis-prevention tool.

The Secretary-General and I and the entire United Nations reaffirm our solidarity and commitment to stand with Haiti and its people and to support the country's recovery towards sustainable development, democracy, stability and peace. For this new year, I call for unity and solidarity in support of a solution to the crisis in Haiti, led by Haitians and for all Haitians.

The President: I thank the Deputy Secretary-General for her introductory remarks.

I now give the floor to Ms. Li Lime.

Ms. La Lime: I thank the Security Council for this opportunity to update it on the latest developments in Haiti, which are taking place amid the alarmingly high levels of gang violence in the country.

The siege of Haiti's main fuel terminal, which had coincided with months of protests, orchestrated disruptions and armed roadblocks across the country,

came to an end in early November through a concerted effort by the Haitian National Police. Fuel began to flow in a number of neighbourhoods in the Port-au-Prince area, allowing hospitals and businesses to open and creating the semblance of a possible return to normalcy.

That hope was quickly dispelled, however, as a new level of gang activity was immediately felt across the capital, marked by spikes in kidnappings, killings and rapes. November witnessed 280 intentional homicides, the highest on record. Equally distressing is the number of abductions for ransom. Reported kidnappings in 2022 have so far exceeded 1,200 cases — double the number recorded in 2021 — making every commute for the average Haitian an ordeal. The increase in recorded rapes reflects a horrendous *modus operandi* of the gangs, who, as we reported in October (see S/PV.9153), use sexual violence to intimidate and subjugate whole communities. The brutality with which that violence is committed has become a badge of notoriety for perpetrators.

Further compounding the plight of the millions living amid the violence is the catastrophic economic situation, with all main roads in and out of the capital under gang control, stymieing trade. Close to half the population is food insecure, with some 20,000 people facing famine-like conditions. In addition to the large levels of displacement, 34 per cent of schools remain closed. And while State authorities do their best, with United Nations support, to manage cholera, suspected cases have reached 15,000 throughout the country's 10 departments.

The adoption of resolution 2653 (2021), on 21 October, was widely welcomed by Haitians. Subsequent bilateral sanctions, which followed the publication of the resolution, appeared to generate a renewed sense of urgency on ways to restore democratically elected institutions. Some in civil society called for sanctioned individuals to step back and make space for necessary reforms to restore functioning, transparent institutions.

As the debate grew, the United Nations Integrated Office in Haiti continued with its efforts to advance political dialogue. In October and November, civil society groups launched a new round of inclusive consultations on a transitional road map with members of the Montana agreement, private sector associations, trade unions and religious organizations. Out of that process a national consensus document was developed. It includes steps for moving the country to elections

within an 18-month time frame, with a transitional council and oversight mechanism. On 6 December, the civil society groups leading those consultations issued their first public communiqué as the Independent Facilitation Committee, calling for a final agreement by the end of 2022.

Other stakeholders have also been active. The 8 December appeal by private sector actors for changes in business practices represented another step in the right direction. It is important that the business community uphold those commitments and strengthen links with civil society and political actors for a solution to the crisis.

As I brief the Council, intensive consultations, coupled with efforts to broaden support for the national consensus document, are under way. I encourage all sectors of society, for the sake of the nation, to put aside their differences and forge a common path for taking the country forward.

While the Government continues to invest in the Haitian National Police (HNP), with six new armoured vehicles received in October and a dozen more expected in the new year, the force continues to be underresourced and insufficiently equipped to address the enormity of the task ahead.

Further compounding the challenges posed by the gangs is the fact that the HNP continues to shrink. Rising attrition levels have brought its operational strength to under 13,000 personnel, with fewer than 9,000 available as active-duty officers. Yes, some effective operations against the gangs in Port-au-Prince have been mounted, but holding those security gains continues to be a challenge. The HNP needs assistance in the form of a specialized force, as outlined in the Secretary-General's letter of 8 October (S/2022/747).

Civil society groups, political organizations, chambers of commerce and religious groups are increasingly calling for international operational support to the police, with clear parameters on terms of engagement, and an integrated approach, that would work alongside the HNP, and not substitute for it. I am grateful to those donors that have committed themselves to the joint programme in support to the HNP, with \$17.8 million pledged so far to the multi-donor basket fund.

Programmes to counter illicit weapons and financial flows are now also moving, with clear national ownership. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime has provided legal support in drafting the new

customs code and is currently mapping transnational criminal networks to understand the reality and extent of firearms and drug trafficking in Haiti.

A significant number of Haitian interlocutors have welcomed the recent work of the Security Council. They support the adoption of sanctions as a crucial tool in combating corruption and impunity. Nonetheless, sanctions will be most effective as part of a comprehensive approach — one that includes both the ongoing political dialogue and enhanced operational security support to the HNP, as outlined in the Secretary-General's letter of 8 October. Those three approaches in parallel will be essential to restoring order, public confidence and the hope that the country's tomorrow can be better. Haitians deserve no less.

The President: I thank Ms. La Lime for her briefing.

I now give the floor to Ambassador Biang.

Mr. Biang (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): I have the honour to brief the Security Council in my capacity as Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 2653 (2022), concerning Haiti, as mandated by paragraph 19 (e) of resolution 2653 (2022), in which the Committee undertakes to report to the Security Council on its work within 60 days. I would like to give the Council a brief overview of the work carried out by the Committee since the adoption of resolution 2653 (2022), on 21 October.

In resolution 2653 (2022), the Council demanded an immediate cessation of the violent criminal activities and human rights abuses that are undermining the peace, stability and security of Haiti and the region, including kidnappings, sexual and gender-based violence, trafficking in persons and the smuggling of migrants, killings, extrajudicial executions and the recruitment of children by armed groups and criminal networks. Consequently, the Committee imposed measures on individuals and entities it designated as being complicit in or having participated, directly or indirectly, in activities that threaten peace, security or stability in Haiti. Those measures include a travel ban on individuals designated by the Committee; an assets freeze on persons or entities designated by the Committee, as well as on any individuals and entities acting on their behalf or at their direction, or any entities owned or controlled by them; and a targeted arms embargo to prevent the direct or indirect provision of any arms and related materiel to, or for the benefit of, the individuals and entities designated by the Committee.

I was appointed Chair of the Committee on 2 December. I would like to thank the members of the Security Council for the confidence they have placed in me and my delegation to lead this important subsidiary body of the Council. On the same day that resolution 2653 (2022) was adopted, the Secretariat launched the 2653 Committee website, where information on sanctions measures and the work and mandates of the Committee can be found and will be updated regularly.

In paragraph 19 (d) of resolution 2653 (2022), the Security Council decided that the Committee would establish and promulgate such guidelines as may be necessary to facilitate the implementation of the measures imposed by the provisions of the resolution, namely, the travel ban, the assets freeze and the targeted arms embargo. Following consultations with its members, a set of draft guidelines was forwarded to the Committee and is under consideration.

With regard to the appointment of the Panel of Experts, I would like to point out that, on 12 December, I circulated to the Committee a letter from the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Peacebuilding Affairs, which included a list of four candidates with expertise on arms, armed groups and criminal networks, financial matters and humanitarian affairs. We expect that in January, after the Panel of Experts has been appointed, that those on it will travel to New York to assume their duties, consult with the relevant stakeholders and meet with the Committee, before travelling to the region to begin to collect, examine and analyse information in accordance with their mandate.

The Security Council has tasked the Committee with seeking and reviewing information on individuals and entities that are alleged to have engaged in the activities described in paragraphs 15 and 16 of resolution 2653 (2022) and pose a threat to the peace, security or stability of Haiti, as well as designating individuals and entities to be subject to the measures imposed by the Council. In that regard, I would like to echo the call in paragraph 23 of the resolution, in which the Security Council urges all Member States, as well as international, regional and subregional organizations, to ensure cooperation with the Panel of Experts. The same paragraph also urges all Member States to ensure the safety of the members of the Panel of Experts and to grant them unrestricted access, in particular to persons, documents and sites in order for the Panel to execute its mandate.

The Panel of Experts must provide to the Security Council an interim report in its progress no later than 15 March 2023, in accordance with 2653 (2022). That report will be reviewed by the Committee before being submitted to the Council. The Panel of Experts has also been tasked with assisting the Committee in fulfilling its mandate, including through providing timely information that that may be used to subsequently identify individuals and entities engaged in the activities described in the resolution. I have had a number of initial contacts regarding the implementation of resolution 2653 (2022). As mandated by paragraph 19 (e) of resolution 2653 (2022), I will report to the Security Council on an annual basis on ways to strengthen the effectiveness of the measures imposed by the resolution.

The President: I thank Ambassador Biang for his briefing.

I now give the floor to Mr. Ives.

Mr. Ives: I thank the members of the Security Council for this opportunity to present our analysis of the situation in Haiti.

I have been reporting on and in Haiti for the past 48 years, most recently last month when I travelled there with my colleague, journalist Dan Cohen, to investigate the fuel crisis stand-off. Using a drone, we assessed barricades, police movements, shipping traffic and open-air markets. Despite the gas shortage and insecurity, we visited hospitals, clinics, an internally displaced persons camp, an industrial park, wealthy quarters and sewage-choked slums.

I have been asked to present the facts. But the facts themselves are not neutral. They speak to a history in which international law has been violated and the principles of peace and self-determination, on which the Council was founded, have been trampled. Those precedents spawned the current crisis. In the past three decades, Haiti has been the victim of three coups d'états: in 1991, 2004 and, most recently, 2021. After each of those crimes, which involved international actors, the Security Council was asked, as it is being asked today, to militarily intervene in Haiti. The Council agreed to do so in the first two cases, thereby essentially cementing in place an unjust and illegal status quo. The victims of those coups — the Haitian masses — were the ones policed, repressed, terrorized, demonized, sexually violated, politically bullied and economically sanctioned.

That is why the 16 million Haitian people—12 million living in Haiti and some four million living abroad— are patently and almost universally opposed to any more United Nations interventions, with the exception of Haiti's tiny bourgeoisie. Haiti is the only country in the Western Hemisphere to endure a United Nations military occupation, and not once, but twice.

What is the situation today? The members of the Security Council have been given half-truths, but as the Indian writer Anurag Shourie notes, a half-truth is even more dangerous than a lie, because half a truth is sure to mislead you for long. Council members have been told that Haiti is under the rule of gangs and that the power of this world body is needed to punish and crush them. The other half of the truth that members have not been told is that the previous two United Nations military interventions, together with the coups d'état, have so weakened the Haitian State that it has opened the void for the growth of such criminality.

As a result, the Haitian people have been left to fend for themselves, forming what Haitians dubbed in the 1980s "vigilance brigades" to combat the criminals. Through this means, they have effectively created neighbourhoods that are not plagued by criminals, where the citizens are able to go about their daily affairs in peace and security.

However, today we see some analysts, who report to the Security Council and even publish their accounts on authoritative media networks, conflating the criminal gangs, which openly and unabashedly commit kidnapping, extortion, rape, and other crimes, with the autonomously formed civilian self-defence committees combating criminality. These self-constituted defence committees are the very embodiment of self-determination and organic community action and response. In short, the Council is lumping together the "good guys" with the "bad guys" in one basket called "the gangs".

The irony is that the Security Council is now threatening to uproot this germinating sprout of Haitian self-defence. Indeed, in its resolution 2653 (2022) of 21 October 2022, the Security Council chose to sanction one and only one person, accusing him of threatening "the peace, security and stability of Haiti" (*resolution 2653 (2022), annex*) and charging, on the grounds of contested allegations, that he has "planned, directed or committed acts that constitute serious human rights abuses" (*ibid.*).

The sanctioned man was not Joseph Wilson, alias "Lamò Sanjou", the leader of the 400 Mawozo gang, who admittedly and publicly kidnapped 17 North American missionaries, five French priests and two nuns last year. It was not the self-professed kidnapper known as "Izo," leader of Village de Dieu's Five Seconds gang, which killed four Haitian cops and wounded seven others in March 2021. It was not Renel Destina, alias "Ti Lapli," another proud kidnapper, whose criminal gang controls the area of Grand Ravine and with "Izo" has cut off the highway leading to Haiti's southern peninsula—40 per cent of the country—for almost two years. It was not Kempes Sanon, the leader of the Bel-Air gang, who was convicted and sentenced to life in prison for kidnapping but escaped in February 2021, killing the civilian director of the Croix-des-Bouquets prison during his getaway.

The man whom the Security Council sanctioned was Jimmy Cherizier, known as "Barbecue," who is the spokesman for a federation of neighbourhoods known as the "Revolutionary Forces of the G9 Family and Allies, Mess with One, You Mess with All", which is dedicated to keeping kidnapping, extortion, rape and other crimes out of their midst. Cherizier got his start as a stellar cop fighting criminal gangs. Furthermore, Cherizier's G9 coalition sought to decrease violence and succeeded in establishing a truce in July 2020 between its neighbourhoods and those controlled by the criminal gangs.

The United Nations Integrated Office in Haiti (BINUH) stated in a report dated 25 September 2020 that "[i]ntentional homicides reported to the police decreased by 12 per cent" (*S/2020/944, para. 17*) during the three months from June to August 2020, a period coinciding with the start of the G9's truce. The mere observation of this statistical fact so alarmed the Haitian oligarchy that it began to spin the fiction through its radio stations, paid pundits and political formations on both the left and right that the BINUH and its chief Helen La Lime had federated the G9 and were controlling it. This rumour spread widely despite the fact that the report, only a paragraph earlier, had characterized the G9 as "notorious," stating that

"[i]ts creation raised concerns among political and civil society actors about the detrimental impact partisan gangs can have on State institutions" (*ibid., para. 16*).

This case illustrates how quickly fiction, through mere repetition, can become accepted as fact in the popular discourse, leading the United Nations to target a

crime-fighting, truce-promoting leader in Haiti's slums. That an error of this magnitude can happen also shows how easily misguided, counterproductive and blunt an instrument the Security Council's Chapter VII power can be, especially when it is receiving inaccurate and skewed information.

Sanctions should be evidence-based, not the result of political machinations. For example, on 26 September 2022, Ms. La Lime informed the Security Council that Haitian Prime Minister Ariel Henry wanted

“dialogue as a means to create the necessary security, constitutional and political conditions for elections by the end of 2023” (*S/PV.9136, p. 2*).

She should have noted that Ariel Henry is a de facto Head of Government with virtually no popular support or legal mandate. What little legitimacy he might have had expired on 7 February 2022, with the definitive end of the late Jovenel Moïse's term. In the 17 months that he has held power, thanks to his appointment by the so-called Core Group of ambassadors led by La Lime and Washington, Henry has made absolutely no progress establishing dialogue or in creating the groundwork for elections. On the contrary, he disbanded the sitting Provisional Electoral Council two months after taking power and has not reconstituted it. Most observers agree that the likelihood of free and fair elections taking place in the coming year is practically nil.

She also told the Council that Henry decided

“to reduce regressive subsidies on fuel which costs the State some \$400 million a year, as a means of increasing revenue for social programmes” (*ibid.*).

On the contrary, the fuel subsidies, which allow Haitian public transport, open air markets and tens of thousands of small peasants and enterprises to function, were not “regressive”. They were one of the few measures that helped to ease the burden of crushing poverty on Haiti's masses, and there are no social programmes in Haiti to speak of. It was therefore predictable that Henry's move, which Brian Nichols, Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs, said were “actions that we [ha]ve wanted to see in Haiti for quite some time”, precipitated, as Ms. La Lime reported,

“roadblocks [that were] set up throughout the country, generating a countrywide lockdown” (*S/PV.9136, p. 2*).

Ironically, the response being proposed to such uprisings is yet another foreign military intervention. The last sustained United Nations military mission to Haiti — the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti — lasted 13 years, from 2004 to 2017, at a cost of about \$7 billion, or on average approximately \$538.5 million a year. Leaving aside moral and political principles, would it not be more cost effective to underwrite the Haitian State with fuel subsidies for \$400 million annually than deploy troops at a much higher cost?

Council members were also told that

“one of the largest alliances of criminal gangs in the capital blocked the nation's main fuel terminal in Varreux, in Port-au-Prince” (*ibid.*).

First, why does Ms. La Lime refer in this context to “criminal gangs” but then does not characterize Ariel Henry as a “criminal”? He has been credibly accused, based on phone records, of many extended phone conversations with Joseph Félix Badio, the man said to have ordered Colombian mercenaries to fatally machine-gun President Jovenel Moïse on 7 July 2021. Henry fired a Haitian judge who sought to question him about the calls, which occurred both before and just hours after the murder.

Secondly, the alliance of so-called criminal gangs La Lime refers to is the G9, the crime-fighting federation headed by Jimmy Cherizier. The barricades they erected outside the Varreux fuel terminal, which is one of three fuel depots in the capital, were in solidarity with the nationwide lockdown and the entire population's demands.

Thirdly, with barricades established throughout the country, why did she focus on just the barricades near the fuel terminal? What difference does it make if a fuel truck can travel five blocks instead of one block? The many road barricades and demonstrations throughout the city would have curtailed fuel deliveries at that time, but the principal factor disrupting gas distribution was the price hike, which more than doubled the cost of fuel overnight.

Council members were told in the briefing that the Varreux barricade was “creating shortages across the country and closing down hospitals” (*ibid.*). This is another half-truth. Over a month after the September briefing, in early November, we visited the General Hospital, Haiti's largest, where the administrator told us

that the hospital had never closed down and that it had been harder to obtain fuel since August, when supplies became short due to the Government not paying its gas bills, and even more difficult after the price hike.

The Special Representative concluded her briefing by saying that “[a]n economic crisis, a gang crisis and a political crisis have converged into a humanitarian catastrophe” (*ibid*, p. 3), having just underlined “the very real limits of the national [police] force” (*ibid*). We believe this was clearly setting the stage for Ariel Henry’s 9 October request to the Security Council for foreign military intervention, which is in flagrant violation of the Haitian Constitution’s Article 263-1, which forbids foreign troops on Haitian soil.

The proponents of foreign intervention in Haiti are well aware of the Haitian people’s opposition and its bad optics before the eyes of the world, especially since it has been tried before, unsuccessfully. Former United States Ambassador to Haiti Pamela White suggested this month that the Biden Administration deploy 2,000 armed law enforcers to Haiti, but to send in a couple of hundred at a time, over six months, with little fanfare. Some officials have also suggested deploying small special forces units to train the Haitian National Police. As in Viet Nam in the early 1960s, that risks simply becoming the thin edge of the wedge. Tellingly, the same Pamela White recommended, in a March 2021 congressional hearing, that President Moïse be “put aside” and that Washington embrace what she called “the Prime Minister option.” That has effectively come to pass.

Those power dynamics are what is most alarming about the situation in Haiti today. Foreign actors are deciding what leaders Haitians should have, and a Prime Minister with no legal or popular mandate is running roughshod over the Haitian Constitution. Now foreign nations are debating yet another military invasion, supposedly to save unwilling Haitians from a so-called “humanitarian catastrophe.”

We at *Haiti Liberté* strongly believe that the situation in Haiti cannot be resolved through foreign intervention, military force or even sanctions. The Haitian people, acting with full sovereignty, must be allowed to sort out their own problems, just as they did 219 years ago when they founded Latin America’s first nation. The only thing the United Nations or any other foreign entity might do is provide Haiti with disinterested economic support to rebuild their ravaged

economy and political institutions destroyed by three decades of coups d’états, military interventions and neoliberal austerity.

We call on the Council to respect the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, in particular Article 2, paragraph 7, which states that:

“[n]othing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state”.

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

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

Mr. Nebenzia (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We thank Deputy Secretary-General Amina Mohammed and Special Representative Helen La Lime for their briefings. We also thank American journalist and editor of *Haiti Liberté*, Mr. Kim Ives, for his fascinating and open-minded insight into the situation in the country. We believe it very useful to invite briefers who can provide the Security Council additional information that enables us to consider issues on the agenda from different perspectives. We also welcome the participation of the Foreign Ministers of Haiti and the Dominican Republic in today’s meeting.

Much was said today about the current situation in Haiti. We will not repeat it. The depth of the political, economic and humanitarian crisis that the country that the country finds itself in is obvious to everyone. It is also clear that there are no ready-made recipes to resolve the crisis and return Haiti to the path of sustainable development.

Short-term decisions might ease the pain of the long-suffering Haitian nation, but they will not be able to cure it. If we consider the unblocking of the oil terminal, which was presented as a panacea, it did not facilitate the population’s long-awaited access to basic goods and services. Just like a majority of Haitians, we have doubts that the option of sending an international military force could fundamentally change the situation.

If we want to identify truly effective steps, it is important to have a holistic understanding of the causes of the current situation in Haiti. The chronic crisis of governance, socioeconomic collapse and institutional and legal decay of the island State is, to a large extent, the result of many years of external political engineering.

The historical responsibility for that rests not only with Washington, which has repeatedly interfered in Haiti's internal affairs, including militarily, but also with Paris. It was colonial France that, for more than 100 years after the liberation of Haiti, received from it so-called "payments for independence", imposed through blackmail and military ultimatums. That was the first and only time in history when those freed from slavery were forced to pay their oppressors. Huge remittances, equivalent to billions of dollars today, were transferred to French bankers and landowners, instead of serving the development of a young country.

Today the former colonial Powers have changed their methods, but not their colonial approaches. Interference in Haiti's internal affairs takes place through the imposition of decisions and the installation of political actors outside Haiti's legal framework. As a result, the country has no authorities legitimately chosen in accordance with the national Constitution. Ongoing international involvement in Haitian affairs has instilled in some local elites the feeling of dependency and permissiveness and has led them to believe that their future depends not on the will of the people, but on the benevolence of external patrons and sponsors.

In that connection, the true task of the international community is to help initiate a nationwide political dialogue in order to develop a level playing field for forming a truly legitimate Government. Haitian political forces, both those in power and opposition parties, need to act constructively in order to independently put their own house in order.

We are surprised that this clear political signal to the Haitian elite is not coming from the United States, which is quick to brand the Governments of some Latin American countries as unconstitutional, while at the same time is very protective of other regimes that are loyal to it. Is there not a 2001 Inter-American Democratic Charter in force that establishes clear criteria under which a suspension of the constitutional process can take place and the procedure for an international response? Where is the reaction, in accordance with that charter, to the dubious legitimacy — to be generous — of most Haitian authorities?

We know what Washington does when it needs to subjugate yet another country. It utilizes unilateral sanctions against the undesirable political figures and aimed at cleaning up the political field in a way that is favourable to the United States. Canada does the same.

For example, we know that the Canadian sanctions list includes at least two former Prime Ministers of Haiti who intend to contest this decision. We warn against presenting these measures as a reaction of the entire international community in the framework of the Security Council Sanctions Committee. The Committee was established pursuant to a Security Council resolution precisely to avoid unilateral action and elaborate joint solutions while engaging specialized experts in order to assess the feasibility and appropriateness of possible restrictions.

The information shared today by Mr. Ives should compel all of us to adopt an even more thorough approach with regard to sanctions. Otherwise, we risk imposing sanctions not against gang members, but rather against the political opposition, who could take part in the nation-wide dialogue, but for whatever reason are undesirable to the United States and its satellites. I once again stress that unilateral measures by the United States and Canada do not represent the will of the international community and should not serve as a cornerstone for the new Sanctions Committee on Haiti.

We count on the productive work of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 2653 (2022), concerning Haiti, with Gabon as its Chair, as well as the selected experts who we know to be outstanding professionals. We note that the sanctions resolution provides for the examination of the sources and routes of arms smuggling, including through the use of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime channels.

Ultimately, we need to not only identify but also to eliminate financial and material resources fuelling gangs, first and foremost, in the areas of weapons and drug trafficking, which are the lifeblood of the criminal groups reigning over Haiti and the main reason for the breakdown of law and order. For our part, as a permanent member of the Security Council, we stand ready to continue to help ensure that the Haitian people enjoy not only order and the rule of law, but are provided with the opportunity for a free and democratic political process and sustainable economic development and prosperity, which is not only important for Haiti, but for the Dominican Republic as Haiti's immediate neighbour. The extent to which the situation is important for the Dominican Republic is demonstrated by the presence of that country's Foreign Minister at this meeting. And it is important for the entire region.

Mr. De la Fuente Ramírez (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): I am grateful for the briefings by Deputy Secretary-General Amina Mohammed, Special Representative of the Secretary-General Helen La Lime and Ambassador Biang, in his capacity as Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 2653 (2022), concerning Haiti. We take note of the briefing by Mr. Ives and welcome the Foreign Ministers of Haiti and the Dominican Republic and the representative of Canada.

When Mexico joined the Security Council in 2021, the focus was centred upon the holding of a constitutional referendum and elections. The assassination of President Moïse, the circumstances of which remain unclear, further exacerbated the existing violence that prevented and continue to prevent the holding of elections, while gangs have taken over key parts of the country and obstructed the delivery of humanitarian aid and basic goods. Those and many other factors led us to sponsor a resolution to target those criminals with sanctions. I underscore that they are not sanctions against the Haitian population. We have taken note that, following the adoption of resolution 2653 (2022), which was adopted unanimously, the new sanctions regime has begun to have an impact on the situation on the ground. We are confident that, as the Sanctions Committee begins its work, supported by a newly appointed independent group of experts, measures will continue to be taken against those responsible for the violence and instability, including — I stress this point — those involved in arms trafficking.

It is clear that sanctions alone will not bring about all the changes needed and that further action is required to support the Haitian people. We acknowledge that we must maintain a sense of urgency. But, at the same time, we must draw on lessons learned, as we must carefully determine the best way, or ways, to continue supporting Haiti. Concurrently, the main political actors in Haiti must also reach the minimum consensus with regard to the future of their own country. The domestic political work to be done must be done by the Haitians and the Haitians alone.

Meeting the many needs of the Haitian people also, of course, involves acknowledging their social root causes — the legacy of colonialism, exclusion, abuses, human rights violations and environmental degradation, to name a few of the factors that must be considered. It is also imperative to end corruption.

When he spoke specifically on the matter before the Council in November 2021, President Andrés Manuel López Obrador said,

“corruption is the main cause of inequality, poverty, frustration, violence, migration and serious social conflicts.” (*S/PV.8900, p.6*)

As the first independent nation in Latin America and the Caribbean and an example of freedom, resistance and perseverance, Haiti must not be allowed to fall prey to petty political rivalries or geopolitical games of chess. Mexico will continue to urge that we must respond on multiple fronts to the Haitian crisis, and it will maintain its cooperation programmes with all Haitian institutions. But we must also explore new avenues of support as long as the measures that have been taken are insufficient. We therefore call on the international community and the United Nations system to avoid inertia and burnout with regard to the Haitian issue and urge Haitian leaders to shoulder their responsibility in creating the conditions necessary for stability in the genuine interests of the Haitian people.

As this is the last statement on behalf of my country as an elected member of the Security Council and as co-penholder, together with the United States of America, on this dossier, I would like to say that Mexico will continue to follow closely developments in the situation in Haiti and will stand ready to continue cooperating with the Council and the authorities and the people of Haiti to the best of its ability.

Mr. Wood (United States of America): I thank the briefers for their participation. Before I give my remarks, I would like to welcome Foreign Ministers Génés and Álvarez Gil at this meeting today, and I look forward to hearing their perspectives on the current situation in Haiti.

The United States continues to work to address Haiti's insecurity and worsening humanitarian crisis and support Haitian-led efforts to facilitate a political accord that would benefit all Haitians. We understand Prime Minister Henry is hoping for an agreement on a broad-based political accord before the end of the year. We are cautiously optimistic following the 8 December statement from influential members of Haiti's private sector, which expressed support for a consensus-based accord. That is the first time Haiti's private sector leaders have united to such an extent in support of a political accord and democratic institutional reforms.

We appreciate Ambassador Biang's update on the activities of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 2653 (2022), concerning Haiti, and the sanctions covering the first 60 days following its 21 October adoption establishing the sanctions regime. We are pleased that four highly qualified candidates have been selected to fill critical Panel of Experts vacancies covering finance, humanitarian affairs, armed groups, criminal networks and arms. We are also grateful for the progress Gabon has made to draft working guidelines for the Sanctions Committee.

Together with our partner and co-penholder, Mexico, we introduced the resolution establishing a sanctions regime as an important step to help the Haitian people. The United States has also placed visa restrictions on parties known to have colluded with criminal gangs in Haiti. Those steps have already begun to have a chilling effect on gang leaders and the political and economic elites that are causing and financing the ongoing crises in Haiti. But we do not plan to stop there. We will continue to target violent gang leaders and their financiers. We are identifying additional targets to nominate at the United Nations in order to halt funding to those involved in the unrest in Haiti.

We are encouraged by the fact that the Haitian National Police was able to re-establish control over the Varreux fuel terminal. Despite that positive development, violence and insecurity remain an everyday concern for Haitians. Ongoing kidnappings, the use of sexual violence and rape by gangs, clashes between gangs and the blockage of the country's main roads remain significant challenges. For that reason, we continue to advocate for international security support, including a non-United Nations multinational force, as requested by the Haitian Government.

The United States has provided more than \$90 million in security support to Haiti in the past 18 months and will continue to provide critical bilateral support. We also continue to provide life-saving aid as the Haitian people struggle to cope with a rapidly deteriorating humanitarian situation that includes famine-like conditions in parts of Port-au-Prince and the country-wide spread of cholera.

For its part, the United States has always been the largest humanitarian donor to the historically underfunded United Nations appeal for Haiti. In response to heightened humanitarian needs, including

following the August 2021 earthquake, the United States has provided more than \$171 million in life-saving humanitarian assistance and early-recovery, risk-reduction and resilience programming since fiscal year 2021. We are also expanding our emergency assistance to respond to growing protection concerns, help stem the cholera outbreak and deliver essential food and other commodities to the most vulnerable communities in Port-au-Prince and throughout the country. We call on other donors to increase support during this critical period for Haiti.

We recognize that any security gains must also be tied to a political accord among Haiti's various actors, and we call on the Haitian people to find a way to achieve an inclusive, broad-based consensus on moving forward with a political accord. We recognize the need to support institutional reforms, in addition to addressing Haiti's immediate security and humanitarian needs. Through the 10-year Global Fragility Act plan, the United States seeks to address the root causes of instability, building on justice sector reform, while addressing civic engagement and economic opportunity. We also urge partner nations to contribute to the United Nations basket fund, given the dire need to change the security situation in Haiti.

Without improved security, progress on the political, economic and humanitarian fronts will be impossible. We encourage the international community to continue focusing on Haiti and to work to address all those needs.

Ms. Miley (Ireland): I thank Deputy Secretary-General Mohammed and Special Representative La Lime for their sobering briefings, and Mr. Ives for his analysis. I would also like to thank the Permanent Representative of Gabon for his first briefing as Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 2653 (2022), concerning Haiti. I also wish to acknowledge the presence in the Chamber of the Foreign Minister of Haiti and the Foreign Minister of the Dominican Republic, as well as the Ambassador of Canada.

In the two months since we last met (see S/PV.9153), there have been few positive developments in Haiti. Instead of the progress called for and that the Haitian people so desperately need, we have seen a further entrenching of violence and deprivation. I wish to speak about three areas of enduring concern.

First, there has been no end or respite to the savage control and repression exercised by criminal gangs against the Haitian people. Each day sees an increasing toll of violence, kidnappings and systematic rape and

murder. The use of sexual and gender-based violence as a weapon against an already traumatized community is abhorrent. Ireland again condemns such violence in the strongest terms. Those responsible must end their onslaught against the Haitian people. Those responsible must be brought to justice.

Haiti's leaders from all sides need to come together to end the cycle of violence and impunity, which has plagued Haiti for too long. While we welcome the end of the blockade of the Varreux terminal, which liberated some supply of fuel into Haiti, it does not signal a return to law and order. The people of Haiti will know peace only when the State regains control of the national territory. Ireland welcomes efforts in that regard to provide support to the Haitian National Police.

Secondly, a humanitarian catastrophe is in evidence in Haiti. The most recent update on conflict and hunger, issued by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the World Food Programme, underlined what we already knew — an increasing number of Haitians have been driven to catastrophic levels of food insecurity and famine-like conditions. People are dying from lack of food, lack of water and lack of access to basic services.

Ireland commends the efforts of the humanitarian community, which has stayed and delivered in the face of intimidation, kidnappings and violence. Its actions hold communities back from the brink, while maintaining families on the edge of survival. Those desperate and life-saving efforts require the continued support of the international community. The humanitarian response remains less than half funded, and more lives will be lost without increased support to actors on the ground.

Thirdly, the prolonged suffering of the Haitian people will persist without an immediate and sustainable political resolution. Ireland reiterates its urgent call to political actors in Haiti to set aside their vested interests, enmity, division and personal gain and come together in solidarity to take action that is, finally, in the best interests of the Haitian people.

The unanswered calls of the international community and of the Haitian people for a political breakthrough serve only to condemn more people to food insecurity; more communities to the scourge of gang violence; more women, girls and LGBTIQ+ individuals to sexual and gender-based violence and more children to a life dominated by fear.

Time and again, we have heard that political settlement is possible. Yet the people of Haiti are sentenced to endure further suffering due to the lack of political will. Peace, stability and dignity cannot be assured for the Haitian people without a sustainable, inclusive political solution, owned and led by the Haitian people. That solution should lead to the restitution of a functioning Government, a functioning legislature and a functioning judicial system.

We call on all relevant actors in Haiti to act and take a courageous step for the good of their country. The people of Haiti deserve no less. Bold, urgent action must be taken before Haiti passes the point of no return.

Mr. Costa Filho (Brazil): I would like to thank Deputy Secretary-General Amina Mohammed, Special Representative of the Secretary-General Helen La Lime and Ambassador Michel Biang of Gabon for their comprehensive briefings. I also took note of the briefing made by Mr. Ives.

I would like to congratulate Ambassador Biang on his assumption of the chairmanship of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 2653 (2022), concerning Haiti. I wish him the best of luck in that important position.

I thank Mr. Jean Victor Génés, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Worship of Haiti, and Mr. Roberto Álvarez Gil, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Dominican Republic, for being here today.

Since our previous meeting in October (see S/PV.9153), there has been some progress on the ground, especially with the liberation of the Varreux fuel terminal, which is responsible for 70 per cent of Haiti's fuel supply. That shows the capacity and commitment of the Haitian National Police. However, the overall situation remains challenging and worrisome as gangs continue to be a disruptive force within the society, making it almost impossible for the resumption of institutional normalcy and the proper functioning of public services. Furthermore, the current outbreak of cholera will pose significant risks to the Haitian population if it is not adequately controlled.

As Haiti remains deeply plunged in a multidimensional crisis, the lack of progress on the political front over the past month is staggering. The current political deadlock and the humanitarian and security crises in Haiti reinforce each other. A political agreement among the main political groups in Haiti is

key for the country to begin the process of healing and to re-establish institutional and democratic governance. No significant progress will be possible in Haiti if the main political constituencies remain entrenched and averse to compromise.

We hope that the sanctions regime adopted unanimously in October will effectively establish targeted sanctions against those engaging in or supporting violence, whether powerful or not. As some Council members are already imposing unilateral sanctions against some Haitian individuals, we believe that it is time for the Security Council Sanctions Committee on Haiti to move forward with its own deliberations. We took note of the options conveyed by the Secretary-General in his letter of 8 October (S/2022/747) to increase security in Haiti and the appeal by Government of Haiti to receive specialized armed support to help control the crisis in the country. We look forward to engaging with Council members on a draft resolution on the matter, whenever the details of such a response are ripe for multilateral consideration.

Haiti needs change that goes well beyond the control of criminal activities. Besides security measures, socioeconomic progress in Haiti is essential for addressing the crisis in an effective and sustainable way. Haiti remains a top priority in Brazil's international cooperation projects, and we urge the donor community to step up its efforts towards effectively fostering economic and social development.

In conclusion, Brazil would like to once again exhort all Haitian political actors to deepen the current dialogue and urgently agree on a political way forward. Brazil believes in Haitian-led solutions, which will materialize only if Haitian stakeholders accept to talk and compromise, paving the way for fair elections and the resumption of the normal functioning of Haitian institutions. For our part, I would like to underline that Haiti has been a priority for Brazil and will remain so. Brazil has made a long-standing contribution to peace and stability in Haiti and remains fully committed to supporting the country, particularly in these challenging times.

Mr. Kimani (Kenya): We thank Deputy Secretary-General Amina Mohammed and Special Representative of the Secretary-General Helen La Lime, as well as Ambassador Michel Biang, Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 2653 (2022), concerning Haiti, and Mr. Kim Ives, Editor of

Haiti Liberté, for their briefings. We also welcome the participation of Mr. Jean Victor Génésus, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Worship of Haiti, and Mr. Roberto Álvarez Gil, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Dominican Republic, in today's meeting. I also look forward to the statement to be delivered by Ambassador Bob Rae of Canada on behalf of the Economic and Social Council Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Haiti.

Looking back at the past two years, the situation in Haiti has gone from bad to worse. At the root of the crisis is a governance deficit that must be addressed. That deficit is the outcome of an outrageous history of economic punishment for Haiti's revolution against slavery and colonialism. It has been worsened by failed foreign interventions and the unholy alliance among gangs, politicians and business elites. Such is the scale of the immediate emergency that it often obscures how critical it is to address those root causes if Haiti is to truly recover. We therefore urge the members of the Security Council and the international community to ensure that action with and for Haiti concurrently deploy emergency measures alongside more structural efforts to provide credible, competent and responsible governance.

In the short term, Haitians need more operational support for the brave and dedicated Haitian National Police (HNP). The HNP should receive training, adequate equipment and capabilities that it may not yet possess in adequate quantities. The focus should be to make the HNP able to guarantee the safe and reliable provision of emergency supplies of food, fuel and health care, as well as to put a stop to the kidnappings and the control of roads and other critical infrastructure by gangs. Without such action to establish a floor to Haitian misery, a transition to better governance and credible elections will not succeed. We commend Canada, the United States and other international partners for their efforts so far to assist the Haitian National Police with training and equipment. More such support is still needed. We welcome the Government of Haiti's request to receive multinational support that provides targeted assistance to the Haitian National Police, as well as support for vetting, intelligence and rapid deployment. Kenya is ready to contribute to such an effort.

Our assessment of the gangs and their links to transnational crime, as well as their political patronage and their recruitment of young people who are unemployed, suggests that they operate like the militias that the Security Council is familiar with.

Experience shows that they can be overcome by coordinating mediation, a credible political process, a strong enforcement capability, livelihood support and institutional support. On the aspect of institutions, it is crucial that immediate support be given to strengthening the most important sections of the criminal justice system that are required by an active police service. That includes addressing prolonged pre-trial detentions, expediting court cases and establishing functioning court registries.

In addition to those efforts, the Haiti Sanctions Committee should closely align its listings to cause maximum disruption to the nexus between transnational crime, illicit business and the gangs. The United Nations and the international community will also need to support Haiti to implement its national action plan on the Caribbean Community Road Map on the Illicit Proliferation of Firearms and Ammunition.

A new intervention backed by the Security Council should apply the valuable lessons learned in the past without repeating the disastrous mistakes. It would have a clear scope of tasks, a concept of operations and an exit strategy. Moreover, in order to gain the confidence of the Haitian people, it would consider including key African and Caribbean contributions.

The actions I have recommended are necessary but insufficient. If they are to succeed and if a newly optimistic Haiti is to be reborn, the root causes of the crisis need to be addressed. One way to do that is by ensuring an inclusive political transition that is committed to a national dialogue that delivers political reforms that are embedded in a legal and — even possibly — a constitutional dispensation. International financial institutions should align their work in Haiti with the efforts to provide security and a political transition, strengthen critical governance institutions and provide environmental-crisis recovery. The authorities in Haiti should also consider engaging with the Peacebuilding Commission and undertaking a nationally owned and inclusive process alongside the political transition.

Next for consideration is a neutral and transparent inquiry into the international and historical dimensions of the multigenerational crises the Haitian people have suffered. It should offer recommendations for the international community and Haiti on a way forward.

From the beginning of our term as a member on the Council, Kenya has engaged vigorously and in good faith on this file. Our sense of fairness and inclusion has

impelled us, and we have also paid heed to the African Union's recognition of our duty to reconnect with the African diaspora. We have tried listening keenly to Haitians and about the Haiti they want.

In 2021, Kenya, along with the other two African members of the Council, the Niger and Tunisia, as well as Saint Vincent and the Grenadines — known then as the A3+1 — worked to that end. We have also made such efforts as part of this year's A3, consisting of Gabon, Ghana and Kenya, alongside other Council members, to strengthen the United Nations Integrated Office in Haiti and to apply sanctions to the gangs and those who support and fund them, in order to stop illegal arms trafficking and money laundering. This being the last scheduled briefing before the end of our present term, allow me to take the opportunity to reflect on what we have learned about the Security Council that can best be of service to Haiti in our opinion.

All conflict — and especially political division — leads to exceptional levels of division and mistrust. Such levels of mistrust can be identified in today's briefing. In Africa, the dynamics of internal economic and political crisis and the mistrust of outside intervention are familiar. What Africa has built Haiti needs, namely, to be part of a strong regional initiative that includes Haiti's neighbours and the CARICOM region. Our linkage with peers and peer leaders, the use of regional consultations and the rallying of international support to buttress regional work have served us well. Africa's peace and security architecture has valuable lessons that I am certain African countries and institutions would be willing to share. From mediation to local peace work, anti-militia demobilization and reintegration and enforcement, we have experience in it.

Haiti inspired a worldwide movement for freedom. Its revolutionary actions even led directly to the major developments in the establishment of our host country. Now we urge Haiti to look to the rest of its region and to Africa for inspiration. Kenya will continue to support Haiti bilaterally and in the multilateral arena, including with the Economic and Social Council's Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Haiti and any other efforts that are for the good of the Haitian people.

Mr. Agyeman (Ghana): Let me begin by thanking Deputy Secretary-General Amina Mohammed, for her statement as well as Special Representative La Lime for her briefing on the prevailing developments in

Haiti. I also thank the Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 2653 (2022), Ambassador Michel Biang, for his briefing on the activities undertaken by the Committee since the adoption of resolution 2653 (2022) concerning Haiti. We have also listened carefully to Mr. Kim Ives and noted his perspectives. Further, we welcome the participation of the Foreign Ministers of Haiti and the Dominican Republic as well as the Permanent Representative of Canada in today's meeting.

Today's discussion is happening at a critical time for Haiti. Even as the Security Council is building upon efforts to support Haitians in their quest for a Haitian-led solution to the ongoing crisis, the country continues to grapple with an ever-deteriorating situation on the back of decades of challenges that threaten the very lives of ordinary Haitians. As we have heard today, our actions should therefore be decisive and proactive if we are to effectively address the complex security, humanitarian, socioeconomic and political situation in Haiti.

As we have amply highlighted in the Security Council, we owe the people of Haiti a duty to support their long-held aspirations for peace, security, prosperity and inclusive growth. I would make two additional brief points.

First, Ghana continues to be concerned by the problem of armed gangs in Haiti. The grip of the gangs on most of Haiti's territory and the consequential violence being perpetrated are troubling. It is evident that until the activities of Haiti's violent gangs are reined in and replaced by a professional police force, there can be no security and stability in Haiti.

Although in recent weeks the Haitian security forces have managed to regain control of the Varreux oil terminal, and fuel distribution has resumed in the capital, gangsters control the main roads to the north and south obstructing supply to other regions. In this context, we look forward to the timely constitution of the panel of experts and its important work, which we believe will be instrumental in the effective implementation of targeted sanctions against gang leaders and their sponsors within and outside of Haiti. We recognize, however, that sanctioning gang leaders and their sponsors, by itself, is not enough, and much more needs to be done to support Haitians on their path to security and stability.

Secondly, we need to build upon the Council's unified efforts on the Haitian sanctions regime to address another immediate challenge. We stated before, and I repeat it today, that the Haitian National Police must be capacitated to deal with the threat posed by the armed gangs and bring needed respite to the people. We therefore encourage enhanced regional consultations with Haiti on the pending proposals for the deployment of an international security assistance force to Haiti that the Security Council can support. This would have to be braced by support for the enhancement of the capacity of the Haitian National Police and the strengthening of State institutions, including the criminal justice system, if we are to counter the immediate threat posed by armed gangs in Haiti.

While we need to be guided by past mistakes, we cannot afford inaction in the face of the deteriorating situation in Haiti. We must therefore work more collaboratively with other actors to move Haiti closer to the much-desired security, prosperity and stability that its people want, while bearing in mind the long-term strategy to prevent the recurrence of the ongoing security crisis, which will hinge on our collective and sustained commitment to addressing such deep-rooted causes as endemic poverty, unemployment and inequality in Haitian society.

I cannot conclude without mentioning the elusive sought-after solution to the political crisis in Haiti. We call on all political actors to step up efforts to bring the Haitian people into a national consensus in favour of a Haitian-led political process that can define a path to national elections. The gravity of the situation in Haiti demands urgent action by all stakeholders, without which we risk witnessing the continuing deterioration of the socioeconomic, security and humanitarian situation, with untold suffering for ordinary Haitians.

Finally, we reiterate our unwavering commitment and support for the people of Haiti. We remain supportive of a Haitian-led and Haitian-owned solution and express our support for the work of the United Nations Integrated Office in Haiti.

Mr. Geng Shuang (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank Deputy Secretary-General Mohammed, Special Representative of the Secretary-General La Lime and Ambassador Biang for their briefings. I welcome the presence of the Foreign Ministers of Haiti and the Dominican Republic as well as the Permanent Representative of Canada at today's meeting. I also listened attentively to the statement by Mr. Ives.

In 2022, a year that is drawing to a close, Haiti has seen continuing political stalemate, with still-rampant gangs, a resurgence of cholera, severe food and energy shortages, and growing violence against women and children. The Haitian people are struggling in ever deeper agony and despair.

China attaches great importance to the situation in Haiti. This year we pushed for three urgent Security Council deliberations thereon and were the first to propose sanctions against the gangs and their supporters that undermine peace and security in the country, request that the Secretary-General submit recommendations on how to help the Haitian National Police combat gangs, and ask the Haitian Government to update the Security Council on its political process. Thanks to the joint efforts of Council members, the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 2653 (2022) in October this year, imposing sanctions measures, including a travel ban, an assets freeze and an arms embargo against the Haitian gangs, and translating into action the consensus on curbing gang violence and crimes with a view to protecting the Haitian people and restoring security and social order in the country.

China supports Gabon in fulfilling its duties as Chair of the Sanctions Committee established pursuant to resolution 2653 (2022) and hopes to see the Committee and its panel of experts become operational promptly, carry out their work as mandated with urgency, in particular by reviewing and updating the sanctions list and monitoring implementation of the sanctions measures so that the sanctions regime will effectively produce the expected effect of deterring gangsters and curbing violent crimes.

The security situation in Haiti remains dire, with no signs of any significant let-up in gang violence. China has stressed on many occasions that preventing gangs from illegally acquiring weapons is essential to improving Haiti's security situation. The Haitian authorities must earnestly assume their responsibilities in this regard. Equally indispensable are the support and cooperation of neighbouring countries and the relevant organizations. We see that some countries of the region have recently announced new measures to control arms exports to Haiti, and we expect those measures to achieve positive results.

Since the assassination of former President Moïse, in July 2021, the Haitian Government, Parliament and judiciary have been paralysed, and presidential elections

and the constitutional referendum have been postponed repeatedly. The people of Haiti cannot wait indefinitely. The state of anarchy caused by the shutdown of State institutions must end as soon as possible. We urge all political parties and factions in Haiti to engage in broad dialogue and consultations in order to reach an early consensus on the political process and arrangements for the transition period and to come up with a clear and feasible timetable.

Two months ago, the Haitian Government, pursuant to resolution 2645 (2022), updated the Council on its domestic political process. Given the ongoing political stalemate in Haiti, the Security Council should continue to ask the Haitian Government to provide updates on relevant developments. The Council could also consider engaging and conducting dialogues with the representative political factions in Haiti, including through Arria Formula meetings, in order to encourage them to work together to advance an inclusive political process.

The Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the United Nations Integrated Office in Haiti should play a constructive role in reaching a Haitian-led and-owned solution and should provide a platform for inclusive political dialogue among all parties and factions in Haiti. At the same time, we must act in accordance with the mandate, respect the choices of the Haitian people and avoid creating the impression of meddling, or even interfering in, Haitian politics. We also encourage and support the efforts of the Caribbean Community to help resolve the issue of Haiti and defuse the crisis in the country.

As the work of the Security Council draws to a close this year, I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to India, Ireland, Kenya, Mexico and Norway and to bid them farewell. We thank them for their constructive participation in the Council's affairs and for their contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security during their tenure as elected members. China looks forward to strengthening cooperation with the five new elected members in order to jointly promote solidarity and consensus, practice multilateralism and work to ensure that the Security Council can effectively fulfil the duties and mission conferred upon it by the Charter of the United Nations.

Ms. Shaheen (United Arab Emirates) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I thank Ms. Helen La Lime for her briefing and efforts as well as the efforts of the

United Nations Integrated Office in Haiti (BINUH). I also thank the Deputy Secretary-General, Ms. Amina Mohammed, for her introductory remarks. We also congratulate Gabon on chairing the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 2653 (2022), concerning Haiti, and thank its Permanent Representative for his briefing as Chair of the Committee. We welcome the participation of the Foreign Ministers of Haiti, the Dominican Republic and the representative of Canada in today's meeting. We also listened carefully to the briefing by Mr. Kim Ives.

As we continue to follow the concerning situation in Haiti, the ending of the blockade of the Varreux fuel terminal last month was an important development. It will provide relief for many people in Haiti, who depend on fuel for accessing services and basic commodities. However, there are still many challenges that must be addressed, including the closure of roads and control of neighbourhoods by gangs. That directly impedes access to ambulances, medical personnel, humanitarian aid and basic commodities, in addition to the resurgence of cholera in Haiti. We stress that the impact of gang control on the daily lives and security of civilians is unacceptable, and we should not ignore it.

We also remain concerned by the rampant levels of sexual and gender-based violence in Haiti. Once more, we reiterate the denunciation of the United Arab Emirates to such unacceptable acts. The Council must utilize the tools available to us to address those challenges, including through the recently adopted sanctions regime and the specific classification criteria aimed at targeting those who perpetrate and facilitate such abhorrent acts.

We underscore the need to achieve progress on the political level in order to put Haiti on the path to peace and improve the humanitarian, economic and security situations in the country. It is also imperative to maintain any progress made and continue to prioritize an inclusive, Haitian-led and Haitian-owned dialogue. As such, it is important to focus on the political process, and we look forward to further updates in that regard. Constructive engagement by the international community and Haitian actors is necessary to chart a path towards an environment conducive to holding peaceful elections as soon as the security situation permits.

In all our efforts, we should work closely with other stakeholders such as the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) and the Economic and Social Council

Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Haiti. They play a critical role in promoting development and stability in Haiti, while ensuring consistent and sustained regional and international support.

The United Arab Emirates stands ready to work with the Council, the Haiti Sanctions Committee and other relevant actors to address various challenges and crises gripping Haiti.

In conclusion, as this is almost the last formal meeting of the Council this month, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Madam President, on your presidency of the Security Council and on your exceptional efforts during India's membership of the Council for the past two years. We would also like to express our sincere appreciation and gratitude to all the outgoing elected members whose membership ends this month. We also wish the incoming members success and look forward to working with all Council members next year.

Ms. Juul (Norway): I thank Deputy Secretary-General Mohammed, Special Representative of the Secretary-General La Lime and the Chair of the new Sanctions Committee, the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 2653 (2022), concerning Haiti, for their briefings. We also listened to the intervention of Mr. Ives.

Let me draw the Council's attention to four points.

First, Norway welcomes the important steps taken towards operationalizing the 2653 Sanctions Committee and congratulate His Excellency Ambassador Biang on his appointment as Chair of the Committee. We believe that the Committee should consider further designating perpetrators of sexual and gender-based violence. And, to ensure the efficiency of the sanctions regime, it is important that the Committee keep up with its intentions to safeguard due process by authorizing an ombudsperson for this sanctions regime.

Secondly, we continue to be extremely concerned about the humanitarian situation in Haiti. We fear that we will see a further deterioration, as gangs continue to retain significant territory. We commend the United Nations and local and international humanitarian workers who are tirelessly working to protect and assist people affected by the crisis. They must be assured safe and unhindered access to people in need.

Thirdly, many of the problems facing Haiti can be traced to systematic failures. The breakdown of the security and justice sector needs to be addressed, including endemic corruption and impunity. Climate-related security threats are also evident. Poor disaster resilience leads to vulnerable people in rural areas leaving their homes for cities where violence is rampant. And children who are unable to go to school owing to the violence are forced to turn to the very people holding them hostage in order to be fed. The situation is untenable, and we must not turn away.

Fourthly, the crisis in Haiti is multifaceted. We regret that a political solution continues to be elusive. That is why we strongly encourage Haiti's political actors to work together for their people and find a sustainable Haitian-led political solution. However, the current crisis runs so deep that it will require much more than just organizing new elections to resolve it. We need multiple and combined efforts in the security, humanitarian and political sectors to pave the way for a better future. The Secretary-General has proposed a rapid action force to support Haiti's police in improving the security situation. Criminal actors who are fuelling violence and disrupting humanitarian assistance must be stopped. We welcome appropriate support from countries and actors in the region to assist the Haitian National Police to tackle the acute security situation.

Allow me to conclude by urging the international community to remain engaged in Haiti. In the current dire situation, as a Council, we should be united and work together with Haitians towards creating a better future. We call on the co-penholders to have wider discussions on the draft resolution on the multinational force. Norway will also continue to support the Haitian people beyond our term on the Security Council.

Norway's time on the Council has been characterized by the turbulent global landscape, despite which we leave the Council the same way we entered it: with an inherent belief in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and a firm commitment to defend them. We continue to believe in the positive impact that the Council can have on the lives of people suffering from conflict and instability.

Mr. Hoxha (Albania): I thank Deputy Secretary-General Amina Mohammed, Special Representative of the Secretary-General La Lime and the Ambassador of Gabon, in his capacity as the Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 2653 (2022),

concerning Haiti, for the information shared. We welcome the participation of Foreign Minister Génésus of Haiti, Foreign Minister Álvarez Gil of the Dominican Republic and the Permanent Representative of Canada at today's meeting.

There is no other way to say it: Haiti is on the edge of the abyss. Unrelenting armed violence has precipitated the country's descent into the worst human rights and humanitarian situation in decades. Kidnappings and sexual violence by gang members, which are at their highest levels, as Special Representative of the Secretary-General La Lime confirmed, are being used as weapons to inflict severe pain and instill fear among the population. Law and order have collapsed. The State and its institutions are at an intolerable standstill. Everything of importance seems to have been compromised.

Allow me to highlight the following key points.

First, the unanimous adoption of resolution 2653 (2022) has sent a clear message with a unified voice to the people of Haiti, and in particular to all the perpetrators of, and those involved in, criminal activities that there will be no tolerance for impunity. We are happy that the resolution has resonated with the aspirations and hopes of the Haitians. We expect the arms embargo to help prevent the direct and indirect supply of arms and ammunition to gangs or criminal groups, which are undermining the rule of law and have turned the country into a no-man's land.

Secondly, the situation of the total breakdown of law and order, with gangs controlling most of the critical infrastructure in the country, has further exacerbated an already-acute humanitarian crisis, coupled with food insecurity, water and fuel shortages and the cholera outbreak. As a result, thousands of people are fleeing their homes and country. We applaud the extensive efforts made by the United States to secure medical assistance to Haitian people in isolated areas, together with other health workers and non-governmental organizations, as well as joint efforts with Canada in providing security equipment for the Haitian National Police.

Thirdly, with regard to the perpetuation of the political deadlock, it is crucial that, together with international efforts, all Haitian political actors and stakeholders act with a sense of responsibility and urgency, make concrete efforts to chart a course for the country to exit the deadlock, dismantle corruption

and restore confidence in Haitian institutions and law enforcement authorities. The ship is in danger, and there is no time for routine politics, power bargaining and uncompromising positions because, if the Haitian leaders and the elite continue in that way, there will be little else to share other than the commensurate misery of a completely failed State. And they will only have themselves to blame. Haitian politicians must understand that help may and should come from outside, but solutions have to come from within Haiti. Haiti and Haitians deserve better — much more than political irresponsibility, institutional incapacity and everyday impossibility.

Fourthly, the reports of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees are alarming. There is a desperate need to tackle the root causes of inequality and violence, including the systematic corruption and rampant impunity that have crippled the country's development for decades. We reiterate the crucial importance of strengthening the judicial sector and other accountability mechanisms, including by establishing specialized judicial divisions, to address financial and gang-related crimes.

Haiti needs help, and it needs it now. We hope that the Security Council will deliver with the same constructive spirit for the establishment of the international security assistance mission, in order to help restore safety and security in the country, in response to the Government's request and as recommended by the Secretary-General. For anything meaningful to happen in Haiti, there is an urgent need to break the grip that gangs have on the country.

Allow me to reaffirm our full support for the United Nations Integrated Office in Haiti and Special Representative of the Secretary-General La Lime for their work, critical role and efforts in bringing key political actors to the table to agree on a mutually acceptable political framework, despite the heightened violence, insecurity and, above all, mindsets based on "damned if you do and damned if you don't", as we have heard. We strongly believe that a sustainable solution to the complex situation in Haiti can be achieved only through the restoration of law and order and through substantive, inclusive and responsible dialogue among all political actors and the private sector, which has been raised, including civil society and women and youth representatives, paving the way for free and democratic elections, as soon as feasible.

Lastly, as this is the last formal meeting of the month, the year and India's term as President of the Council, let me congratulate you and your team, Madam President, for your contribution to the work of the Council and excellent cooperation this year. The same goes to our colleagues from Ireland, Mexico, Norway and Kenya. We are grateful for the cooperation, as well as for how much we have learned from them. We wish them every success in January when we meet again as previously elected members of the Council.

The President: We appreciate the sentiments expressed by the representative of Albania.

Ms. Jacobs (United Kingdom): We thank our briefers, including the Chair of the new Committee established by resolution 2653 (2022) for his first update. I also welcome the Foreign Ministers of Haiti and the Dominican Republic and the Permanent Representative of Canada.

The United Kingdom remains deeply concerned about the ongoing dire humanitarian situation in Haiti, which is being compounded by chronic insecurity and political gridlock. As we heard today so clearly from the Deputy Secretary-General and Special Representative of the Secretary-General La Lime, the actions of armed gangs have displaced thousands of people, limited the free movement of people and goods and denied citizens access to medical services during the resurgent cholera outbreak. The United Kingdom remains convinced that the perpetrators and sponsors of the gang violence must be held to account and denied the capacity to spread further instability and suffering. Therefore, we are pleased to see progress on sanctions that are imperative for tackling criminal behaviour. The sanctions are a necessary tool to break the cycle of criminal violence that so disastrously impacts the Haitian people.

However, sanctions alone will not work. That is why the international community must consider seriously any request for assistance from the Haitian Government and society, including on security. That must support and empower Haitian efforts to improve the security situation on the ground to create the conditions for elections so that the Haitian people may choose their next Government.

The United Kingdom continues to support action that moves Haiti closer to security and stability, with a return to democratic processes as soon as possible. We therefore welcome signs of movement towards resolving the political gridlock, but there must now be

determined efforts to reach a political consensus. An urgent route forward is needed to address the insecurity and the humanitarian and economic crises and prevent further deterioration of the situation.

Mr. Biang (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): In my capacity as the Permanent Representative of Gabon, I thank the Deputy Secretary-General and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Haiti, Ms. Helen La Lime, for their respective briefings. I also listened closely to the briefing made by Mr. Kim Ives.

I welcome the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Haiti, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Dominican Republic and the representative of Canada to today's meeting.

I would like to make four points.

The first point relates to the security situation. Haiti is located less than 2,500 kilometres away from the place in which we are meeting right now. The country faces a complex multidimensional crisis. Several observers are quick to describe the country as being in chaos or in a state of collapse. Heavily armed groups wreak havoc daily and sow fear. They operate by raping women, kidnapping for ransom and carrying out atrocities against civilians.

The police force is overwhelmed by the magnitude of the task, either due to a lack of human resources, inadequate equipment or simply because it is infiltrated by gangs. Regrettably, the only option for the millions of men, women, children, older persons and, in particular, young people is to escape by sea and head to neighbouring countries or join gangs.

The Council must act swiftly to address the situation and respond to the distress calls from the towns and villages, from men, women and children of a population that has been traumatized. The Haitian people need international solidarity now more than ever before. When fire engulfs a neighbour's house, although our own doors and windows are closed, the overpowering and haunting stench of the smoke from the ruins of the neighbour's house remains. Solidarity in such a situation is a moral duty. That duty falls under the mandate and functions of the Security Council.

Haiti urgently needs security. Without security, the Haitian economy will struggle to recover from the combined effects of manifold crises and epidemics. It will be even less able to retain the talent and labour it needs for its own development. It is a fact that the majority of young Haitians opt to leave their country as soon as they have the opportunity to do so.

My country, Gabon, welcomes the adoption of resolution 2653 (2022) and the initial benefits of sanctions targeting individuals with links to organized crime. We call on all countries to work together to implement the sanctions regime, in particular by sharing relevant information. We must take action. Every day that we do not take action here is another day of distress and trauma in Haiti.

Secondly, a catastrophic humanitarian situation is unfolding. The re-emergence of cholera, exacerbated by deteriorating health conditions, the effects of natural disasters and insecurity, leave many Haitians by the wayside every day. As there is no immediate response or better prospects, nearly 5 million Haitians face a food crisis that is already under way, and thousands more are at risk of famine.

There are recent reports about the displacement of nearly 10,000 people who were forced to flee Petite Rivière because of a turf war among armed gangs. According to the most recent report of the International Organization for Migration, the number of displaced persons tripled over the past few months. Between June and August this year, the number of displaced persons rose to 113,000.

Thirdly, I would like to talk about the economic situation. The end of the blockade of the Varreux terminal is a step in the right direction. It is to be hoped that all logistical obstacles will be removed to enable the resumption of efficient fuel distribution in order to revive the Haitian economy. Grassroots initiatives, spearheaded by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, the United Nations Integrated Office in Haiti and the Haitian National Police, along with the customs department, should also work well to stem the loss of approximately \$600 million in customs revenue every year, according to United Nations estimates.

Fourthly, and lastly, the political stalemate will not end without a return to social peace and security. We would like to encourage Haitian political actors to continue their dialogue, with a view to reaching an agreement that would allow for the right conditions for the holding of elections that will be accepted by everyone. That means that everyone must put the interests of the country ahead of their own personal interests. In that regard, we commend civil society for its commitment.

We would like to encourage all regional and international initiatives aimed at providing the response and solidarity the Haitian people expect as

they strive to get back on their feet. We stand ready to work within the Security Council and beyond with all those driven by their readiness to bring Haiti out of the cycle of violence.

Mrs. Broadhurst Estival (France) (*spoke in French*): I thank Deputy Secretary-General Amina Mohammed and Special Representative of the Secretary-General Helen La Lime for their briefings. I also thank Ambassador Biang for his briefing on the implementation of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 2653 (2022), concerning Haiti.

I would like to welcome the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Haiti, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Dominican Republic and the representative of Canada to today's meeting.

As we just heard, Haiti can wait no longer. France urges the international community to step up its efforts. We must urgently end the cycle of violence and destitution affecting the country. Allow me to touch on four points.

First, the security situation calls for a more stringent collective response. Renewed control over the Varreux terminal is encouraging, but it must not mask the actual situation on the ground. The issue remains an all-encompassing one. Gangs are perpetrating more kidnappings, sexual violence and murder, with absolute impunity. In response, our aim must be to continue to provide much greater and more effective support to the Haitian National Police, which is on the front lines. As we know, the force needs equipment, funding and training. To restore security, the Haitian authorities have requested assistance from the international community. We stand ready with our partners to do more to rectify the situation on the ground.

Secondly, France welcomes the sanctions regime targeting individuals who pose a threat to peace and security in Haiti. Sanctions are a deterrent to criminal groups and all political allies that support and finance them. The establishment of the 2653 Committee is a positive development, and we hope that, under Gabon's leadership, the Committee can put forward swift proposals.

In addition to sanctions, it is also important to rebuild justice in Haiti. The country does not have the means to carry out that task given that the weakening of its judicial institutions undermines State authority and is a threat to the security of the Haitian people. Combating

impunity and strengthening the entire penal chain must be a key priority if we ever hope to put an end to the violence.

Thirdly, we will continue to urge Haiti's political actors to find a compromise. The political dialogue needs to culminate in the organization of democratic elections when the security conditions are met. France calls for responsible engagement from the political community in order to break the current deadlock.

Fourthly, as many others here today have reminded the Security Council, the crisis in Haiti is multidimensional. That is why France is committed to facilitating humanitarian assistance, particularly in view of the ongoing cholera epidemic that broke out in the country in October. The population is also suffering from hunger, children are no longer going to school and the humanitarian situation is deteriorating. France cannot accept the current situation, and it has increased its food assistance to Haiti.

France would like to reaffirm its solidarity with the Haitian people. We will continue to resolutely support the United Nations Integrated Office in Haiti, which is carrying out essential work in extremely difficult conditions. Together with the International Organization of la Francophonie, we will continue to mobilize the international community in order to provide Haitians with the necessary assistance.

Finally, Madam President, before I conclude, I also want to commend India, as well as Ireland, Kenya, Mexico and Norway for their successful terms on the Security Council, as well as to thank them for their excellent work and all of the cooperation they facilitated throughout their terms and to wish them all the best in the new year. And I commend you, Madam, on your perfect presidency of the Council this month.

The President: I thank the representative of France for her kind sentiments.

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

I thank Deputy Secretary-General Amina Mohammed and Special Representative of the Secretary-General Helen La Lime, as well as Ambassador Michel Biang, Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 2653 (2022), concerning Haiti, and civil society briefer Mr. Kim Ives, for their remarks. I welcome the presence of Foreign Ministers of Haiti

and the Dominican Republic in today's meeting. I also deeply appreciate the presence here today of Ambassador Bob Rae of Canada in his capacity as Chair of the Economic and Social Council Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Haiti.

As we heard from all the briefers today, it is a matter of concern that the security and humanitarian situation in Haiti has not seen any significant improvement since the adoption of resolution 2653 (2022) in October. The security situation has worsened owing to the impunity with which armed groups and criminal networks are having a free run. The killings of civilians, kidnappings and other human rights violations have increased. There have been high-profile killings as well, including of a former presidential candidate. Access to health care and essential services, including water, food, sanitation and supply services, has remained limited. Fuel shortages are negatively impacting every aspect of society. The outbreak of the cholera epidemic has further aggravated the situation. The response capacity of the health system is under strain. Given that dire situation, the need of the hour is for the international community and United Nations agencies to enhance their humanitarian assistance. Clearly, the situation demands sustained attention of the Security Council.

However, the immediate priority has to be to reign in the criminal gangs and to bring a semblance of order, particularly in the capital city, Port-au-Prince. In that regard, we welcome the security assistance being extended by countries in the region. We hope that those steps will help the Haitian National Police authorities in addressing the persistent, destabilizing criminal activities perpetrated by armed gangs. The capacity-building needs of the Haitian National Police also need particular attention. Any decision on the deployment of a regional security mechanism should be carefully thought out, taking into consideration experience from the past, including that of United Nations missions.

The multifaceted political, security and economic crisis in Haiti demands all Haitian stakeholders to engage in meaningful negotiations. There is an urgent need to arrive at a consensus on a political road map for holding of the long-due elections. The Haitian parties also need to ensure that the process is both inclusive and legitimate. In the long term, institutional stability, good governance and the rule of law are essential to preventing a relapse of the current phase of the political impasse. In that regard, we commend the facilitating role of the

Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the United Nations Integrated Office in Haiti. We also note the proactive engagement of partners in the region in support of Haiti.

The Haitian people continue to suffer from the effects of a multidimensional crisis that unfortunately has been prolonged for decades. Today more than ever, they require the unwavering support of the international community. India enjoys long-standing relations with Haiti and its people. In the past, we have contributed to capacity-building and training initiatives in the country, and today too we stand ready to continue our support to the people of Haiti in their efforts to emerge from the current challenging situation.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Worship of Haiti.

Mr. Génés (Haiti) (*spoke in French*): At the outset, allow me to commend India on its presidency of the Security Council for the month of December, as well as to thank all the members of the Council for their unwavering interest and commitment concerning Haiti's aspirations. I also welcome the presence in today's important meeting of the Deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Haiti and Head of the United Nations Integrated Office in Haiti, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Dominican Republic and the Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 2653 (2022), concerning Haiti. I also thank Ambassador Bob Rae of Canada for his statement, which will include details of his visit to Haiti. My Government appreciates the international community's support and commitment to finding a lasting solution to the nightmarish crisis that continues to affect Haiti.

I welcome today's meeting, convened at the request of the Russian Federation, to review the political, security and humanitarian situation in the country and the effects of the sanctions regime on actors linked to armed gang violence, pursuant to resolution 2653 (2022), adopted in October.

The Government of Haiti highly appreciates the work of the Sanctions Committee chaired by Ambassador Michel Xavier Biang of Gabon. We hope that the Committee's work will be successful and hereby pledge the Government of Haiti's full support

to it. My Government also takes note of the upcoming formation of the Panel of Experts, which will support the Sanctions Committee in its work. We also call for the establishment of a list of the major actors linked to gang violence and money laundering. In that regard, the Haitian justice system and the various prosecutors' offices throughout the country have embarked on efforts to find the best formula to give full effect to resolution 2653 (2022) in Haiti.

Since the Council voted, on 21 October, to adopt resolution 2653 (2022), we have seen a tentative resumption of activities in the country. Notwithstanding those developments, there should be no misunderstanding with regard to the situation on the ground. While renewed control over the main oil terminal in Varreux has eased some of the pressure on the population and on economic activities, Haiti is far from having resolved the structural problem posed by the actions of armed gangs, which continue to hinder the actions of the Government and the population in a number of areas.

Murders, rapes, kidnappings and hijackings of cargo trucks continue. In the commune of Cabaret, a town located 32 kilometres from the capital, 12 peaceful citizens were massacred in one evening, and more than 10 houses were burned down. According to the Department of Civil Protection, in Petite Rivière de l'Artibonite, more than 10,000 people had to flee their homes.

Two weeks ago, the Director of the National Police Academy was insidiously shot by armed bandits. Nearly 60 police officers have suffered the same fate since the beginning of the year. A political party leader actively engaged in seeking an inclusive political agreement was brutally murdered. I still find it astonishing that, in this forum, we can market and promote gangs that kill and murder; it is certainly not by promoting armed gangs that the cries of distress of the Haitian people can be stifled, nor their desire to end this nightmare.

The country is living under the threat of a humanitarian crisis that plunges half of the population, approximately 4.5 million people, into food insecurity. The situation stems from structural causes that have been considerably aggravated by the blocking of roads and the hijacking of trucks transporting food to the cities, as well as by actions carried out by armed gangs. The effects of the gangs' actions are also

reflected in surging inflation, which makes the few foodstuffs available unaffordable to people living in precarious conditions.

This phenomenon is amplified by the hostage situation at the northern entrance to the capital, which makes the Lafito container port inaccessible; there, nearly 3,000 containers of food, pharmaceutical products and commodities for assembly plants are being blocked. Some products are starting to run out, and prices are soaring as a result of their scarcity. The only wheat-flour factory has been shut down for several months because it was sabotaged by gangs. The same is true of the national cement factory, which is located in the same industrial zone.

A serious and unexpected health crisis caused by the resurgence of cholera is evolving at an exponential rate and causing a high number of victims; it is a real public-health threat for the country in particular and for the region in general. A recent report from the Ministry of Public Health states that as of 18 December 2022, there were 17,629 suspected cases, 14,972 hospitalized cases and 316 deaths. It should be noted that children aged 1 to 4 years are the most affected, followed by people between 20 and 29 years of age. This disease, which broke out in two disadvantaged areas of the capital, is currently affecting all departments except the North-East Department. I take this opportunity to express the gratitude of the Haitian people for the emergency support provided by friendly countries to the Ministry of Public Health to contain the spread of the disease.

The Haitian people appreciate the unanimous decision by the Security Council to sanction certain important players that have been contributing to political instability through their support for armed gangs (resolution 2653 (2022)). This has had a clear impact in the current context, and it should help facilitate inter-Haitian dialogue and support for a national compromise that could lead to general elections in 2023. The implementation of sanctions will prevent the injection of dirty money into the electoral process. It will also reduce the ability of the promoters of violence to obtain arms and ammunition.

Insecurity remains an urgent priority for the Haitian people, who have suffered enough from the multidimensional crisis that is plaguing the country. Without establishing an adequate security environment, it is deceptive to think that we will be able to emerge

from the crisis for the long term. The data that led the Haitian Government to request the assistance of a specialized force to accompany the Haitian National Police in its fight to eradicate or at least contain the phenomenon of armed gangs, restore order and impose respect for the rule of law throughout the country have not changed much

The beginning of the resumption of activities is not a direct consequence of the operations carried out by the forces of law and order. The gangs have slowed down in some areas but continue to terrorize the population in others. Their capacity to cause harm has remained virtually intact, and they have the ability to resume their abuses whenever they want. It is urgent that Haiti's friends provide this assistance which, if sufficiently robust, can help the Haitian National Police overcome the armed-gangs phenomenon.

It is also important to know that the vast majority of the Haitian people are in favour of receiving this assistance, regardless of what some people — who do not propose any alternative solution — may say. Portraying bandits and criminals who kill, rape and kidnap as revolutionary and opposition leaders simply does not comport with reality. Numerous reports from national and international human rights institutions have demonstrated the indisputable guilt of these individuals. To try to whitewash them and make them look like something they are not is doing a disservice to Haiti.

Prime Minister Ariel Henry has always believed that dialogue is the best way to resolve even the most complex political problems. He has done everything possible by reaching out to the various sectors of national life, which allowed him to conclude the 11 September 2021 agreement. Nevertheless, he was not satisfied with this, because he and the Government as a whole wanted to do everything possible to broaden the consensus.

Many have criticized him for having wasted too much time courting those who remain recalcitrant, striving to bring them back to the negotiating table. But as he reiterated two days ago when receiving greetings from the diplomatic and consular corps, he does not regret trying. It is in unity that the Haitian people have been able to achieve great things in the past; it is in unity that they must find a way to put an end to this crisis that has lasted too long.

Like speakers before me, I am pleased to announce that Prime Minister Henry met this morning with representatives of civil society, the business sector and political parties to finalize and sign a national consensus agreement for an inclusive transition and to form a High Council for the Transition in order to move forward during 2023 on organizing transparent elections that will allow the Haitian people to freely choose the elected officials who will take over the management of their country's affairs.

The President: I now give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Dominican Republic.

Mr. Álvarez Gil (Dominican Republic) (*spoke in Spanish*): We recognize the designation of Gabon as Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 2653 (2022), concerning Haiti. We would like to thank Ambassador Biang for his briefing in that capacity, wish him success in his sensitive and important duties and pledge the support of the Government of the Dominican Republic.

I also wish to thank Deputy Secretary-General Amina Mohammed, Ms. Helen La Lime, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Haiti, Haitian Foreign Minister Jean Victor Génésus, and Ambassador Rae of Canada for their participation today.

Data has been presented ad nauseam in the Council reflecting the terrible violations to which the Haitian people have been subjected by the criminal gangs that control a large part of the territory, including 60 per cent of Port-au-Prince. To those misfortunes we now add a cholera outbreak and widespread famine. A few days ago, a shipment of 1.2 million vaccines arrived in Haiti to combat the outbreak of a strain of cholera that is even more virulent than the original one, which killed at least 2,000 people in just a few months. However, violence is again hampering their proper distribution. Three months ago, criminal gangs blocked the Varreux port terminal, preventing the distribution of fuel and leaving much of the country without power. According to our sources, in the Port-au-Prince area, virtually all babies in incubators died, as did most of the people in need of oxygen.

There is now sufficient evidence to attribute the recent cholera outbreak to that fuel shortage, which interrupted the supply of drinking water by Haiti's national water company, DINEPA. Let us recall that the

original cholera epidemic in Haiti, in 2010, spread to other countries of the region, such as the Dominican Republic, Cuba and Mexico.

Given that situation, we ask ourselves: If violence makes it difficult to deliver vaccines and fuel, how can food be delivered to some 5 million people at risk of acute food insecurity in 2023, including some 2 million children and adolescents, of whom approximately 250,000 are acutely malnourished? Against that tragic backdrop, how can we expect to distribute ballots for the long-demanded elections in Haiti? How can we conceive of a nation surviving a constant siege of death, sexual violence and kidnappings?

To the best of our ability, the Dominican Republic is doing its part to support our neighbour. For example, since the closure of the Varreux fuel terminal, our country has been facilitating the supply of fuel for the maintenance of some basic services in Haiti. In various operations between October and mid-December, at the request of the Haitian authorities, we facilitated the purchase of hundreds of thousands of gallons of diesel, gasoline and fuel oil. That fuel is destined for hospitals, supermarkets, free zones, agro-industries, banks, embassies of third countries, some of which are represented on the Security Council, and international organizations operating in Haiti, such as the United Nations.

We have also received and responded to requests for security support for the transport of diplomatic personnel from other countries and international organizations in Haiti — not to mention the provision of health services to tens of thousands of Haitians who come to seek them in our public network due to the impossibility of accessing them in their own country. For example, 32.4 per cent of births in our public hospitals are of Haitian migrants. Moreover, those services are provided free of charge. However, as President Luis Abinader Corona has expressed on repeated occasions, the Dominican Republic cannot shoulder the Haitian crisis alone.

The Haitian Government and the Haitian National Police are making considerable efforts to regain control of their territory. However, the task requires the cooperation of all States represented here. We know and insist that the solution to the Haitian crisis can come only from the Haitian people and their leaders through tenacious dialogue and lasting political consultation. We welcome the announcement made just now by

Minister Généus. We hope that the dialogue will bear fruit and continue to spread, but today Haiti cannot do it alone, as the most senior Haitian authorities have repeated on various occasions.

First of all, the necessary conditions must be created on the ground in order to make such dialogue and consultation possible. Our Government has therefore expressed its emphatic support for the position of the Secretary-General, António Guterres, that while aid for police training is being consolidated, a robust force is needed, capable of restoring peace and putting an end to the violence unleashed by armed gangs, infiltrated by political and economic power.

We recognize that resolutions 2645 (2022) and 2653 (2022) have borne their first fruit through the imposition of bilateral sanctions against those who finance the gangs. We now hope that in January the 2653 Sanctions Committee and the Panel of Experts mandated in those resolutions will begin their work in order to more effectively prosecute the criminals. In our opinion, the threshold of good intentions has been crossed. We urge the Council to implement, as soon as possible, the recommendation of resolution 2645 (2022) of building a multinational force in support of the Haitian National Police, as that is the only viable way in the short term to redeem the Haitian people from their current horrendous situation and thereby bring well-deserved peace of mind to our America.

Finally, we wish to bid farewell to Mexico and thank Ambassador Juan Ramón de la Fuente Ramírez and Mexico, as a member of the Security Council, for all their efforts as co-penholders of this issue of such vital importance for our country and for our region.

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

Mr. Rae (Canada) (*spoke in French*): I am pleased to speak on behalf of the Economic and Social Council Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Haiti. The Advisory Group comprises 21 Member States that are committed to supporting Haiti's long-term socioeconomic development. I am proud to see my colleagues from Rwanda, Kenya, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Barbados, the Dominican Republic and Haiti, who are with us today. I also want to personally thank Special Representative of the Secretary-General La Lime, whom I still see on the screen via video-teleconference patiently listening to us. I also want to thank my

colleague from Gabon, who is doing such important work in the cause peace and justice, and I commend him on his briefing today.

Two weeks ago, I visited Port-au-Prince in my national capacity for three days and was at first struck by the prevailing calm in the streets. Unfortunately, it was not at all because the security situation had improved. The streets were quiet because people were unable to leave their homes out of fear. Or they had perhaps already fled. Thousands of people have left the country to find a safe haven for them and their families. That is the reality of the situation. Heavily armed gangs currently control most of Haiti's capital. I will say with all due respect to everyone listening to me that that is not a myth; it is the reality of the situation, which cannot be denied. It is having a significant impact on the flow of fuel, food and the needed medicines, while humanitarian aid is unable to be delivered to the population. The situation remains very grave. The main national roads running to the north and south of the capital are blocked. Imagine if major artery Interstate 95 were blocked every 20 or 30 kilometres. Would that be a tolerable situation for the people of New York, New Jersey or elsewhere? No, it would not; it would make life is impossible.

The people in Haiti are living in impossible conditions vis-à-vis their daily lives and economy. It is impossible to talk to anyone in Port-au-Prince who has not experienced a kidnapping in their family, which was a reality brought up in the discussions that I had. I spoke with people who said that they had to pay ransom for their mother or brother. It is not an exception; it is part of life in Haiti. Women and girls are subjected to horrific sexual violence. It is not a myth; it is a reality that is documented in all the reports of the Human Rights Council.

Many schools remain closed. Most children are not attending school. That is a reality, not a myth. Farmers cannot plant or harvest food. Businesses cannot operate without having to pay out bribes to make their way through a labyrinth of intimidation. The humanitarian situation is extremely serious and entirely unacceptable. The number of cholera cases is increasing, with a significant impact on children. Many have already died. We do not know exactly how many, as the means for recording the names of those who have lost their lives are lacking.

As many have said, the challenges facing the country are complex, multidimensional, historical and interrelated and pose a serious threat to the country's peace, security and prospects for sustainable development.

(spoke in English)

Since Haiti's recent multifaceted crisis emerged following the assassination of President Jovenel Moïse last summer, our Advisory Group has met on 10 occasions, including at the leadership level in September. It has issued six joint statements as the crisis has unfolded. The Group has grown, with the Republic of Kenya and Barbados having recently joined. Members of the Advisory Group are fully aligned in their desire to support Haiti. We are based principally in the region, but additional countries are planning to come on board.

In that regard, on behalf of the Group, I would like to emphasize four key points.

First — others have said it, but I will repeat it — the international community can help only if we recognize that the approaches that have been taken in past decades have not worked. They have not been sustainable. They have not lasted. They have not taken hold in the country. They have not effected the changes that have to be made. It is clear — once again many have said it, but we must not only say it, but mean it — that solutions must be led by the people and the leadership of Haiti, not Canada, the United States, anyone here, any country or the United Nations. And we need to make a concerted effort to understand the needs of Haitians and to support the country's plan to address the crisis. But plans have to come from within the country, and they have to be the result of a deep and sustained political dialogue there.

Secondly, we cannot lose sight of the root causes of Haiti's challenges, many of which have been mentioned: extreme poverty, impunity and the corrupt collusion between the political and economic actors. Sanctions are, I believe, one important tool, and, yes, they are having reverberations on the ground. It will be key that we all strongly continue supporting the full implementation of resolution 2653 (2022). Much work remains ahead to support Haitians in addressing poverty, corruption, lawlessness and violence at every level.

Thirdly, while there are no "quick fixes", which is a phrase that I have heard many times, to Haiti's current crisis, we need immediate action. We cannot merely use the line that we cannot fix the problem quickly. Rather, we need to think systematically about the steps we need to take. We need to meet humanitarian needs, address the acute security situation and mount an effective response to cholera. If we fail to turn the dial back on cholera and quickly reduce the current wave, it will threaten to overtake everything else that we are doing, which would be very serious. We also have to support Haiti for the

long term, which I believe is critically important. We cannot come and go in our engagement. We cannot stay for a bit without figuring out a way to make our support sustainable. In doing so, humanitarian, human rights, development and peacebuilding actors operating within and outside of the country must significantly enhance integration and coordination in order to maximize the impact of such efforts.

We know that the Secretary-General and other countries, including my own, have received a request from acting Prime Minister Henry for a multinational force. The Secretary-General has written to us about the possibility of rapid response force. Canada and other countries are having detailed discussions with the Haitian National Police (HNP). We will not do anything without thoroughly engaging with the HNP on what its plan is, how it intends to implement the plan and exactly what assistance is needed. All kinds of various proposals have been thrown around. I believe that is important for us to start at the practical level of working closely with the Haitian Government to find out what will be needed, which involves not working just with the current Government of Haiti, but working with the broad political community, including all civil society and other actors, who need to be engaged in helping us find a solution.

I am glad that a number of countries have contributed to the security basket fund. Canada has so far contributed more the 50 per cent of the money that is in the fund. And we will continue to assist in the effort to increase the capacity of the HNP, including with equipment and training.

I want to stress that the Advisory Group has no specific mandate on peace and security. We are thoroughly respectful of that. We are an advisory group to the Social and Economic Council. But peace, security, economic growth and development go together. I know some people are not enthusiastic about using the language of the nexus, but it is actually true. The nexus is a real thing. You cannot have investment without security. You cannot have economic development without investment and security. You cannot have security without people having a sense of hope for their economic future. Those things all go together. We will continue to work hard on that issue, and we are committed to addressing security as a precondition for democratic development and political solidarity.

Fourthly, we encourage Haiti to ensure that the voices of women and youth are heard and reflected in plans to move the country forward. There needs

to be more women and young people involved in the leadership of the country. It is their future that is at stake and, from what we are seeing, they are the ones who principally suffer.

The inclusive national dialogue, to which my friend the Foreign Minister of Haiti referred, is a critically important element. Everybody has to put a bit of water in their wine to get there, but we have to get there. Last week, the Advisory Group heard from young Haitian women, who despite the very difficult situation, held out much hope for what they saw as being their future. I believe that Haitians continue to demonstrate their remarkable resilience in the face of hardship, but they need sustainable and predictable assistance from the international community on every front in order to break out of the cycle of crisis.

I want to say a few words in my national capacity. Those who bribe, extort, steal, rape, kidnap and/or kill must be stopped in their tracks. We cannot let that continue. It is not a political theory; it is a real thing. If we cannot deal with that issue, then it will not be possible for us to deal with anything else. I do not know how anyone who blockades, bullies, threatens or extorts can be considered to be performing some kind of public service. That is nonsense. It does not pass any kind of smell test as an analysis of the situation.

Finally, we have heard it said in other contexts, but it must be said again — nothing for Haiti without all of Haiti. That must be a principle in how we conduct ourselves. Canada has been vigorous. The representative of Russia singled us out, and I take it as a badge of honour. I believe we were mentioned three times in his statement today. We continue to be vigorous in our pursuit of the end of impunity, and I will tell members why. It is because we all made the mistake of not paying attention to the corrosive impact of corruption. We will not make that mistake again. My friend the representative of Mexico quoted his President talking about how corruption is at the core. We cannot deal with corruption without sanctions, but sanctions are not enough. Sanctions are just what other Governments impose. Haiti itself has to take measures against the corrosive nature of corruption, and we all have to recognize that economic development and political development and the social justice needs of all people of Haiti go together. Efforts will be led by Haiti and must be supported by all of us.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.