



Security Council

Seventy-seventh year

Provisional

9196th meeting

Thursday, 17 November 2022, 2.30 p.m.

New York

President: Ms. Oppong-Ntiri (Ghana)

Members:

Albania	Ms. Dautllari
Brazil	Mr. De Oliveira Freitas
China	Mr. Geng Shuang
France	Mr. Olmedo
Gabon	Mr. Doumbeneny Ndzigina
India	Mr. Vinito
Ireland	Mr. Ryan
Kenya	Mr. Kimani
Mexico	Mr. Cisneros Chávez
Norway	Mr. Heines
Russian Federation	Ms. Evstigneeva
United Arab Emirates	Mrs. Nusseibeh
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . .	Mr. Kariuki
United States of America	Mr. Wood

Agenda

The situation in Somalia

Letter dated 15 September 2022 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2022/698)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the translation of speeches delivered in other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-0506 (verbatimrecords@un.org). Corrected records will be reissued electronically on the Official Document System of the United Nations (<http://documents.un.org>).

22-69881 (E)



Accessible document

Please recycle



The meeting was called to order at 2.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Somalia

Letter dated 15 September 2022 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2022/698)

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

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

Members of the Council have before them document S/2022/865, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2022/698, which contains the text of a letter dated 15 September 2022 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Albania, Brazil, France, India, Ireland, Kenya, Mexico, Norway, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Against:

None

Abstaining:

China, Gabon, Ghana, Russian Federation

The President: The draft resolution received 11 votes in favour, none against and 4 abstentions. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 2662 (2022).

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

Mr. Kariuki (United Kingdom): I want to thank Council members for their support today in adopting resolution 2662 (2022). It complements the work of

the United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia and the African Union Transition Mission in Somalia in supporting Somalia and degrading Al-Shabaab. It was a complicated negotiation process and I thank members for their constructive approach and flexibility throughout. Despite the varying perspectives and emphasis we saw in concluding the resolution, the overall direction is clear. In an exceptionally difficult security and humanitarian environment, there has been political progress in Somalia, and the Council has come together to recognize that and support Somalia's efforts.

The recent technical assessment highlighted the progress that Somalia has made in improving weapons and ammunition management. The United Kingdom commends Somalia for that and remains committed to working with Somalia and its partners to support continued progress. The benchmarks identified following the technical assessment give Somalia and its partners a clear road map that will help the Council make further changes to weapons and ammunition measures in the future. The steps made today will simplify processes for Somalia and its partners and help to speed up the journey.

Finally, in addition to supporting Somalia, resolution 2662 (2022) tightens the knot on Al-Shabaab. By changing the name of the Sanctions Committee, the Council sends a clear message that the target is Al-Shabaab. The United Kingdom will continue to work closely with Somalia and the region in support of the fight against Al-Shabaab, and we look forward to further discussions through the Committee established pursuant to resolution 751 (1992), concerning Al-Shabaab.

Mr. Wood (United States of America): The United States is pleased to vote in favour of the extension of the mandate of the Panel of Experts on Somalia and the renewal of the arms embargo, travel ban and asset freeze measures for a further 12 months. We welcome the commendable progress made by the Federal Government of Somalia on weapons and stockpile management. The modifications in resolution 2662 (2022) reflect that significant progress. We hope to see that progress continue, which would enable further easing of the arms embargo.

The sanctions regime that was adopted today is tailored to the Somali context to support and enable robust action by the Federal Government of Somalia through its three-part strategy to combat Al-Shabaab, in

conjunction with its partnership and collaboration with the international community to deprive Al-Shabaab of resources, thwart the group's exploitation of the financial system, curb its terrorist activities and address the underlying drivers of the long-standing conflict in Somalia.

We urge all States Members of the United Nations to implement the existing resolution 751 (1992) concerning Al-Shabaab, including measures to help curb Al-Shabaab's ability to access funds, weapons and the other support that it needs to carry out attacks, while supporting Somali security and police institutions with the resources they need to combat terrorism and secure their citizens. We further urge all Member States to support the designation of individuals, groups and their supporters on the Committee pursuant to resolution 751 (1992) concerning Al-Shabaab. Those designations demonstrate that the international community will support accountability and end impunity for those who undermine peace and security in Somalia.

We are committed to the Somali people and will continue to work closely with the Federal Government of Somalia, fellow Council members and all stakeholders to facilitate peace for the country and the region.

Mrs. Nusseibeh (United Arab Emirates): I would like to start by thanking the United Kingdom, as penholder, for its tireless efforts in facilitating the negotiations around the important resolution we have just adopted (resolution 2662 (2022)). The United Arab Emirates welcomes the adoption of the resolution, which is focused on neutralizing the threat posed by Al-Shabaab, primarily through targeted sanctions. In doing so, the Council unequivocally condemns Al-Shabaab's terrorist activities, which, as we all agree, continue to pose a serious threat to peace and security in Somalia and the broader region.

The United Arab Emirates would like to commend the efforts and progress made by the Government of Somalia on weapons and ammunition management, the development of the country's security forces and countering Al-Shabaab. Now more than ever Somalia needs renewed international support as it continues to demonstrate a willingness to implement the key reforms needed to secure a prosperous future for its people. The challenges faced by Somalia are complex, and it is therefore critical to enable the Government of Somalia to respond effectively to its evolving security

threats. The United Arab Emirates believes that sanctions should consider the needs and the changing environment on the ground. The Council should continually review its sanctions and remain open to further easing restrictions.

Before I conclude, I would like to stress a critical aspect that must be part of any discussion we have on countering terrorism, which is the importance of not linking terrorism to religion. We welcome the inclusion in today's resolution of a paragraph jointly put forward by the United Arab Emirates and the three African members of the Council that condemns terrorist groups' attempts to craft distorted narratives based on the misinterpretation and misrepresentation of religion. The Council has said it before and needs to continue saying it — terrorism cannot and should not be associated with any religion, nationality, civilization or ethnic group.

In conclusion, I would like to take this opportunity to reiterate the United Arab Emirates' commitment to supporting peace and stability in Somalia.

Mr. Doumbeney Ndzigna (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): My country abstained in the voting on resolution 2662 (2022), on the sanctions regime in Somalia, which was just adopted. The sanctions regime in Somalia is one of the longest-standing in the Security Council. Beyond the challenges Somalia faces that require a response, it is important to bear in mind that sanctions are not intended to last forever. They are not an end unto themselves but rather a tool for the maintenance of international peace and security.

As we know, today Somalia is led by democratically elected authorities, following the election on 15 May of President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, whose Government has made considerable advances on various fronts, including by promoting national reconciliation, ensuring the security of the country's entire territory, facilitating the internationally supported security transition in accordance with the Somalia Transition Plan and the national security architecture. It is therefore important that the international community continue to support the efforts and the policies of the Government of Somalia, particularly when it comes to reconstruction, restoration of the State and combating the terrorist threat posed by Al-Shabaab.

Ms. Evstigneeva (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): The Russian Federation abstained in the voting on resolution 2662 (2022), drafted by the

United Kingdom, on the extension of the sanctions regime against Somalia, based on our disagreement with a number of its provisions. However, we want to underscore that we welcome the latest step taken in the resolution to ease the arms embargo. We deem it essential to demonstrate to countries under sanctions regimes that the Security Council is receptive to their relevant requests substantiated by the urgent need to strengthen their State authority and national security sectors.

Countering terrorism remains a critically important task for Somalia and the entire region, but achieving it is inconceivable until the destructive capacities of Al-Shabaab have been dismantled. While there is no doubt that players outside the region can make a valuable contribution, in the long term, no matter how difficult it may be, the Somalis must learn to counter that threat themselves — albeit not without support and assistance — which will be impossible without resolving their protracted internal conflicts and restoring the country's unity. Somalia's neighbours should provide robust foundational support for those processes under the auspices of the African Union and other regional associations.

At the same time, against a backdrop of the ongoing internal disunity in Somalia, it is unacceptable that external forces continue to use their paramilitary presence in the country for selfish purposes, benefiting from the country's unique geographic position and further militarizing the Horn of Africa. We view the latest broad exemptions from the arms embargo not as a privilege, but rather as a specific tool to help eliminate threats that are common to all. We believe in the importance of ensuring equal and fair conditions for all and maintaining maximum transparency, including regarding supplies designed to ensure the safety and security of foreign military presences in Somalia.

We hope that the peoples of the African continent will firmly reject any regression to a colonialist mindset. It is that unfortunate phenomenon, rather than any genuine concern for peace, that explains the unwillingness of a number of Security Council members to exclude questions relating to bilateral relations between Djibouti and Eritrea from the Somali agenda. We would like to think that those countries, having endured various crises, will continue to advance wisely and patiently on a path of dialogue and rapprochement. That is the only correct choice and one that Russia respects.

We continue to be troubled by the ambivalent approach to Al-Shabaab, which blurs the focus of global counter-terrorism efforts. No one doubts or disputes the truly dangerous nature of that entity and its affiliation with the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant and Al-Qaida, yet for some reason it continues to be kept at a distance from the Committees established pursuant to resolutions 1267 (1999), 1989 (2011) and 2253 (2015), respectively. In our view, the resolution adopted today takes another erroneous step in that direction, as it further enshrines on paper the notion that Al-Shabaab is to be dealt with by the Committee pursuant to resolution 751 (1992), which is in charge of the Somali sanctions regime. That does not take into account the full range of views of States in the region on the matter.

Mr. Kimani (Kenya): The Kenyan delegation thanks the United Kingdom for its able steering of the negotiations on resolution 2662 (2022), which was just adopted. We voted in the affirmative to demonstrate our backing for the resolution's tougher measures against the Al-Qaida affiliate in Somalia. Our vote accords with our serious security concerns, as well as those of the region and of the international community. This afternoon we can take some comfort in having agreed, as a Security Council, to take a stronger stand together against terrorism. Our efforts now join those of the valiant people of Somalia, who have determinedly rallied behind their President and Government to defeat that group for its brutality, extremism and deviance from all the moral principles that the people hold dear.

We understand that the Government of Somalia seeks more support from the Security Council in its just struggle, including the dropping of the parts of the Council's arms embargo that affect the Government in any way. This is also the position that has been taken by the African Union Peace and Security Council. In this round of negotiations, the dropping of the embargo did not meet with sufficient support from Council members, but there is little doubt that the Somalian forces' conduct on the battlefield and the determination of the Government will lead in short order to the dropping of the embargo.

Accordingly, Kenya and the other African members of the Security Council negotiated hard for steps to be taken in this direction. We were instrumental in ensuring that resolution 2662 (2022) is framed in a way that clarifies that the enemy is a terrorist group, Al-Shabaab. We increased pressure on the group by

making it easier for the Federal Government to acquire more lethal weapons, which we did by ensuring that the resolution provides that some military items for purchase are subject to a no-objection process and that it completely removes others from any notification requirements. There is now a clear road map to completely exempting the Federal Government from the embargo in future.

There is now an effective weapons- and ammunition-management capability with clear and realistic benchmarks consistent with the final report of the Panel of Experts, reports of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, and the Secretary-General's 15 September letter and recommendations proffered following the July 2022 technical assessment (S/2022/698). We hope that there shall be proper tracking and storage of such military equipment and supplies to their Somalia unit levels to ensure that none ever falls in the hands of the terrorist groups.

We urge members, and particularly the incoming group of elected members to the Council, to stand alongside the Government in its demand that its every step lead directly and promptly to the lifting of any part of the arms embargo that negatively affects it. The partial arms embargo in Somalia cannot exist in perpetuity as it is counterproductive and adversely affects the capability of the Federal Government to eradicate the existential threat posed by Al-Shabaab.

In the past, Kenya has sought the listing of Al-Shabaab under the sanctions regime established pursuant to resolution 1267 (1999) to reflect its status as a sworn and undisputed affiliate of Al-Qaida. We wanted to pressure the group more than the sanctions imposed pursuant to resolution 751 (1992) allowed, because Al-Shabaab was regarded under that resolution as a political spoiler, not an international terrorist group. What that approach has meant was the limiting of Member State action in combating Al-Shabaab's financing, its recruitment and human trafficking, and the increase of other forms of pressure against it. Most importantly, we sought by seeking a listing under resolution 1267 (1999) to send an unambiguous message to all States and peoples that this is a group outside political inclusion. There is no compromise to be given to a group that has a fascist anti-human and unceasingly violent vision of the future it wants in Somalia and our region.

Our application for this listing under resolution 1267 (1999) was blocked by some members of the Council. They cited as their reason the need to protect humanitarian efforts from the effects of a 1267 (1999) listing, given the group's exploitation of food and other critical supplies. We agree that every step needs to be taken to protect the humanitarian response on behalf of the people of Somalia, who, like the rest of the peoples of the Horn of Africa region, are suffering the worst drought in decades. However, when we sought humanitarian exemptions in mentioning Al-Shabaab in the context of resolution 1267 (1999), the same countries refused, leaving us displeased about the transparency of the process. Gladly, what matters most is a fight against the terrorists in Somalia and, in this regard, the Government and the people are showing the way that they will give no quarter. The only way forward for the elements in the group that seek accommodation is for them to retreat from extremism and surrender to the will of the people of Somalia as expressed in their Government.

I would hasten in this context to agree with the Russian Federation's observation about the double standards that apply against this Al-Qaida group and would encourage the Council to clarify and make more transparent and predictable its approach to terrorist groups, so that all of them face the same standards at the same time, and that all the clear humanitarian exemptions needed are made available in the relevant regimes.

It is clear to us that resolution 2662 (2022) is about supporting Somalia and exerting pressure on Al-Shabaab. That is reflected in the provision renaming the Committee to be henceforth "the Security Council Committee established pursuant resolution 751 (1992) concerning Al-Shabaab". Kenya appreciates the efforts of the penholder to refocus the subject matter of this regime ever so accurately and the steadfast support received.

Finally, extremist groups, including Al-Shabaab, must not be allowed to use religion to spread propaganda and justify violence. We welcome the support received from the United Arab Emirates and others to have this language reflected in the resolution.

In conclusion, we count on the international community to support the Government of Somalia in its renewed efforts to counter Al-Shabaab's narratives and operations, and Kenya reaffirms its respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Somalia, and our neighbourly goodwill.

Mr. Geng Shuang (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): China's position on the issue of sanctions is consistent and clear. We believe that the Security Council should heed the call of African countries, respond positively to their demands and review, adjust or lift sanctions against them in a timely manner. At same time, China has always maintained that exemptions to arms embargoes should maintain uniform criteria.

The resolution just adopted (resolution 2662 (2022)) provides exemptions to the arms embargo against Somalia's bilateral partners, which is different from other existing Council sanctions regimes. It is inconsistent with the principle of fairness and non-discrimination, and furthermore it lacks effective regulatory measures for the exempted arms and ammunition. This will not only undermine the authority and objectives of the Council's sanctions regimes, but it may also lead to the proliferation of weapons and pose a threat to regional security.

The easing of the arms embargo should also go hand in hand with strengthening effective regulation. According to reports submitted by the Secretariat, the Somali Government's weapon- and ammunition-management capacity is clearly inadequate. The weapons-management depot is chaotic, none of the ammunition depots have been built and the professionalism of the security forces needs to be improved. According to report of the Panel of Experts of the Sanctions Committee, the illegal arms trade and trafficking Somalia are rampant, even to the point of impunity from the authorities for the crime of smuggling.

Therefore, objectively speaking, Somalia is not in a position to ease sanctions. We hope that the Somali Government will take measures to effectively enhance its capacity to manage arms and ammunition and prevent weapons exempted by the Council from falling into the hands of terrorist organizations. Given that the relevant contents of resolution 2662 (2022) do not reflect the reality of the country concerned, and the selective approach and double standards on the issue of exemptions to the arms embargo, China was compelled to abstain in the voting on the resolution.

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

Ghana abstained in the voting on resolution 2662 (2022) because it was our desire to see the total lifting of the arms embargo in line with the expecta-

tations of the Somali Government. We believe that the total lifting of the arms embargo is in the best interest of the Government. Acquisition of the right arms and ammunition by the Somali Government would empower the Somalia National Army (SNA) to effectively fight against Al-Shabaab and improve the security situation in the country, particularly as the African Union Transition Mission in Somalia draws down its troops on the ground and eventually hands over the security mandate of the country to the SNA.

We acknowledge the fact that the resolution provides for a systematic lifting of the arms embargo. We are hopeful that the arms embargo will eventually be lifted to enable Somalia to effectively deal with the security situation in the country. We also recommend that the Eritrea-Djibouti issue be dealt with outside the scope of this resolution.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I give the floor to the representative of Somalia.

Mr. Osman (Somalia): At the outset, my delegation warmly congratulates you, Madam President, and your country, Ghana, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I would also like to commend your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Gabon, for his effective management of the Council's work during the month of October.

My delegation takes note of resolution 2662 (2022), which we just adopted, renewing the sanctions regime on Somalia. We express our deep dissatisfaction with the conduct of the negotiations on the adopted resolution. I would like to thank Gabon and Ghana for voting against the renewal of the sanctions on Somalia. We are proud of their African position and their aligning their vote with the position of the African Union.

The arms embargo was initiated by the Council three decades ago to end Somalia's civil war in the 1990s during the collapse of the regime. Today Somalia has a democratically elected Government, which has vowed to protect its people and safeguard its territory.

In that context, the Somali Government again goes on record in seeking to lift the arms embargo imposed on its Government since 1992. The arms embargo on Somalia, the longest United Nations sanctions regime with the widest mandate, is hindering our efforts to rebuild our national security forces and our capability

to properly counter the threat of the Khawarij, formerly known as Al-Shabaab. In that regard, I would like to underscore the following points.

First, as a sovereign State, the Federal Government of Somalia has the inherent right to strengthen its security and protect its population from violent extremist groups. We fully implemented the weapons and ammunition strategy in a comprehensive manner. The national weapons and ammunition strategy was successful in guiding the governance of arms and ammunition, including the establishment of the relevant national frameworks.

Secondly, after President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud declared war against the Khawarij, our national army and the local population inflicted heavy losses and recovered many villages and towns from the group and its followers. Nevertheless, challenges remain in consolidating operational gains, especially in the liberated area.

In addition, as Council members are all aware, the Federal Government of Somalia requested an extension to the 30 December deadline to take over some of the forward operating bases from the African Union Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS). In the past four months, the Somali National Army forces have engaged in ongoing offensive operations against the Khawarij, and they have used up a major portion of their armaments. With the renewed sanctions on Somalia, the situation of armaments is becoming unsustainable. That challenge and other new developments forced the Government to request an extension regarding initiating the first phase of the Somali transition plan. The agreed Somali transition plan will therefore not succeed if the necessary international support is not properly restructured and made available with suitable alignments to the realities on the ground, including investment in quick-impact projects and the re-establishment of local governance in the recovered areas.

The present state of the army-capability imbalance between our national forces and the terrorist groups is a direct result of the Council's arms embargo. Our hands are tied by the fight against the ruthless enemy at this most critical time. The July communiqué of the African Union Peace and Security Council calls for the urgent lifting of the arms embargo on Somalia. In that connexion, as a matter of paramount importance, the Security Council should seriously consider the request of the African Union so that the Somali National Army

are sufficiently equipped in terms of lethal capability, as captured in the concept of operations to defeat the Khawarij and pave the way for the successful exit of ATMIS by 2024.

Thirdly, not only is the arms embargo on Somalia persistently violated, as reported, but also the Council's charcoal ban is violated on a regular basis, as evidenced in the case concerning the vessel *MV Fox*, in which the ship and its crew were released despite the irrefutable and overwhelming evidence provided by the Federal Government of Somalia. We commend the Omani Government for seizing the vessel mentioned above in Salalah port in Oman despite the challenges regarding the transparency of the prosecution process for the criminal networks involved in the illegal trade. We will continue our active engagement with the Omani authorities, and we count on their cooperation in following the guidelines of the relevant Security Council resolutions in returning the confiscated charcoal to its rightful owner, the Federal Government of Somalia.

The Somali people, who are fighting in many regions in Somalia, are asking the Council why it again voted in favour of such a resolution despite the intensified fight against the terrorist group. The victims of the terrorist group also ask each Council member in this Chamber why lifting the arms embargo on Somalia is a threat to international peace and security, while we see and witness the arming of other countries to defend their territory and people on a daily basis. That unjust and unfair double standard has prevented the Government of Somalia from legally obtaining lethal military equipment to rebuild its National Army for decades without indefinitely having to rely on external forces for the security of our country.

Nevertheless, the Somali people have risen against the tyranny of the terrorist group. We will no longer await the Council's condolences and sympathies over another terrorist attack with hundreds of casualties. Somalis will continue to resist with arms and with their bare hands in all regions of Somalia against a violent extremist ideology until a decisive victory is achieved, God willing.

In conclusion, it is clear that the arms embargo on Somalia will not help to build well-equipped Somali national security forces capable of protecting their people and territory. As the result, it is also obvious that the Somali transition plan and the successful exit of ATMIS from Somalia will not take place within the

agreed timeline. What is certain, in our view, is that there is a small closing window of opportunity for Somalia, its neighbours and its international friends to fully align with the Federal Government of Somalia's priority to defeat the transnational terrorist group once and for all, as declared by President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud and endorsed by the African Union. There is no doubt that the transnational terrorist group will continue to gain power by means of violence unless we work together bilaterally and multilaterally to provide

stronger support and cooperation to counter terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

We again thank those who did not vote in favour of this resolution and urge those who voted in favour of it to reconsider their positions. I will conclude with the quote: "It is not enough that we do our best; sometimes we must do what is required."

The meeting rose at 3.10 p.m.