



# Security Council

Seventy-fifth year

**8710**<sup>th</sup> meeting

Thursday, 30 January 2020, 10.10 a.m.

New York

*Provisional*

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*President:* Mr. Dang/Mr. Pham. . . . . (Viet Nam)

*Members:*

Belgium . . . . .	Mrs. Van Vlierberge
China . . . . .	Mr. Wu Haitao
Dominican Republic . . . . .	Ms. Morrison González
Estonia . . . . .	Mr. Auväärt
France . . . . .	Mrs. Gueguen
Germany . . . . .	Mr. Licharz/Mr. Heusgen
Indonesia . . . . .	Mr. Djani
Niger . . . . .	Mr. Aougi
Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Nebenzia
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines . . . . .	Ms. King
South Africa . . . . .	Ms. Mogashoa
Tunisia . . . . .	Mr. Baati
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . . . . .	Mr. Allen
United States of America . . . . .	Mrs. Craft

## Agenda

The situation in Libya

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (S/2020/41)

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*The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.*

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **The situation in Libya**

#### **Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (S/2020/41)**

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

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Ghassan Salamé, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya, to participate in this meeting.

Mr. Salamé is joining today's meeting via video-teleconference from Brazzaville.

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

I wish to draw the attention of Council member to document S/2020/41, which contains which contains the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Support Mission in Libya.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear briefings by Mr. Salamé and Mr. Mathias Licharz, speaking on behalf of the Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya.

I now give the floor to Mr. Salamé.

**Mr. Salamé:** I am pleased to be joining the Security Council from Brazzaville, where I attended the eighth summit of the African Union High-Level Committee on Libya at the level of Heads of State and Government, hosted by the President of the Republic of the Congo, His Excellency Mr. Sassou Nguesso. In my intervention, I reiterated the Organization's strong partnership with the African Union as we work together in the pursuit of peace and stability in Libya.

On 21 January, the Secretary-General briefed the Council on the outcomes of the Berlin conference and, most important, on the collective efforts ahead in order to peacefully resolve the Libyan conflict. I will briefly

update the Council today on what has occurred since the Secretary General's briefing.

When we started preparatory consultations for the Berlin conference in September 2019, at the peak of the war, we were under no illusions about the challenges of the task that lay ahead. We also knew that we had to mobilize in order to prevent Libya's further downward spiral into chaos and civil war. I wish to express my gratitude to Chancellor Merkel and the Federal Republic of Germany for working relentlessly with us in the months leading up to the 19 January leaders' gathering.

At the Berlin conference, representatives of countries concerned and regional organizations, some of which have directly or indirectly fuelled the conflict, agreed not to interfere in Libya's internal affairs and to abide by the United Nations arms embargo. The final 55-point Berlin communiqué comprehensively tackles the full range of issues underpinning the Libyan problem set. It is buttressed by the detailed operational plan of United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL), which forms the basis for the Mission's work in the coming period.

The Berlin conference was a serious effort to try to unify a discordant international community and to give hope to the beleaguered Libyans in the form of the provision of a protective international umbrella by the summit participants. That umbrella will allow Libyans to restore a measure of their plundered sovereignty and come together to chart their way forward.

The summit was held against the backdrop of the truce called for by Presidents Putin and Erdoğan on 8 January and accepted by both parties to the conflict. Following the 12 January commencement of the truce, there was an initial reduction in violence, which provided the residents of greater Tripoli a much-needed respite from the suffering of war.

But with recent developments on the ground, I regret to report that the truce holds only in name. Artillery exchanges have significantly increased in Tripoli in recent days, with an associated increase in civilian casualties due to the use of indiscriminate shelling. Since 6 January, we have verified at least 21 civilian casualties — 18 deaths and 3 injuries — of conflict-related incidents in and around Tripoli. In the last two days alone, four children — all under the age of 12 — perished as a result of shelling in the Al-Hadaba area of Tripoli, two of whom died at the scene of the

attack, while the other two died in intensive care; the last one died just yesterday afternoon.

We are also witnessing severe fighting outside Tripoli. On 26 January, the Libyan National Army (LNA) launched an offensive against Government of National Accord (GNA) forces in the Abu Qurayn area, south of Misrata, prompting heavy clashes with dozens of casualties on both sides. Those clashes were accompanied by fixed-wing strikes conducted by the LNA and drone strikes by both sides.

As I speak, the battle for Abu Qurayn is ongoing. On 8 January, the LNA extended its unilaterally declared no-fly zone to include Mitiga airport. On 22 January, the LNA further extended that no-fly zone southwards towards Gharyan and Tarhouna and threatened to shoot down any military or civilian aircraft approaching Mitiga airport. Since that time, Mitiga airport has been shelled on three occasions, resulting in civilian casualties, damaging the civilian airport's infrastructure and temporarily halting air traffic. On 28 January, two days ago, GNA forces reportedly downed an LNA drone in the vicinity of Misrata. Since 12 January, the Mission has recorded more than 110 reported violations of the truce.

I am also deeply worried about the military reinforcements received by both sides, raising the spectre of a broader conflict engulfing the wider region. The warring parties have continued to receive a sizeable amount of advanced equipment, in addition to fighters and advisers from foreign sponsors — in brazen violation of the arms embargo and the pledges made by representatives of those countries in Berlin. The LNA has reinforced its forces along the front lines in Tripoli with arms, equipment and infantry elements, including foreign fighters.

Meanwhile, there has been a notable increase in heavy cargo flights — several per day — to Benina airport and Al-Khadim air base in eastern Libya delivering military equipment to the LNA. Yesterday three boats were in Tripoli and Misrata delivering new weapons in the west, while two cargo planes landed at Al-Khadim air base in the east.

At the same time, foreign fighters who support the GNA have been flown into Tripoli by the thousands and deployed in forward locations, alongside Libyan forces. During this period, the GNA forces, supported by a foreign sponsor, established advanced air defence systems throughout the western region — to put it

bluntly, Hawk anti-aircraft defence systems. As recently as Tuesday, the presence of foreign naval assets, including warships, was witnessed off the coast of Tripoli, in addition to cargo ships.

All those manoeuvres to resupply the two parties threaten to precipitate a new and much more dangerous conflagration. They violate the spirit and the letter of the Berlin conference. I urge the parties and their foreign sponsors to desist from reckless actions and instead renew their expressed commitment to work towards a ceasefire.

As the Secretary-General briefed the Council on 21 January, we received from both parties — on 19 January, in Berlin — the full roster of names of their military representatives to attend the Joint Military Commission talks in Geneva. Those talks form the pillar of the military track and must be launched as soon as possible. I had hoped to be able to brief the Council today from Geneva, not Brazzaville, with the talks having started on Tuesday. The GNA representatives are ready to engage, and I met with them personally in Tunis on Monday to lay out the framework for the expected talks. As of yet, the LNA delegation has been unable to confirm its participation, although I am scheduled to meet General Haftar in Al-Rajma in two days' time to push for the team to be dispatched without delay.

It is imperative that the Joint Military Commission meet under United Nations auspices to transform the truce — or whatever is left of it — into a ceasefire and discuss the modalities for a ceasefire monitoring mechanism, which I know is of great interest to the Council. The Commission will also seek to reach an agreement on long-term security arrangements, while directly addressing grievances expressed by both sides. The Council's collective support and engagement in that process is vital. Consolidating the truce is critical for the success of our parallel efforts to start the Libyan political forum, thereby enabling the parties to discuss transitional institutional arrangements.

However, the selection process for Libyan delegates to that endeavour has not yet been completed. On 10 January, I asked the Presidents of the High Council of State and the House of Representatives to start, on the basis of each of the 13 electoral districts, a process to select representatives of the two houses for the Libyan political forum. I offered the support of UNSMIL to ensure that the process was inclusive, transparent, fair

and democratic. On 19 January, the High Council of State completed the selection of its 13 delegates. Deep political divisions within the House of Representatives have been impeding the selection process of its delegates to the Libyan political forum. Yesterday a district-based selection process for the 13 delegates started with the support of UNSMIL. I am pleased to report that, with UNSMIL representatives as witnesses to the process, three House of Representatives districts elected their delegates for the political talks. Yesterday's efforts sent a positive signal from Parliament to the Libyan people that should be encouraged and replicated in the 10 other districts. UNSMIL continues to be on standby to assist the remaining districts in completing the process.

On the economic track, following their first meeting, on 6 January, Libyan experts representing the main national institutions, as well as different economic sectors, are now developing the terms of reference for the Libyan expert economic commission. We have issued invitations to the second economic meeting, which will take place on 9 February in Cairo, and received an enthusiastic response from the participants. On 7 January, UNSMIL convened a second meeting of the second track dialogue between the two branches of the Central Bank of Libya to develop a road map for their eventual unification. The completion of the international audit of the two branches of the Central Bank of Libya remains critical for transparency and creating the conditions for eventual unification. While we have made significant progress and hope to soon begin the audit, there has been no shortage of challenges. We will continue to rely on the strong support of the Security Council in order to move forward with the process.

The international follow-up committee to the Berlin conference will get under way in the coming weeks with the formation of four working groups focused on the political, military, economic and international humanitarian law and human rights tracks. Those mechanisms will ensure that the hard work ahead of Berlin continues and that those who obstruct the process — whether inside or outside Libya — can be held to account.

The economy in Libya is becoming increasingly unstable due to the conflict. Institutional fragmentation and the inability to enact a unified economic policy are exacerbating existing challenges and creating new ones. On 18 January, the National Oil Corporation declared force majeure on oil exports from ports in

eastern Libya following local protests against the ports. On 20 January, the National Oil Corporation extended the force majeure to all onshore ports following pressure exerted by LNA-aligned forces to shut down production at the Al-Sharara, Hamada and Al-Feel oil fields. Oil production will soon be reduced to 72,000 barrels per day, coming only from Libya's offshore sites. The blockade results in losses of approximately \$55 million per day in national revenue and, as of today, the cumulative lost revenue as a result of the blockade has reached over \$622 million. The 72,000 barrels per day that I mentioned must be compared to the situation two weeks ago, when production stood at 1.3 million barrels per day.

Libya's national debt has now surpassed 100 billion dinars and is spiking upwards. Expenditures on salaries proliferate as competing authorities add to an already bloated payroll. Government subsidies, both hidden and overt, continue to increase as the quality of services diminishes. Cuts to customs tariffs and taxes are narrowing Libya's revenue base, making the country entirely reliant on oil exports — which have now stopped — and fees on foreign exchange. Commercial banks are finding it increasingly difficult to operate under the supervision of two competing central banks. A number of commercial banks, particularly in the country's east, are now either unable to honour transactions or will soon reach that point. While the Mission continues to work to find halfway measures to keep the economy afloat, fully addressing the situation requires a political solution that allows for more fundamental economic and institutional reform.

The humanitarian situation remains deeply concerning. More than 150,000 people have been forced from their homes in the Tripoli area since the conflict began in April. As of 22 January, nearly 120 schools in Ain Zara and Abu Salim in Tripoli remain closed after a number of schools reopened following the truce, depriving at least 70,000 children of their basic human right to an education. A total of 26 health facilities have been damaged to varying degrees due to proximity to the clashes, including 12 that have closed, while another four remain at high risk of closure.

At least 953 migrants, among them 136 women and 85 children, were returned to Libya in the first two weeks of 2020. Most were disembarked in Tripoli and all were taken to detention centres, where they are routinely subjected to serious human rights violations and abuses. Those returned migrants are among over

1,000 who have left Libya by sea since 1 January, driven in part by the heaviest clashes Tripoli has seen since hostilities began nine months ago. The increase in departures is alarming, given the very limited search-and-rescue capacity in the Mediterranean. On 27 January, UNSMIL and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) issued a joint report on the 2 July air strike on the Tajoura detention centre, calling for accountability for violations of international law and urgent action to prevent a repeat of a similar incident. I regret the recent news that OHCHR has stopped activities at the gathering and departure facility it had established, as it was unable to guarantee safety due to training exercises nearby.

I am concerned about credible reports of serious human rights violations in Sirte, including enforced disappearances and arbitrary detention by armed groups since the LNA took the city on 6 January. There are reports of families forced to flee, some due to their affiliation with the Government of National Accord and others due to their association with elements of the former regime, that is, the Al-Qadhafi regime. UNSMIL has received reliable reports of hundreds of prisoners from at least four towns and cities in western Libya, including Tripoli and Khums, being released contrary to Libyan law in order to fight on behalf of the Government of National Accord in exchange for promised freedom following the end of the conflict. We have also received reports of summary executions and revenge killings in Tripoli and in nearby Tarhouna, which is under the control of forces loyal to the LNA.

The fate of many forcibly disappeared Libyans remains unknown. More than half a year has passed since Siham Sergewa, a member of the House of Representatives, was seized at night from her home in Benghazi. I reiterate that the authorities in eastern Libya are responsible for respecting international human rights law and are legally obliged to establish the fate and whereabouts of Ms. Sergewa. I welcome the joint statement issued by several Member States on 17 January and urge others with influence on the relevant authorities to demand her immediate release and the release of all victims of enforced disappearance and to hold those responsible to account.

In contrast to the malaise that has beset some in Libya's political class, many other Libyans have not stood idly by in the face of the widespread use of hate speech and divisive rhetoric designed to tear the

country apart. I applaud the civil society activists and tribal elders who have courageously raised their voices, particularly in the past few days, in order to maintain social harmony among Libyans. I was heartened to see that a group of young activists in Benghazi issued a New Year's Day call for a cessation of hostilities and a return to political talks.

It is my sincere hope that the momentum created on 19 January in Berlin — genuine momentum — and here today in Brazzaville will be seized by the Council and by the Libyan parties. Libyans need to be given some hope that the international community has not abandoned them. Specific endorsement of the Berlin conclusions by the Council through the adoption of a resolution would send a decisive signal not only to the Libyans but also to the spoilers — local and international alike — about the seriousness with which the international community regards this process.

However, I must also be candid in expressing my deep anger and disappointment at what has occurred since the Berlin summit. There are unscrupulous actors inside and outside Libya who cynically hint towards efforts to promote peace and piously affirm their support for the United Nations. Meanwhile, they continue to strengthen their commitment to a military solution, raising the frightening spectre of a full-scale conflict and further misery for the Libyan people, more refugees, the creation of a security vacuum and further interruptions to global energy supplies. All that is done in blatant disregard of Libya's sovereignty and the fundamental rights of the Libyan people and in flagrant violation of international consensus and the rules-based international order. I hope that in the coming days the Council can find its unity and its voice to halt Libya's senseless unravelling. Too much is at stake, including our collective credibility.

**The President:** I thank Mr. Salamé for his briefing.

I now give the floor to Mr. Licharz.

**Mr. Licharz (Germany):** In accordance with paragraph 24 (e) of resolution 1970 (2011) of 26 February 2011, I have the honour to report to the Security Council on the work of the Committee established pursuant to the same resolution. The report covers the period from 5 September 2019 to 29 January 2020, during which time the Committee held three informal consultations and conducted additional work by silence procedure.

Allow me to begin by noting that at its most recent informal consultations, held on 25 November, the Committee heard a presentation by the Panel of Experts on its final report submitted in accordance with resolution 2441 (2018). Since the report is publicly available in document S/2019/914, I will not summarize its findings. Committee members expressed their concern about the lack of implementation of the arms embargo, in particular, and reported violations thereof, as well as attacks against civilians and civilian objects, which constitute a breach of international humanitarian law. Committee members reiterated their support for the work of the Panel and encouraged it to regularly report on cases of non-compliance with the relevant resolutions. Committee members also underlined the importance of the privileges and immunities enjoyed by experts on mission under the 1946 Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations. In that regard, the Committee continues to follow the case of Mr. Moncef Kartas, a member of the Panel of Experts. The Chair recalled his intention to work towards organizing a visit of the Committee to all agreed areas of Libya, as mentioned in the Committee's 2018 annual report (see S/2018/1176), as soon as possible subject to logistical and security arrangements.

Of the four recommendations addressed to it by the Panel of Experts, the Committee agreed to take action on two — one pertaining to the assets freeze and the other relating to updates of the sanctions list. A third recommendation regarding the listing of individuals only required for the Committee to take note at this stage. The remaining nine recommendations are addressed to the Security Council. Since the submission of the final report, the Committee has also received a written update from the Panel of Experts on the topic of the security agreement signed between Libya and Turkey, in the context of the Panel's role in monitoring the implementation of the arms embargo.

Going back to the work of the Committee in the preceding months, on 12 September 2019, upon the request of Libya, the Committee received a briefing from the Chairman of the Board of Directors and Chief Executive Officer of the Libyan Investment Authority (LIA), a listed entity. In the interactive discussion that followed, Committee members emphasized the need to preserve the integrity and value of the Libyan frozen assets for the benefit of the Libyan people. They further stressed the importance of cooperation between the LIA and the Panel of Experts. Since that time,

through Libya, the Committee has also received two letters from the LIA on issues relating to the scope and implementation of the assets freeze. The Committee has sent a preliminary response and will be considering a more comprehensive reply.

On 22 October 2019, the Committee received a briefing from the United Nations Support Mission in Libya and an oral update from the Panel of Experts, both focusing on the implementation of the arms embargo and reported violations thereof. Committee members denounced continued violations of the arms embargo and increasing civilian casualties, stressing that attacks against civilians and civilian objects constituted a breach of international humanitarian law.

I now turn to exemptions, requests for guidance and implementation reports. Concerning the travel ban, the Committee approved two exemption requests, invoking paragraph 16 (a) of resolution 1970 (2011), submitted by Ms. Aisha Al-Qadhafi and Ms. Safia Farkash Al-Barassi, respectively. Given two prior cases of non-compliance involving two other listed individuals, the Committee has tasked the Panel of Experts with updating its implementation-assistance notice on the travel ban, so as to be able to provide additional guidance to Member States on implementation.

With regard to the assets freeze, no negative decision was taken by the Committee in relation to a notification by the Kingdom of Bahrain, submitted under sub-paragraph (a) of paragraph 19 of resolution 1970 (2011), in relation to basic expenses of the Libyan Investment Authority. The Committee had previously provided guidance to the Kingdom of Bahrain on the correct exemption provision to apply. The Committee also approved an exemption request by Switzerland, submitted under sub-paragraph (b) of paragraph 19 of resolution 1970 (2011), in relation to extraordinary expenses of the Libyan Africa Investment Portfolio. The Committee further provided guidance to Malta on the scope of the assets-freeze measure, and exchanged additional correspondence with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on a financial transaction involving the Libyan Foreign Investment Corporation, which is indicated as an "also known as" for the Libyan Investment Authority on the Committee's list.

With respect to the arms embargo, the Committee responded to a request for guidance on its scope from the World Health Organization in Libya. During

the reporting period, the Committee received an implementation report from Portugal.

Lastly, on the measures aimed at preventing illicit exports of petroleum, including crude oil and refined petroleum products, the Committee received the name of the new focal point, appointed by the Libyan Government, pursuant to resolutions 2146 (2014), 2278 (2016) and 2362 (2017). In addition, the Committee is considering a draft implementation-assistance notice prepared by the Panel of Experts on these measures in order to assist Member States with their proper implementation.

**The President:** I thank Mr. Licharz for his briefing.

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

**Mr. Allen** (United Kingdom): Let me start by thanking the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ghassan Salamé, for his briefing and for the ongoing efforts of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) to broker an end to the conflict in Libya. I would like to assure Special Representative Salamé of the United Kingdom's full and unwavering support and appreciation for his untiring efforts in this regard. Let me also thank Germany for hosting the Berlin Conference and for all its efforts to bring international leaders together in order to create the right environment for a ceasefire and a resumption of the political process.

Let me start with Berlin. We particularly welcome the conclusions document agreed in Berlin, which includes a commitment by all to refrain from interfering in the conflict or in the internal affairs of Libya. It is essential that these commitments are adhered to. It has been only 11 days since Berlin, but it is clear from Special Representative Salamé's briefing that the Libyan people are in grave peril and that the situation has become more fragile and more dangerous. Libya stands on the brink of disaster, and we are gravely concerned by reports of breaches of the arms embargo in recent days. Member States have obligations to abide by the arms embargo imposed by the Security Council.

We are also deeply concerned by reports of increased fighting over recent days, which underlines the urgency of the Joint Military Commission's 5+5 meeting, convened by UNSMIL, to agree to a permanent ceasefire. It is essential that both sides commit to participating in these talks without delay. We

also support UNSMIL's work to convene the political forum and to establish the Libyan expert economic commission. Both initiatives will provide opportunities to address the political and economic questions that lie at the core of the conflict. We condemn the blockading of oil terminals in the east of Libya, which has led to the declaration of force majeure by the National Oil Corporation. The consequent loss of oil revenue will lead only to the further suffering of Libyans.

The report of the Secretary-General (S/2020/41) underlines the worsening human rights situation in Libya. Let me, at this point, echo Special Representative Salamé's call for clarity on the whereabouts of Siham Sergewa. It is particularly distressing that there have been at least 50 attacks on health-care facilities, health-care workers and ambulances since April last year. All parties to the conflict must comply with their obligations under international law, including international humanitarian law.

The Berlin Conference was a vital step in bringing together key international players. They agreed to support the United Nations-led political process and they pledged to respect the United Nations arms embargo. However, as Special Representative Salamé just highlighted, the situation on the ground is extremely worrying. The risks in Libya are high. It is vital that the international community and the Council show unity and put momentum in support of UNSMIL and the United Nations-led political process. There is no alternative solution. We should send a clear message.

**Mrs. Craft** (United States of America): I thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ghassan Salamé, for his update on the increasingly alarming situation in Libya.

Less than two weeks ago, international leaders gathered in Berlin, where they called for a sustained ceasefire and clearly committed to supporting effective United Nations monitoring when a lasting ceasefire is achieved and to rejecting toxic foreign interference in Libya. The United States looked to the participants at the Berlin conference to abide by the commitments that they made to maintain a truce and support renewed negotiations led by the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL). Regrettably, the promise of the Berlin conference is already under threat.

During today's briefing, we learned of further blatant violations of the United Nations arms embargo, including the deployment of foreign fighters and

mercenaries and the delivery of weapons, ammunition and advanced systems to the parties from Member States. Violators include — and I must stress this — several countries that participated in the Berlin conference. It is past time for those who have violated existing Security Council resolutions, including the United Nations arms embargo on Libya, to face real consequences. These egregious violations worsen an already volatile situation in Libya, deepening the pain and hardship faced by ordinary Libyans on a daily basis. They must stop.

We join the United Nations in calling on countries to live up to their Berlin commitments and we demand that Member States comply with their obligations to implement the United Nations arms embargo. This entails an immediate and permanent halt of all deployments of personnel, fighters and military equipment to Libya. We also call on Libyan parties to honour the fragile truce that they themselves respected over the past few weeks. Engagement in UNSMIL's planned 5+5 talks will be an important signal of how dedicated each side is to reaching a solution that avoids even more unnecessary bloodshed. Both parties need to commit to participating.

While working towards a ceasefire is a critical step, it should not be the end goal. We cannot turn our attention away from Libya as the 5+5 discussions are launched. Any ceasefire must create space for serious and concrete discussions among Libyans about how to resolve the issues that have fuelled the conflict. Among these difficult tasks are the dismantling of extremist militias and the rooting of Libya's economy in transparency and the rule of law so as to benefit all Libyans, as well as efforts to prevent groups or spoilers from hijacking the political process.

Looking further ahead, we continue to urge all sides to participate in UNSMIL's planned intra-Libyan political dialogue and to finalize the representation with the inclusion of women and youth leaders as soon as possible. A political solution for the conflict will require an inclusive Libyan-led and Libyan-owned process.

In the light of the recent developments, we reiterate in this context that no group should be allowed to hijack Libya's national oil production. It is the Libyan people who suffer when the country's revenues collapse. The disruption of Libya's oil production has already caused electricity and water shortages. Shortages of fuel and cooking oil will likely soon follow. The

current blockade on Libya's oil production must be lifted. Moreover, threats to civilian lives and aviation must end, and displaced people must be allowed to voluntarily and safely return to their homes in a sustainable and dignified manner. It is unacceptable that they have not yet been able to do so. There is an urgent need to reaffirm the truce agreed upon in Berlin and to convert it into a lasting ceasefire under United Nations supervision. On these points, we should all be able to agree.

As parties to the Berlin conference affirmed, the Libyan people deserve to determine their own future, free from toxic foreign interference. It is the Council's responsibility, indeed its mandate, to enable UNSMIL and Special Representative Salamé to help them do just that.

**Mrs. Gueguen (France)** (*spoke in French*): I thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ghassan Salamé, for his briefing and his tireless efforts to find a political solution to the Libyan crisis. I would like to reiterate France's full support for Mr. Salamé. We support his efforts and those of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) and of the Secretary-General.

The Berlin international conference on Libya, in which the President of the French Republic, Mr. Emmanuel Macron, participated, allowed for the strengthening of the international consensus necessary for a solution to the crisis. The commitments made by international actors at that Conference must be honoured and followed by action. The arms embargo must be respected. We deplore the fact that more than 50 violations were recorded by UNSMIL last week. Foreign interference and military support fuel the conflict and must stop. I refer in particular to Turkey, as the President of the French Republic highlighted yesterday. We must eschew military force and proxy wars.

We are particularly concerned about the growing presence of Syrian and foreign fighters, who continue to flock to Libya in flagrant breach of the commitments made on 19 January in Berlin. The most recent developments give rise to fears of a regional escalation of the Libyan conflict and threaten the security of the Maghreb, the Sahel and Europe.

France calls on the Libyan parties to resume constructive dialogue on economic and oil issues as soon as possible, in order to allow for the equitable and unobstructed distribution of oil resources for the benefit

of all Libyans. It is important that Libya's neighbouring countries, above and beyond those represented at the conference in Berlin, such as Algeria and Egypt, be fully involved in monitoring and implementing the conclusions of the Berlin conference. We refer in particular to Tunisia, Morocco, the Niger and Chad.

After a truce lasting two weeks, the escalation of tensions on the ground is extremely worrisome and must stop immediately. The Libyan parties must act responsibly. They must first agree on a credible and lasting ceasefire. France therefore expects the Libyan parties to meet with the Joint Military Commission — in the so-called 5+5 talks — as soon as possible. The Committee should also enable the two parties to agree on issues of common interest, such as the dismantling of militias and the unification of Libyan security institutions.

More broadly, the parties must engage in good faith in constructive dialogue on various tracks to discuss security, economic and political issues. The Libyan parties must find a political solution that meets the expectations and aspirations of all Libyans. The dialogue should be conducted in an inclusive format and lead to the formation of a genuinely inclusive and representative Government that acts for the benefit of all Libyans, so that they can freely choose their representatives.

The resumption of dialogue must be achieved with the support of the African Union and Libya's neighbours, which have a specific and legitimate right to support a resolution of the Libyan crisis. We welcome the initiative taken by the African Union to host an inter-Libyan reconciliation meeting, which could be held in Addis Ababa in the spring. It would be an important contribution to ending the crisis in Libya.

In order to maintain the positive momentum of the Berlin conference and to support the resumption of the political process, the members of the Security Council, in unison, must send a strong message to all actors with respect to Libya. To that end, we must quickly and decisively endorse the conclusions of the Berlin conference by adopting a robust resolution. This resolution must provide strong and unequivocal support for United Nations-led mediation in Libya. This support should be substantial and operational — whether it be to monitor the ceasefire, to ensure compliance with the arms embargo or, more broadly, to see to the simultaneous implementation of the six elements

addressed in Berlin. In this respect, we will, first and foremost, strengthen UNSMIL. The Council must act, and it must act quickly.

The Security Council can count on France's full commitment and mobilization in the quest for a solution to the Libyan crisis. The French authorities will continue to take action, together with their European partners, the African Union and Libya's neighbours, with the support of the United Nations, to achieve peace and stability in Libya.

**Ms. Morrison González** (Dominican Republic) (*spoke in Spanish*): We would like to begin by applauding the efforts of Special Representative Salamé, given the challenging and commendable work he conducts with his team on the ground to end the crisis in Libya. We also thank the representative of Germany for his briefing on the work of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya.

We also congratulate Germany on organizing the Berlin international conference on Libya, Algeria for hosting the ministerial meeting for Libya's neighbours in Algiers, and the Republic of the Congo for holding today's meeting of the African Union High-Level Committee on Libya, in Brazzaville, all of which are important meetings on the future and the role of international actors, including regional organizations, can play to assist the Libyan people in achieving lasting peace. We also welcome the concrete steps taken by the parties to appoint members to Libya's Joint Military Commission, which we hope will garner results in the coming days at the meetings in Geneva.

We are concerned about reports of ongoing attacks, including on schools, hospitals and airports, as well as of flagrant violations of international humanitarian law and the arms embargo, following the conclusions agreed at the Berlin conference. Accordingly, we call on all relevant actors to take advantage of the momentum generated at the international level and the provisions made in good faith, which representatives of various Member States negotiated in recent forums to bring about a truce and genuine ceasefire.

We recall that there is no military solution to the Libyan conflict and that the ceasefire must be agreed upon without preconditions. The Libyan people must not and cannot continue to suffer from the inability of the Members of the United Nations to fulfil their obligations, in line with the arms embargo and international law. The efforts of the Council must focus

on slowing the escalation of indiscriminate attacks, in particular those on civilian infrastructure, which serve only to exacerbate the very fragile humanitarian situation. It is therefore important to convey a clear message on the Council's unity in this regard.

We remain concerned about the enforced disappearance more than six months ago of Ms. Siham Sergewa, an elected member of the Libyan House of Representatives. We encourage the authorities to do their utmost to investigate and bring to justice those responsible. Any act of violence against women in politics threatens the building of strong democratic institutions and the well-being of the Libyan people. Similarly, we again express great dismay at the distressing conditions in detention centres, where recurrent cases of severe malnutrition, torture, sexual violence and forced labour are documented. We urge the Libyan Government to end arbitrary detentions, in particular of children, and seek alternatives that meet minimum international standards and human dignity.

Young Libyans are involved in mitigating the effects of the conflict and in building peace and social cohesion in their communities. We would therefore like to welcome the Peacebuilding Fund's joint project to support young people and adolescents in Sirte, as well as to provide training in leadership and conflict resolution and opportunities to participate in decision-making processes. The reins of a political process that brings peace, security and stability must be in the hands of Libyans and in particular of women and young people, who play a critical role in the dialogue for lasting peace throughout Libya.

**Ms. King** (Saint Vincent and the Grenadines): Saint Vincent and the Grenadines thanks Mr. Ghassan Salamé, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL), for his very sobering briefing on the recent developments in Libya. We applaud his unrelenting efforts to bring about a peaceful solution to the Libyan conflict and express our support for UNSMIL. Likewise, my delegation thanks Minister Mathias Licharz, speaking on behalf of the Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya, for his briefing on the work of the Committee.

We remain deeply troubled by the difficulty in finding a solution to the nine-year long conflict in Libya. Our primary focus has been, continues to be and will

always be the well-being of the Libyan people. Owing to the nature of the conflict, consideration must also be given to all affected neighbouring countries — from countries in the Sahel to some in Europe — as they face serious impacts from the ongoing conflict.

As we deliver this statement, the humanitarian situation in Libya continues to deteriorate and hope is waning. The urgency to de-escalate the conflict is already resounding. Last week's Berlin conference was an opportunity for members of the international community, in particular a group of concerned countries, not only to send a clear message of support for the Libyan people but also add impetus and demonstrate commitment to curbing the incessant violence, particularly the attacks against civilian populations.

Saint Vincent and the Grenadines welcomes the efforts of the recent Berlin conference. We acknowledge the tireless efforts of the respective leaders in reaching consensus and encourage the inclusion of all neighbours and affected parties in the process. We reiterate the importance of a Libyan-owned and Libyan-led dialogue, including under the auspices of the United Nations.

We also recognize and encourage all dialogue efforts, including those held in Moscow, Algiers and today in the Republic of the Congo. We welcome the decision by the parties to the conflict to nominate representatives to the 5+5 Joint Military Commission (JMC). The designation of the representatives is a positive sign that the parties are ready to constructively engage. We urge them to commence negotiations in good faith for a permanent ceasefire.

Accordingly, all States Members of our Organization must fully abide by and implement the arms embargo, in keeping with resolution 1970 (2011) and subsequent relevant resolutions. Since 2011, approximately 19 Security Council resolutions have been adopted on the situation in Libya, but we all know of reports that the arms embargo has been violated with impunity. Let us be very clear: the situation in Libya will not be resolved unless Member States entrusted with the responsibility to uphold international law duly comply with their international obligations.

Saint Vincent and the Grenadines reaffirms its stance that there cannot and will not be a military solution to the Libyan conflict. We roundly condemn the ongoing violence in Tripoli and reiterate our call for a permanent ceasefire. We take note of the new report

on the July 2019 airstrikes in Libya at the Tajoura detention centre and support its recommendations.

Finally, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines is cognizant of the momentum garnered in Berlin. The upcoming JMC meeting in Geneva, coupled with dialogue initiatives, in particular within the framework of the African Union and the League of Arab States, are encouraging. It would be foolhardy not to advance on those platforms. Nevertheless, we urge careful deliberation and assessment of the situation in Libya as we decide the next steps, ever mindful that at the centre of the crisis are the Libyan people, who need our urgent help.

**Mr. Djani** (Indonesia): At the outset, like others, I would like to thank the briefer, Mr. Ghassan Salamé, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL), and Mr. Mathias Licharz of Germany for presenting the report on the work of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya.

Libya is currently at an impasse. The situation on the ground has garnered the attention of the entire world. The world is watching how the Libyans will resolve their issues, how the international agreement will hold and what the Security Council will do next. Mr. Salamé's worrisome report (A/2020/41) refers once again to the many civilian casualties, the children who are falling victim to shelling in Tripoli, the continued escalation of the conflict and the dire humanitarian situation, all of which are grim stories from the field. The Council cannot stay silent. What we, as the Security Council, do now will indeed resonate in history. Therefore, allow me to focus on the following points.

First, Indonesia supports all international efforts to bring lasting peace to Libya. We welcome the Berlin conference, as a complementary process to United Nations efforts for Libya. We acknowledge the principles of the Berlin communiqué and call for the international community to support and respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Libya; international laws and agreements, including the arms embargo; and efforts to return to the political process for all Libyans. In that connection, we welcome United Nations efforts to facilitate the upcoming dialogue between the House of Representatives, the High Council of State and other constituencies in Libya. The need for such dialogue is something that everyone has voiced, including

Indonesia, and that has enjoyed consensus within the Council. Everybody wants to see Libya find peace. However, achieving peace is not the responsibility solely of Libya but of us all, not only those of us who were in Berlin or just the Council but the international community as a whole. Therefore, we expand our call to the entire international community to provide full support to our Libyan brothers and sisters and to avoid exacerbating the situation.

Secondly, we need to focus on Libyans, the very people we are supposed to protect. Indonesia is concerned that, following the truce last week, attacks are persisting against civilians — including women, children and migrants — and against health-care and civilian facilities. Shelling of residential areas and vital civilian infrastructure is continuing, including against Mitiga airport. That must stop.

In the same spirit of protecting Libyans, we continue to emphasize that all international efforts should enjoy Libyan backing and be pushed forward in a Libyan-owned, Libyan-led process. We also support the efforts of Special Representative Salamé and UNSMIL in facilitating a multitrack approach, including the 5+5 Joint Military Commission, which is a good forum for advancing confidence-building measures among the parties. Attendance and participation in the Geneva talks will be indicators of the intention to achieve peace or not.

We also need to provide the chance for Libyans to benefit from their own natural resources. We are concerned that the ongoing blockade of ports will deprive them of those benefits. Special Representative Salamé also alluded to that very important point.

Thirdly, the role of neighbours and regional organizations is very important. The conflict in Libya affects its neighbours, from the flow of arms to the flow of migrants, and creates instability in neighbouring countries and the region. Therefore, we again reiterate the need to involve neighbouring States and regional organizations, since they provide a unique perspective for peace. We welcome the international follow-up committee to the Berlin conference and hope that it will involve relevant stakeholders who were unable to attend in Berlin.

At the end of the day, we need to be reminded of our collective duties as the Security Council. We are here to save lives. I say this again and again because it is our only agenda. To save lives, we need to seize the

moment — time is fleeting. Ten months after the new conflict began, the Council has yet to produce a formal outcome to address it. However, the momentum is with us now but it will soon disappear. This is our time.

**Mr. Nebenzia** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ghassan Salamé, for his detailed briefing on developments in the military and political situation in Libya. We are also grateful for the representative of Germany's briefing on the work of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya.

From to today's briefing by the Special Representative, it is clear that the situation in Libya remains fraught with tension. Despite the announced truce, the hostilities have continued and even escalated. We are troubled by the reports of violations of the arms embargo and stress the need to stop the fuelling of the conflict by competing external actors. The illicit proliferation of weapons in Libya is destabilizing the security situation both within the country itself and in the Sahel-Saharan region.

The representative of the United Kingdom stated that Libya is standing on the brink of disaster. It is indeed standing on the brink of disaster, but that did not begin in April 2019, but in 2011, when Libyan statehood was destroyed. Today's events are rooted in those of 2011. From the very beginning, we have called for international and regional efforts to focus on unifying Libya. The aim of the Berlin conference was to achieve stabilization by bringing together external stakeholders.

From the very beginning, the Russian Federation participated in preparations for the Berlin conference. We were guided by the need to support any initiative to help to facilitate the end of the crisis. Let us recall that we had previously participated in the meetings held in Paris and Palermo. We also focused additional efforts aimed not only at overall de-escalation in Libya, but also at setting the stage for the summit in Berlin. Together with Turkey, we organized the meeting of Libyan parties in Moscow on 13 January. Our initiative was aimed at establishing a truce in Libya in order to enable the parties to revive efforts on the political track and was our contribution to the Berlin conference.

In working on the documents of the Berlin conference, we proceeded from the key premise of the principles enshrined in the relevant Security Council resolutions, namely, that the Libyan people themselves

need to resolve the conflict and determine the fate of their country. Russia had and has no hidden agenda on Libya. We support and cherish our ties with all stakeholders; we do not favour any of them. We conveyed to them our support for a political settlement. We consistently advise them of the need to renounce seeking power through military means and the importance of unifying the efforts of all conscientious Libyan actors to promptly restore statehood and rebuild national institutions.

We view the outcome communiqué of the Berlin conference as a source of support for the efforts undertaken by the Special Representative to set the stage for the Libyan parties to return to the negotiating table with the aim of initiating lasting, inclusive nationwide dialogue. We reiterate what we stated in Berlin, which has also been agreed to by all those present in this Chamber, namely, that dialogue is to be undertaken among the Libyan people themselves. It must be a Libyan-led and Libyan-owned dialogue. The Berlin Conference was intended to create the necessary atmosphere and frame with a view to sending a direct message to the Libyan parties. What is now needed is clarity on the positions of the Libyan parties with regard to each of the provisions of the conference's outcome documents.

We have listened attentively to Mr. Salamé and we intend to continue our discussion with him in order to clarify the details of his plan. We fully support the efforts of the Special Representative in this difficult endeavour. We trust that the meetings in the near future of the Joint Military Commission — the 5+5 talks — will help to clarify those issues. We believe that the Council should support measures that help to facilitate the resumption of the political track and to adopt draft resolutions that will lead to the settlement of disputes among the Libyan parties.

In his briefing, Mr. Salamé used the word "credibility". We believe that any future draft resolution to be adopted by the Security Council needs to be credible. Indeed, a political settlement in Libya should not be or become an arena for international competition. We believe it is important to take into account the views and the interests of Libya's immediate neighbours, as they are dealing with the immediate consequences of the protracted crisis. The views of regional organizations should also be considered. Libya's neighbours are in a position to play a constructive and valuable role in making progress on a peaceful settlement.

**Mr. Wu Haitao** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ghassan Salamé, and the Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya for their briefings. I welcome the new Permanent Representative of Libya, Ambassador Elsonni, to this meeting.

Libya has been in the grip of a protracted conflict for nine years so far. The conflict, which is a snapshot of the continued turbulence in Western Asia and North Africa, has inflicted ruinous disaster on the Libyan people and jeopardized the security and stability of neighbouring countries and of the entire region of Western Asia and North Africa. Spillover problems resulting from the Libyan situation, such as arms proliferation, refugees and terrorism, have posed serious challenges to neighbouring countries, the region and even the whole world.

China has been closely following the developments in the country and appreciates the recent actions taken by the international community, which have been constructive in alleviating the Libyan situation. An international conference on the Libyan question was recently convened in Berlin, at the conclusion of which a communiqué was released, demonstrating the important consensus reached among the participants at the conference. China welcomes this process. Implementing the outcomes of the conference with concrete steps will require the concerted efforts of all Libyan parties, the relevant countries of the region and the international community as a whole.

As for the Security Council's endorsement of the Berlin outcomes, we need not only to act with a sense of urgency, but also to try to accommodate the concerns of all sides. In so doing, we need to maintain the unity of the Council and make every effort to adopt an actionable draft resolution as early as possible. Let me elaborate on the following four main points.

First, the current priority is to achieve a sustained ceasefire. The parties to the Libyan conflict should proceed from the desire to serve the overall interests of their country and people and seek an immediate ceasefire to ease tensions and return to the track of finding a solution through peaceful dialogue and consultations. Countries with influence should play an active role by exerting their influence, pushing the Libyan parties to bridge their differences, enhancing mutual trust and providing constructive assistance

in bringing about a ceasefire and restoring political dialogue. China calls on the Joint Military Commission to convene 5 + 5 talks as soon as possible and strive towards making progress.

Secondly, global synergies should be created. The international community should respect Libya's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, support Special Representative Salamé and the United Nations Support Mission in Libya in their good offices and mediation efforts, and remain committed to the Libyan-led and Libyan-owned political process within the United Nations framework.

Given the fact that they are uniquely positioned to mediate the conflict among the parties, the African Union and the League of Arab States should be supported in playing their respective roles, and their efforts should be synergized with those of the United Nations. As the Libyan question is closely linked with the regional situation, any solution should address the legitimate concerns of the countries of the region. In this regard, the unique role of the relevant countries should be brought into play.

Thirdly, unremitting efforts must be made to combat terrorism. Recently, terrorism within and around Libya seems to have been resurrected. Therefore, the international community must remain extremely vigilant with regard to this trend, strengthen coordination and cooperation, and work together to tackle challenges. It is imperative to combat all forms of terrorism across Libya and to prevent the cross-border movement of foreign terrorist fighters. We must never allow Libya to turn into a breeding ground for terrorism.

Fourthly, sanctions must be used properly and effectively. China's consistent position is that sanctions are a means to an end, not an end in themselves, and should always serve the political settlement of relevant issues. Under the current circumstances, it is important to strictly enforce the arms embargo on Libya and refrain from a military intervention or any other action that could exacerbate the conflict.

The year 2020 will be the year we celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. Yet we are pained that the Libyan people are still living through terrible suffering. The international community must firmly recommit to multilateralism, and Council members must be united to deliver on the mandate of maintaining international peace and

security. As a permanent member of the Security Council, China will continue to support and facilitate the Libyan political-settlement process as well as the Libyan people's pursuit of peace and tranquillity. We will contribute to restoring peace and stability in Libya.

**Mrs. Van Vlierberge** (Belgium) (*spoke in French*): I wish to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ghassan Salamé, for his briefing today. Belgium once again reiterates its ongoing commitment to the return of peace in Libya. Belgium firmly supports all elements of the Special Representative's plan, including the economic and political aspects, which complement the ceasefire.

Belgium also welcomes the conclusions of the Berlin process, which were endorsed by all participants at the 19 January summit. They should reflect our determination to support Special Representative Salamé's plan for a way out of the crisis in Libya and are the best way to avoid a regional conflict and to achieve a political solution for the Libyan people as a whole.

In recent months, we have systematically denounced flagrant violations of the arms embargo and called for a lasting ceasefire. Belgium now hopes that the Security Council's repeated call for non-interference by external actors, for intra-Libyan dialogue and for respect for the arms embargo will finally be put into practice. It is the responsibility of each State to ensure that its arms exports are not diverted to illicit destinations. Only increased vigilance and a determination to respect its own commitments will make it possible to ensure full compliance with the arms embargo.

We also remain concerned about the information coming from the field. It appears that military equipment and reinforcements of foreign mercenaries have been provided to both sides, even after the Berlin conference. There has also been an increase in the use of heavy artillery, particularly against civilian infrastructure and in the immediate vicinity of densely populated areas. The growing presence of increasingly sophisticated equipment and foreign military actors would make further escalation even more cruel. We are also deeply concerned about the blockage of oil production, which would have disastrous consequences for the country's economy and the population as a whole.

We call on the Libyan parties, in particular General Khalifa Haftar, to back the Berlin conclusions and to engage constructively with the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) in the preparations for

the high-level political forum. The Berlin process, the only initiative with a chance of restoring peace to Libya, must receive unanimous support if we are to prevent an escalation with serious adverse regional consequences. I also hope that the Berlin meeting will lead to the end of interference of certain States in the Libyan conflict and that, on the contrary, those States will now use their influence with the Libyan parties in a positive way, finally encouraging them to commit firmly and definitively to the path of dialogue. By way of reminder, Belgium denounces the two memorandums of understanding signed between the National Government and Turkey — the first, because it infringes the democratic rights of other States, and the second, because it reinforces the military approach and risks massively violating the embargo.

Lastly, the consolidation of the ceasefire and practical modalities for its implementation are urgent. In this regard, Belgium welcomes the appointment of the delegates of each party to the Joint Military Commission's 5+5 talks and urges them to hold a productive meeting. We also look forward to the early resumption of direct political dialogue between the Libyan parties at the political forum proposed by the Special Representative. We also welcome the engagement of regional organizations in support of the implementation of the Berlin communiqué.

Once again, I would like to reiterate that it is the responsibility of all parties to protect civilians, including the most vulnerable. In this regard, I would like to reiterate my country's commitment to ensuring that the most serious crimes committed in Libya do not go unpunished and that the responsible parties are brought to justice in national courts or the International Criminal Court.

In conclusion, I once again commend the courage and determination of all UNSMIL personnel and of Special Representative Salamé.

**Ms. Mogashoa** (South Africa): I would like to thank Mr. Ghassan Salamé for his briefing on the situation in Libya.

South Africa commends the United Nations Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Salamé, for their tireless efforts to bring together all the international players to the Libyan conflict at the Berlin conference that took place on 19 January, with the aim of finding a lasting solution to the Libyan crisis. My delegation also thanks Mr. Mathias Licharz,

speaking on behalf of the Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), for his briefing on the work of the Committee.

The protracted nature of the conflict in Libya requires the Council to be frank about its genesis and the reasons why it has taken on a proxy dimension. The fragmentation of State control and security has resulted in the proliferation of a multitude of armed groups vying for control of the country and its resources, which has resulted in one of the worst humanitarian crises on our continent, given the effects of the conflict on Libyan civilians, migrants and refugees.

South Africa reiterates that there can be no military solution to the conflict in Libya. All Libyan parties, community leaders and non-governmental organizations should commit to political dialogue and refrain from military confrontation. The parties must urgently commit to a ceasefire and work towards a Libyan-led and Libyan-owned political process. Additionally, we call for an end to foreign interference in Libya. Allow me to focus on three issues.

First, the insecurity seen in the Sahel region today is a direct result of the instability in Libya. The arms flowing into Libya also flow into the hands of the armed groups operating in the Sahel region and the Lake Chad basin. The spillover effects are seen today in armed groups operating in the Niger, Chad, Mauritania, Mali and Burkina Faso. More than a million people have been displaced in the aforementioned countries as a result of the jihadist insurgency that is rapidly spreading into sub-Saharan Africa.

As we endeavour to realize the African Union's aspirational goal to silence the guns by 2020, the endemic insecurity poses a threat to the legitimacy and stability of the Governments of the region. Even worse, the limited resources are now being diverted from socioeconomic-development programmes to security-related programmes, causing setbacks to the region's achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals. In this regard, South Africa wishes to reiterate the statement made by the Chairperson of the African Union Commission, Mr. Moussa Faki Mahamat, that the various threats of political and military interference in the internal affairs of Libya increase the risk of a confrontation and undermine the fundamental interests of the Libyan people in their aspirations for freedom, peace, democracy and development.

Secondly, the impact of the conflict on migrants and refugees in Libya, including those in detention centres, warrants the Council's continued attention. South Africa is concerned that the air strikes have even targeted refugee camps and detention centres, resulting in casualties. Most troubling is the dire impact that the protracted conflict has had on civilians, particularly women and children.

Thirdly, South Africa commends the efforts of Germany as the host of the Berlin conference in support of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) three-step process. We also note UNSMIL's operationalization action plan from the Berlin process. We further call for greater cooperation with the African Union (AU), as lasting peace and stability in Libya can come only from an inclusive political solution.

We emphasize a Libyan-led and Libyan-owned process without the interference of external actors. In that regard, South Africa fully supports the goals of unifying the country's institutions, holding national elections and enhancing the security, stability and living conditions of the Libyan people, including the unification and integration of the Libyan armed forces.

The African Union is engaged in efforts to resolve the Libyan conflict through its Peace and Security Council and the AU High-Level Committee on Libya, chaired by the President of the Republic of the Congo, as well as the work of the AU Special Envoy for Libya. The AU High-Level Committee on Libya is meeting today in Brazzaville to further consider the African Union's initiatives in that regard.

Finally, South Africa supports the observation of the Secretary-General that there should be strict adherence to the arms embargo, in accordance with resolution 2473 (2019), to prevent further violent escalations so as to enable all parties to agree to a ceasefire. The arms embargo measure must be fully implemented without exception. South Africa wishes to remind the international community of its commitments to end military support to all parties to the conflict and to uphold the existing arms embargo as a foundation for political negotiations and the implementation of a ceasefire.

It is time to synergize all efforts to the attainment of that goal for the sake of the Libyan people and the achievement of peace and stability in Libya and the sub-Saharan region.

**Mr. Heusgen** (Germany): Let me first thank all those who have highlighted and supported the Berlin conference and the subsequent process. I wish to reaffirm that the conference was held exclusively in the interests of the Libyan people and in support of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Ghassan Salamé, in their efforts to bring peace to the country. Therefore, my intervention will be very brief, as we continue to support what Mr. Salamé is trying to do. At this stage, I would like to thank him personally, as well as his team, for their unwavering commitment to the Libyan people.

First, I wish to state that I wholeheartedly share his frustration about the present situation. He highlighted the unfortunate suffering of civilian victims due to the parties not adhering to the ceasefire, thereby breaching the truce that they committed to in Berlin. Women and children are once again among those most affected.

Secondly, I also share in Mr. Salamé's dismay that certain countries that committed in Berlin to refrain from interfering in the armed conflict and the internal affairs of Libya are among those that are now delivering weapons, foreign fighters, ammunition and advanced weapons to the parties. I share Mr. Salamé's anger and disappointment at the cynical behaviour of those States. As several speakers already mentioned, such behaviour represents a flagrant violation of international law.

Thirdly, I also wish to appeal to those who have influence over the Libyan parties to activate the Joint Military Commission, as that is long overdue. All those with influence should spare no effort in that regard and implement the other follow-up mechanisms that were agreed in Berlin.

Fourthly, I listened very carefully to Mr. Salamé repeat an appeal that we have made on several occasions in the Security Council following the Berlin conference: that the Council should rapidly adopt a draft resolution that endorses the outcome of the Berlin conference, which would serve two functions. First, it will send a signal to the people of Libya that the Security Council will not abandon them. As my Indonesian colleague said earlier, we are here to save lives and, by sending that message and adopting a draft resolution that has weight, we will show the population that we stand with them. Secondly, it will send a very strong message to the spoilers, because Security Council resolutions are legally binding under international law. I urge all those around this table that have been dragging their feet to

now forge ahead and adopt a draft resolution as soon as possible for the benefit of the people in Libya.

**Mr. Auväärt** (Estonia): I thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ghassan Salamé, for his briefing on the latest developments on Libya. Estonia fully supports the United Nations-facilitated political process in Libya and the Special Representative's work towards that end.

Estonia welcomes the commitments made at the Berlin conference on Libya held on January 19. The conference, as a step towards creating space for an intra-Libyan political process, was a success, and we congratulate all the participating States and international organizations on achieving that. Now, however, concrete steps need to be taken by all participants to honour the commitments and implement the conclusions of the Berlin conference. The most urgent step at this stage is to put an end to the violations of the arms embargo. In that regard, it is important to send a unified message from the Security Council and press on with the endorsement of the Berlin conference conclusions.

Developments in the security situation in Libya and recent reports about the resumed fighting on the ground are extremely worrisome. We call on all parties to adhere to the truce that was agreed upon in Berlin and take concrete steps towards achieving a lasting ceasefire. It is absolutely clear that there can be no military solution to the conflict. The Libyan people deserve better than that.

Moreover, the Security Council has at its disposal the sanctions tools to address the spoilers of peace and security in Libya. It should consider using those measures when and where necessary. The essential step in moving towards the ceasefire is the direct dialogue between the Libyan parties. We very much welcome the nomination of representatives of the Joint Military Commission for the 5+5 talks and hope that the first meeting can take place as early as possible. Agreeing to the terms of the ceasefire is a crucial step in order to move forward and concentrate on the political process in Libya.

The goal of a stable Libya, with fully functioning, unified State institutions and authority, can be achieved only through a Libyan-led and Libyan-owned political process. For the political process to truly succeed, it needs to be inclusive. The adequate representation and

meaningful engagement of women and young people throughout the entire process is of critical importance.

Finally, addressing the violations of international humanitarian law and human rights law must remain high on the agenda. We need to keep working towards protecting the civilians, including women and children, and hold the perpetrators accountable.

**Mr. Aougi** (Niger) (*spoke in French*): First of all, I would like to thank Mr. Ghassan Salamé, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and Mr. Mathias Licharz, speaking on behalf of the Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya, for their thorough and valuable briefings. The Council may rest assured that the Niger, a neighbouring country of Libya directly affected by the crisis, is ready now more than ever to contribute to international and regional efforts for the peaceful resolution of the Libyan conflict, a guarantor of stability in the Sahel.

While we welcome the truce observed during the Berlin international conference on Libya, the recent resumption of hostilities is a stark reminder of the complexity of the conflict, which is exacerbated by foreign interference and the ongoing and blatant violation of the arms embargo. The Niger strongly condemns that state of affairs, which is characterized by a dangerous deterioration in the humanitarian situation in the country.

It cannot be said often enough that without a solution to the Libyan crisis, the Sahel will continue to be exposed to the horrors of terrorism, particularly since international terrorists are deploying their most dangerous and battle-hardened affiliates there. Libya does not need more weapons and terrorists transferred to it; it needs peace.

In that regard, we reiterate the African Union's call for a ceasefire between all parties and the return to an inclusive political process so that Libyans can engage in dialogue among themselves and there be compliance with the arms embargo and the imposition of sanctions against violators.

The Niger welcomes the meeting on Libya held in Algiers on 23 January, which brought together neighbouring countries and in which Germany participated. That meeting was a good step in seeking to ensure inclusiveness on the Libyan question, for which my country, the Niger, has always called and will

work with the countries concerned in order to advance the peace process in the country.

We also welcome today's meeting of the African Union High-Level Committee on Libya in Brazzaville and call on the Security Council to take into account its outcomes, which will be endorsed at the upcoming African Union summit, to be held in Addis Ababa in a few days.

Finally, the Niger encourages the Libyan parties to prioritize dialogue and to reject any external interference in their affairs.

**Mr. Baati** (Tunisia) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I would like to commend Mr. Ghassan Salamé, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and thank him for his very important briefing. I also commend his presence at the Brazzaville meeting to ensure further concerted efforts to help the brotherly Libyan people to soon restore stability. I welcome my brother His Excellency Ambassador Elsonni, the new Permanent Representative of Libya to the United Nations, to his first Security Council meeting.

Recent events in Libya prove that military options are far from the appropriate way to overcome the crisis and meet the legitimate demands of the Libyan people to enjoy freedom, democracy, the rule of law, development and reforms. The chaos, instability and military confrontations witnessed over the past years have exacerbated the suffering of the Libyan people, increasing their frustration and loss of hope. In addition, that has complicated the crisis, hindered the settlement track and threatened Libya's unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Tunisia has long-standing historical and social links with Libya, and we are determined to assist our Libyan brothers in overcoming their differences and ensuring the security, stability and sovereignty of Libya so that it can resume its role in the region and the world. I would therefore like to stress the following seven points.

First, we reiterate our call to all Libyan parties to respect the truce and transfer it to a permanent ceasefire without delay. That would cease the Libyan bloodshed. There is no military solution to the Libyan crisis; rather, the solution must be through constructive dialogue and negotiations among Libyans, without any exclusion or marginalization, in the context of a comprehensive national reconciliation process.

Second, we emphasize the importance of the Berlin conference and we once again welcome its outcomes. We appreciate the efforts of the German Government and all parties to pave the way for the conference, especially the Moscow meeting. We must continue our efforts to establish operational mechanisms for the implementation of the outcomes of the Berlin conference. Negotiations must continue on the draft resolution in that regard. That would enable the Security Council to shoulder its responsibilities. In that vein, we welcome the efforts of the United Kingdom and Germany.

Third, it is important to respect the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of countries. We therefore reiterate our rejection of any external interference in the internal affairs of Libya or any acts that would further fuel the conflict. We are deeply concerned about the reports that Mr. Salamé shared with us this morning in that regard.

Fourth, Tunisia fully supports the efforts of the United Nations and Special Representative Mr. Ghassan Salamé, particularly his three-step initiative towards a political settlement of the crisis. We commend the roles played by the United Nations Support Mission in Libya, the neighbouring countries, the League of Arab States and the African Union in supporting the political process. In that regard, we commend the meeting of the African Union High-Level Committee on Libya convened in Brazzaville today, and we look forward to the Libyan reconciliation conference to be held in Addis Ababa this spring.

We would like to stress once again the need for concerted efforts to help Libyans to overcome their differences and resume dialogue towards a national consensus. That will pave the way for the rebuilding of State institutions under a civil regime that would preserve the unity and sovereignty of Libya. That would also meet the aspirations of the brotherly Libyan people. The Tunis communiqué for peace is an example of our continued efforts at the highest level to urge Libyans to communicate and reach a consensus formula that would ensure a way out of the current crisis through a political agreement, respect for international legitimacy and the subsequent move from such legitimacy to a Libyan legitimacy of the people.

Fifth, we must respect all the relevant Security Council resolutions on Libya, the most recent of which is resolution 2486 (2019). That resolution called on

all relevant parties to abide by a permanent ceasefire. It urged all Member States to commit to the arms embargo and called on the Libyan parties to exercise self-restraint, protect civilians and work constructively towards unifying Libyan military and economic institutions

Sixth, we welcome all the developments that advance the economic process in Libya. Tunisia hosted the first round in that regard. We encourage the Libyan parties to continue on that path in order to surmount any obstacles faced by the Libyan economy in the current critical circumstances. It is important to remove any barriers to the production of petroleum in Libya and ensure access to it by all brotherly Libyan people, in addition to avoiding further deterioration of the humanitarian and economic situations in the country.

Seventh, we underscore the need to respect international humanitarian law and international human rights law in Libya. We call for all necessary efforts to be made to clarify information regarding the fate of missing persons in Libya, such as MP Siham Sergewa; the two Tunisian journalists Nazir Lactari and Sufyan al-Sharaby, who were abducted in Libya in September 2014; and the Libyan citizen Walid Ksikisi, who worked at the Embassy of Tunisia in Tripoli and has been missing since 13 October 2014.

To conclude, we reiterate the importance of preserving the current momentum resulting from the Berlin conference. We must work to prevent any further worsening of the situation. We should focus efforts on reaching a political settlement, countering terrorism and preventing terrorist organizations from abusing the current situation to extend their control in Libya and the entire region, thereby threatening their security and stability. Let us focus on the Libyan people, who have high hopes. They count on the unity of the Council. It is our responsibility to act accordingly and to not disappoint them.

**The President:** I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Viet Nam,

I thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ghassan Salamé, and Mr. Mathias Licharz for their briefings. Viet Nam would like to commend the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) for its efforts and determination.

Taking into account the recent developments in Libya, I wish to make the following observations.

First, on the political solution, Viet Nam stresses the importance of ensuring a Libyan-led and Libyan-owned political process as the only viable solution to finally put an end to the conflict in Libya. We welcome the outcome of the Berlin conference on Libya and commend the efforts of Germany, the United Nations and other relevant parties in that regard. We very much hope that this momentum can be maintained and built upon for a peaceful solution in Libya. The international community should and must meaningfully and constructively support that process.

Viet Nam agrees that a draft resolution should be adopted to support the outcome of the conference and its implementation, especially to achieve a ceasefire and create the necessary conditions for the intra-Libyan dialogue. Furthermore, we call on all parties inside and outside of Libya to refrain from any act that could further complicate the situation. All measures need to focus on bringing about reconciliation, solidarity and progress for all, taking into account the position of all parties. We welcome the establishment of the 5+5 Joint Military Commission and hope that it will soon contribute to a lasting ceasefire.

Secondly, on the security aspect, we share the concerns raised by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General that despite the recent truce, attacks have continued to take place. The conflict in Libya has lasted for more than eight years, leading to great suffering for the Libyans and their neighbours. We condemn all attacks that have targeted civilians and civilian objects and urge all Libyan parties and armed groups to exercise self-restraint. The targeting of civilians and civilian objects must be stopped immediately, while security conditions must be created to allow humanitarian aid. We are also deeply concerned about the growing presence of terrorist groups in Libya, particularly the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant. We note the recent efforts of the Libyan parties in combating terrorism and violent extremism and stress the need for further efforts in addressing those challenges.

Thirdly, on the role of the United Nations and regional cooperation, Viet Nam supports the work of the United Nations, UNSMIL, under the leadership of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and regional organizations and other countries in contributing to the peace process in Libya. We recognize the important role of neighbouring countries, which are directly affected by the Libyan crisis. We

take note of UNSMIL's operational plan and support the contribution of UNSMIL to implementing the outcome of the Berlin conference, in line its mandate as set out in the relevant Security Council resolutions.

Fourthly, on the issue of sanctions, we highlight the importance of fully complying with Security Council resolutions, including those on sanctions. We take note of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General's observation that the arms embargo has continued to be violated, and strongly call on all parties to respect the embargo. At the same time, we believe that sanctions must be rightly and well targeted at individuals and entities that threaten peace and security in Libya, in line with Security Council resolutions, and must not negatively affect the livelihood of the common Libyan people. Sanctions should be lifted once conditions and necessities warrant.

In conclusion, Viet Nam reiterates its support to the Libyan people in the pursuit of peace and stability. We are committed to working constructively with the United Nations, UNSMIL, regional organizations and relevant parties in contributing to the peace process in Libya.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I now give the floor to the representative of Libya.

**Mr. Elsonni** (Libya) (*spoke in Arabic*): It is a pleasure for me to congratulate Viet Nam on its election to the Security Council, as well as to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your succession to the presidency of the Council for this month. We also welcome Tunisia, the Niger, Estonia and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on their election to the Council. We further thank Mr. Ghassan Salamé and Mr. Mathias Licharz for their briefings to the Council.

I apologize in advance if my statement is a little long today, but I think that the situation in my country deserves an in-depth explanation. Allow me to begin by honouring the memory of all innocent Libyans who have fallen and all martyrs who have fought against terrorism and tyranny over the past nine years.

I am speaking on behalf of the people of Libya and many peoples of the region at a critical juncture in the crisis in my country. They are currently angry and distrustful of the international community — sentiments that have been ongoing for decades now. In response to their suffering, killing, displacement and destruction,

they have been met with only silence or statements of condemnation. Those people are tired of seeing the aggressor and the oppressed placed on the same footing while the perpetrator is always unknown.

The conflict and aggression in my country and against its capital have not arisen in a vacuum; they are the result of years of systemic interventions and proxy wars. In February 2011, when Libyans took to the streets to bring revolution to their country and, together with other peoples of the region, to demand their legitimate rights to change and freedoms, the Council adopted resolution 1973 (2011), under Chapter VII, calling for the protection of civilians as its principal priority. Since then, that resolution has been exploited by certain parties to destroy the country, export crises elsewhere and settle scores with the aim of controlling the country and pillaging its wealth.

The aggression against Tripoli is nothing but another attempt to create chaos and fuel the conflict, thereby making it ever more difficult to return to where we were before. Some take advantage of those who are greedy for power. The resilience of Tripoli today is a symbol not only of the courage and determination of the Libyan people, but also of the people of the entire region and their determination to uphold the civil State in the face of those who seek to offer them only two options: either to be subjected to tyranny or face destruction.

Countries that exacerbate our crisis today fear our independent decisions. They know that because of its geographic location and resources, Libya is poised to play a key role at the economic, political and security levels. That is why they do not want Libya to be stable and prosperous; rather, those countries seek prosperity and stability at home, while they kill our children and destroy our country.

Given that the crisis has lasted nine years, the Council has a considerable moral responsibility to innocent civilian victims — children, women and young people — regardless of their affiliation. There have been six international envoys over the past nine years and the situation remains unchanged. The aggression has continued for 10 months and the Council is unable to end it. Seventy-five years after the establishment of the United Nations, it is high time to implement genuine Security Council reform, as proposed by the Group of African States, pursuant to the Ezulwini Consensus and the Sirte declaration.

The report of the Secretary-General (S/2020/41) on the United Nations Support Mission in Libya was published a few days ago. It reveals the extent of the violations and crimes committed by Haftar and his supporters. He has called for jihad to be waged against Tripoli and even during the Secretary-General's visit to the country. That has never occurred before. It was a few days prior to the Libyan National Conference, to be held in Ghadames. The Congress has been welcomed and supported by the Council.

The current aggression has been in the works for years. That is why the aggressor has refused all political solutions. He has been provided by certain countries with heavy weapons, armoured vehicles and aircrafts, in addition to mercenaries from Chad, the Sudan, the Wagner Group and other sources. The Secretary-General's report, for example, notes in paragraph 22 that Haftar and his forces have conducted more than 1,000 air strikes, including 60 air strikes by foreign fighter aircraft. On 4 January, these aircraft carried out a strike against the military training institute in Tripoli, killing 32 young cadets, in the prime of their life. They represented all of Libya. How can that Army then claim that it is a national army, when it targets the cadets of a military training institute?

Those young people are added to the thousands of civilians and displaced persons — women, children and the elderly — who have been killed under the rubble. Anas, Malek, Sanad and Zakariya were four children who were killed the day before yesterday, on their way to school in the Al-Hadaba region. Prior to that, there was a massacre in Farnaj, the killing of the children of the Keshirah family, the bombing of field hospitals and the killing of doctors and paramedics, such as Dr. Ayman Hareme and Samer Al-Sibaei. Even civilian airports and schools have been targeted. All of that has occurred and the perpetrator has not been named by the Security Council.

The Tajoura Detention Centre has not been spared; it, too, was bombed by foreign aircraft in July 2019. Fifty-three migrants, the majority of them Africans, were killed, as noted in the report on the United Nations Support Mission in Libya and by the Human Rights Council just a few days ago. These are just examples of an unprecedented series of violations, crimes and displacement incidents that have occurred in Tripoli's ancient or contemporary history, not to mention the closure of oil ports and food manipulation of the Libyan people.

The Secretary-General's report also notes that in the east of the country, the militias of Haftar have carried out a series of public executions before cameras. Other bodies, which are yet to be identified, have been found at a garbage dump. Kidnappings and torture continue, as we saw with the activist Ahmed Al-Kawafi and MP Siham Sergewa, who has been missing for six months. After all that, there are still those who equate the aggressor with the assaulted.

Regrettably, there are countries that support such violations and crimes. There is proof of that. In addition, reports of the Council's Panel of Experts on Libya established pursuant to Security Council resolution 1973 (2011) have confirmed such incidents, including the involvement of the United Arab Emirates on 11 separate occasions. The Panel's final report (see S/2019/914) revealed the involvement of the United Arab Emirates in providing armoured vehicles, air defence systems, drones and laser projectiles. The Sudanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has also stated that Emirati companies recruit young Sudanese and send them to Libya without their knowledge. Another document (S/2018/812) reveals information about the provision of equipment by Egyptian authorities and their participation in air strikes in eastern and western Libya over the past years.

We therefore wonder — why such intervention? Thousands of miles separate Libya and the United Arab Emirates. Does such intervention not support the putschists? Although we understand Egypt's commitment to its national security, we do not understand how the big sister of the Arab nation can become involved in supporting those who kill the people of their country, thereby serving only to fuel chaos and threaten security in the country and the region. That has never occurred before in the history of the two neighbouring countries.

In that regard, I was surprised to hear the representative of France speaking of violations these days. She forgot to name the countries that support aggression and commit violations. Unfortunately, the name of her country was cited in reports of the Sanctions Committee upon discovering Javelin rockets in Gharyan that belong to the forces of Haftar. The French Government responded at the time by saying that the rockets were to support the French Special Forces in 2014. Did France seek the approval of the Council in that regard?

We say to the countries supporting the aggression that they are fighting a losing battle. Their efforts should seek to achieve peace and end bloodshed so that Libyans will not accuse them of having participated in the bloodshed. Despite our commitment to peace, we cannot be disloyal to our country. We cannot accept partial peace, which continues to expose us to threats. Our national army and the heroes of Operation Volcano of Rage are fully ready. They have demonstrated sufficient resilience and made enough sacrifices to stop the aggressors at the doors of Tripoli. It is our legitimate right to defend our people, cities and principles.

We, respect and appreciate efforts made by the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya in monitoring all violations. However, we wonder about its usefulness and effectiveness. Revealing the involvement of certain countries in committing those violations makes them chose between two things. Either the accusations against them are false and therefore they must defend themselves, or they are guilty and must be held accountable.

We are weary of visiting capitals, and we call on Libyans to meet in their own country as was supposed to happen in Ghadames. However, we appreciate all the international initiatives and efforts to achieve peace. To that end, we underscore our support for the role of the African Union in resolving the Libyan crisis, which some attempt to marginalize. We also appreciate the efforts of the Group of African States in the Council. We further thank President Sassou Nguesso of the Republic of the Congo, who chairs the Committee on Libya, which held its meeting earlier today in Brazzaville. Haftar and those with him did not participate in that meeting, as he clearly snubs African efforts. We support this African move to support national reconciliation, as it complements the United Nations plan and the efforts of the Special Representative.

We also welcome the Russian-Turkish initiative to put in place a ceasefire agreement, despite the fact that the other party refused to sign it in Moscow. We hope that Russia will pursue its efforts to ensure that the initiative succeeds. In that context, we welcome the efforts of Germany and Chancellor Angela Merkel in convening the Berlin conference on Libya, despite all the challenges and obstacles. We would like to clarify the following points.

First, continued violations by the aggressor, even after the Berlin conference, and his refusal to sign the ceasefire agreement or to participate until now in the 5+5 Joint Military Commission, which should have held a meeting in Geneva the day before yesterday, again confirm that he does not intend to make peace. The aggressor's spokesperson admitted as much last Sunday when he said,

“[w]e will attend international conferences, but not to find a solution. We believe that the solution will be found through guns and ammunition”.

Secondly, ongoing violations of the ceasefire might lead us to reconsider participating in any dialogue before such violations end and before the aggressor withdraws to its base and displaced persons return home.

Thirdly, we call on the Security Council to quickly adopt a resolution that can support the outcomes of the Berlin conference, take a serious stance against the aggressor and demand that those who commit violations and war crimes be held accountable. We emphasize that we will pursue the countries involved in all international forums.

Fourthly, any political dialogue must be based on the Libyan Political Agreement. The best way to end the crisis is to respect the will of the Libyan people and the constitutional process, as well as to move forward with presidential and parliamentary elections, under the supervision of the United Nations and the international community. That will ensure that all Libyans, regardless of their affiliation and without excluding anyone can choose their leaders, unify their institutions and build a modern democratic State.

Three pretexts are always used to justify aggression, namely, the fight against terrorism, the elimination of armed groups and the fair distribution of wealth. With regard to the fight against terrorism, we have always cooperated with a number of States, foremost the United States of America, to eliminate terrorism wherever it arose. For example, the liberation of Sirte from the hands of Da'esh was carried out by the heroes of the forces of Al-Bunyan Al-Marsous, who are now defending Tripoli while some falsely accuse them as being terrorists. They were deceived during the truce violation, in which 10 of them became martyrs this past Sunday in an attack in the area of Abu Qurayn, where the fighting continues.

We cannot deny that all Libyans have made sacrifices and fought terrorism, whether in the east, the west, the north or the south. But there are those who exploit their blood to gain power.

As far as armed groups are concerned, we have to face reality. There are armed groups in every city and every region of Libya in one form or another. There are tribal groups, regional groups and ideological groups. We cannot put them all in one basket. The continuing chaos, the spread of weapons and the deterioration of the economic situation in the country over a number of years are all reasons that such groups thrive. There are also countries that provide them with financial support and weapons.

Despite all that, through security arrangements made in coordination with UNSMIL and with very limited means, we have been able to reduce the number and power of the groups in a remarkable way. Moreover, we have managed to reintegrate a large number of their members, thereby enabling more than 40 diplomatic missions to set up in Tripoli since April 2019. Indeed, we have a long way to go. Violations are being committed, but everyone should know that many of our young people have been forced by circumstances to commit such acts and have been treated unfairly. Many of them are patriots who love their country, in some cases much more than those who call themselves the elite. That problem will be solved not through armed confrontation or submission to a military Government but through dialogue, reconciliation, containment and economic recovery.

Regarding the third point, the fair distribution of wealth is in fact a false pretext. It is an attempt by some countries to introduce guardianship mechanisms over our resources. More than 60 per cent of the State's resources go to salaries and nearly 20 per cent to subsidies allocated to all Libyans. The rest is not even enough to cover administrative expenses or development projects. It would be much more useful to talk about the impact of the parallel entities on wealth. For instance, the parallel bank has printed 11 or 12 billion dinars outside the framework of the State, 35 billion dinars have been borrowed from commercial banks and public debt amounts to 50 billion dinars. Those are all indicators that Libya's economic regime needs radical reform. We need legislation to establish transparency and fight corruption. The fair distribution of wealth is guaranteed by the State Constitution by promoting decentralization and the optimal use of

resources, as well as development and social justice. However, the Constitution, which was prepared by a committee elected by the people, has unfortunately not seen the light of day and the people have been deprived of their right to a referendum to accept, reject or amend it because of the same category of people who want to abuse power by force.

Among Government priorities is the protection of the assets of the Libyan people. In that context, the Libyan Investment Authority, in coordination with the Panel of Experts, has put in place a new strategy for good governance and transparency in our administrative system. We reiterate that we do not wish to lift the asset freeze during this period of division, even though we know that some countries and banks are exploiting the freeze. We are simply asking to be allowed to manage the assets in order to avoid annual losses that amount to millions of dollars. We therefore express reservations about the proposal of the Panel of Experts to freeze the assets of companies affiliated with the Libyan Investment Authority, which could have negative effects on income and investments.

In conclusion, we extend our hand to peace. We have always been at the forefront of any effort to stop the bloodshed of Libyans and will spare no effort in that regard. Before the aggression, we were very close to

reconciliation with everyone, be they supporters of the old regime or among towns and tribes. Many displaced persons and migrants had returned to their homes. Today's battle is not between East and West, as some are trying to popularize it. It is a war waged by a single individual for power — a war fuelled by our citizens. Our young people should be fighting for building and reconstruction, not destruction and demolition. What everyone ought to know is that Libyans will reconcile. No one will succeed in sowing discord among us. The rule of law will ensure that wrongdoers are prosecuted. Certain countries will not succeed in dividing us. Whether we agree or disagree with the regimes that ruled Libya, the monarchy united our country and the previous regime did not divide it. We will never allow that to happen.

Libya will remember those who stood by its side during the ordeal and those who killed its people and ignited the crisis. Libya may be wounded today, but it will recover tomorrow and be strong, unified and sovereign, whether some like it or not.

**The President:** There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers. I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

*The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.*