



Security Council

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Thursday, 15 December 2022, 10 a.m.

New York

Provisional

President: Mr. Jaishankar (India)

Members:

Albania	Mr. Hoxha
Brazil	Mr. Costa Filho
China	Mr. Zhang Jun
France	Mr. De Rivière
Gabon	Mr. Biang
Ghana	Mr. Cleland
Ireland	Mr. Coveney
Kenya	Mr. Sing'Oei
Mexico	Mr. De la Fuente Ramírez
Norway	Ms. Juul
Russian Federation	Mr. Nebenzia
United Arab Emirates	Ms. Al Kaabi
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Lord Ahmad
United States of America	Ms. Nuland

Agenda

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

Global counter-terrorism approach – principles and the way forward

Letter dated 5 December 2022 from the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2022/906)

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

Expression of sympathy in honour of all the victims of terrorism and of the peacekeepers who have laid down their lives over the years in the course of their duties

The President: Before we proceed with today's meeting, I invite all members to join me in observing a minute of silence in honour of all the victims of terrorism.

We have also received reports of the tragic killing of an Irish peacekeeper and of injuries to four others in Lebanon yesterday. We pray for their speedy recovery. I also invite all members to honour the peacekeepers who have laid down their lives over the years in the course of their duties.

The members of the Security Council observed a minute of silence.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

Global counter-terrorism approach — principles and the way forward

Letter dated 5 December 2022 from the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2022/906)

The President: I would like to warmly welcome the distinguished ministers and other high-level representatives. Their presence today underscores the importance of the subject matter under discussion.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the following briefers to participate in this meeting: Mr. Vladimir Voronkov, Under-Secretary-General, Office of Counter-Terrorism; Mr. Weixiong Chen, Acting Executive Director of the Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate; and Ms. Anjali Vijay Kulthe, nursing officer at the Cama and Albles Hospital in Mumbai and a survivor of the 26/11 Mumbai terror attacks.

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

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2022/906, which contains the text of a letter dated 5 December 2022 from the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting a concept note on the item under consideration.

I now give the floor to Mr. Voronkov.

Mr. Voronkov: I thank the Republic of India for organizing this briefing during its presidency of the Security Council.

The persistent global threat posed by terrorism not only requires the Council's continued attention, but it also calls for a renewed collective approach, as laid out in the Secretary-General's report *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982). His New Agenda for Peace will outline a way forward to address converging risks and threats that include not only terrorism, but also armed conflict, a worsening climate emergency, poverty and inequality, an unregulated cyberspace and a not easy recovery from the coronavirus disease pandemic. The magnitude and the complexity of today's threats to international peace and security require no less. In that regard, I reiterate the Secretary-General's call for strengthening multilateralism as a matter of necessity, not of choice.

Despite continuing leadership losses by Al-Qaida and Da'esh, terrorism in general has become more prevalent and more geographically widespread, affecting the lives of millions worldwide. In recent years, terrorist groups such as Da'esh, Al-Qaida and their affiliates have continued to exploit instability, fragility and conflict to advance their agendas. That has been the case particularly in West Africa and the Sahel, where the situation remains urgent as terrorist groups strive to expand their area of operations. The activities of such groups have also contributed to the deteriorating security situation in other parts of the continent, particularly in Central and Southern Africa.

In Afghanistan, the sustained presence of terrorist groups continues to pose serious threats to the region and beyond, as some groups maintain ambitions to conduct external operations. Moreover, it is concerning that the de facto authorities have failed to sever longstanding ties with terrorist groups sheltering in the country, despite the Council's demands that they do so.

Terrorist groups in those and in other contexts often pursue diverse agendas through different strategies, often adapting opportunistically. They do so in part by

resorting to illicit financing methods and other criminal activities, posing difficult challenges for coordinated responses by Member States. Others have morphed into, or grafted themselves onto, insurgencies that occupy territory and purport to assume State responsibilities.

The manner in which those groups misuse and abuse developments in technological innovation to advance their agendas is also concerning. That includes the use of online videogames and adjacent platforms to groom and recruit members, propagandize, communicate and even train for terrorist acts. In that regard, I welcome the adoption by consensus of the Delhi declaration at the special meeting of the Counter-Terrorism Committee held by India in October. The Office of Counter-Terrorism will continue to work closely with other United Nations entities, including the Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate, to ensure that the misuse of new and emerging technologies by terrorists is addressed as a cross-cutting priority.

I am also concerned about an increase in terrorist attacks based on xenophobia, racism and other forms of intolerance, or in the name of religion or belief. While not a new phenomenon, a few Member States consider that as the fastest growing, or even the most prominent, domestic security threat that they face. I underline the Secretary-General's view that this phenomenon requires further understanding, and I reiterate his call for the development and implementation of national plans to address the threat.

Allow me to outline some suggested principles for guiding our collective action in countering terrorism going forward.

First, with regard to preventive action, there is no better and more efficient remedy to the threat posed by terrorism than prevention. The international counter-terrorism experience over the past 20 years demonstrates the limits of focusing on the necessity of security forces responding to imminent or actual terrorist acts without also addressing the conditions that lead to terrorist acts. Counter-terrorism measures should be employed in tandem with initiatives to address the drivers of marginalization, exclusion, inequality, injustice and lack of opportunity — the same sorts of issues needed to reinforce the social contract between citizens and their Governments.

Secondly, addressing the complex conditions driving terrorism requires multifaceted and integrated responses. Whole-of-society approaches should be

community-based and conflict- and gender-sensitive. Engaging a multitude of stakeholders is indispensable for devising such strategies. That includes not only civil society organizations, religious leaders, youth and women's groups and the private sector, but also victims and survivors of terrorist acts.

Thirdly, in keeping with the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, human rights must be at the centre of effective counter-terrorism responses. Upholding the rule of law and respecting international law, including human rights law, is both a legal and moral obligation and an operational requirement. Well-established principles, norms and standards should feature front and centre in our efforts to counter the threat posed by terrorist acts.

Finally, regional arrangements should be leveraged. As the threat posed by terrorism is transnational, so too should be the responses. Regional-based approaches offer an opportunity for tailoring responses to specific contexts. It is for that reason that the Office of Counter-Terrorism is co-organizing with Nigeria a summit on counter-terrorism in Africa. The summit presents an important opportunity to reconsider how the United Nations can further support counter-terrorism efforts in Africa.

I look forward to working closely with the Security Council as we strive to revitalize our multilateral action to counter and prevent terrorist acts.

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

I now give the floor to Mr. Weixiong Chen.

Mr. Weixiong Chen (*spoke in Chinese*): The terrorist landscape continues to evolve. Terrorist groups such as Da'esh, Al-Qaida and their affiliates continue to recalibrate their strategic and operational methods. With such groups and cells becoming more locally based and decentralized, the threat has become diffuse and diverse in nature. Away from the traditional theatres, battlefields have emerged in the Sahel, in West, East, Southern and Central Africa and parts of Asia. Meanwhile, Da'esh persists in its attempts to regroup in its traditional geographic centre. We are also seeing an increase in threats from terrorism on the basis of xenophobia, racism and other forms of intolerance. These groups have become more transnational in nature. They have forged strong links across borders and built robust networks, exploiting virtual platforms

through which they exchange views, radicalize others into terrorism, find recruits and support one another financially and operationally. Against that backdrop, criminal justice actors have a critical role to play in addressing these threats in a meaningful manner.

Terrorists continue to exploit online platforms, including gaming platforms, to recruit and radicalize, raise funds, plan and coordinate operations and disseminate propaganda. Against that backdrop, the Counter-Terrorism Committee held a special meeting in India on 28 and 29 October on countering the use of new and emerging technologies for terrorist purposes. The Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED) was able to provide its full support in organizing the special meeting, which involved the participation of key stakeholders, including Member States, United Nations agencies, international and regional organizations, civil-society organizations, the private sector and members of CTED's Global Research Network.

The special meeting focused on three key areas—the Internet, including social media platforms and related online spaces; countering terrorism financing and new payment technologies; and the misuse of unmanned aerial systems. The special meeting brought to the forefront overarching considerations of the One United Nations approach, upholding human rights, the role of civil society and honouring the victims of terrorism. The Committee adopted the Delhi declaration to reaffirm its commitment to working with Member States in achieving the full implementation of all relevant Security Council resolutions to address the threats posed by terrorism. CTED will support the Counter-Terrorism Committee in developing a set of non-binding guiding principles that are consistent with international human rights law and humanitarian law, with a view to assisting Member States in countering the threat posed by the use of new and emerging technologies for terrorist purposes.

In order to achieve our goals, we must work in an inclusive fashion, involving a broad range of stakeholders and partners. The United Nations counter-terrorism architecture has also provided a useful platform for CTED to collaborate with the Office of Counter-Terrorism and other entities of the Global Counter-Terrorism Coordination Compact to work together towards our common objectives. We also look forward to further collaborating with Member States, international and regional organizations, civil

society, the private sector and other stakeholders in our endeavours.

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

I now give the floor to Ms. Kulthe.

Ms. Kulthe (*spoke in Hindi; English interpretation provided by the delegation*): I am Anjali Vijay Kulthe, from Mumbai. I am a staff nurse at the Cama and Albbless Hospital in Mumbai, one of India's oldest hospitals, established in 1886 exclusively for women and children with support from private donors. I have worked at the hospital for the past 22 years.

I am one of the fortunate ones who survived the terrorist attack on the hospital on the night of 26 November 2008. As a victim and survivor of terrorism, I bring to the Security Council the voice of the trauma and sorrow endured by the families of the victims and survivors of terrorist attacks all over the world. On 26 November 2008, I had a night shift in the antenatal care unit that began at 8 p.m. Twenty pregnant women were in my charge that night. I had two helpers, Hira and Madhu, assisting me. An hour later, we were informed that the city's main railway station, about a mile from the hospital, had been stormed by terrorists. Our senior officials called and asked us to prepare for an emergency.

At around 10:30 p.m., as we were preparing, we heard gunshots being fired from behind the hospital. I and my helpers quickly moved to the window of my ward's bathroom. We saw two people with guns enter the hospital after jumping over the wall. One of them fired at our window. We narrowly escaped the bullet, which hit one of my helper's thumbs, as well as the lights in the ward. Hira's thumb was bleeding profusely, and the room was dark. I escorted her to the accident ward on the ground floor for treatment.

I also informed the hospital's Chief Medical Officer that terrorists had entered the building and were firing. As I rushed to the ward, on the first floor, I saw the same two terrorists shooting the hospital's two security guards. Both the security guards fell on the floor, bleeding heavily. I was extremely scared. I gathered my courage and rushed to the first floor. I closed the main iron door and shifted all the patients to the pantry with the help of another staff member. I locked the door and switched off the lights so that the shooters could not see the patients. I wanted to protect my patients from the terrorists' shots at all costs. As I was locking the door,

I saw two terrorists rushing towards the second floor, chased by some policemen. We heard continuous firing. We experienced heavy shocks from the explosion of grenades.

While we were hiding in the ward, I thought to myself, “Death is inevitable in this life — why not die valiantly?” I consoled my terrified patients, who were in advanced stages of pregnancy. I feared that some of them might go into labour because of fear-induced high blood pressure, a condition that could be extremely serious for both the mother’s and the baby’s life. And my fear came alive: suddenly a patient shrieked that she was going into labour. My medical officer could not come down from the second floor. I felt helpless. I did not know what to do next.

Suddenly, I felt my uniform give me courage and my passion for nursing give me clarity of thought. I escorted my patient to the pregnancy ward, but she was scared and reluctant to come there with me. I reassured her and requested that she follow me. While we were climbing the staircase, we heard heavy gunfire and hand-grenade explosions. With faith, I managed to get my patient to the labour room, and a while later we were able to deliver a healthy baby. Then I returned to my ward to check on my other 19 patients.

We spent the whole night in complete darkness, with the patients locked up in rooms. The next morning, we opened the doors as the police arrived. It was hard to believe that we were alive. I could not sleep peacefully for many nights, waking up several times in middle of the night with vivid memories of the terrorist attack.

I shiver even today as I recall the night of the terrorist attacks. While the terrorists were killing human beings like insects, I am happy that I was able to save the lives of 20 pregnant women and their unborn babies. Although the terror and horror of that night are still alive with me, I soothe myself by thinking of the several lives that I and my colleagues in the hospital saved.

One month after the terrorist attack, I was summoned by the authorities to identify the lone terrorist who survived the attacks, Ajmal Kasab. Although my family feared reprisals for my decision to testify in court, I chose to be a witness. In the jail, when I recognized him, he smiled sarcastically and said, “Madam, you recognized me correctly. I am Ajmal Kasab.” Kasab did not have one iota of remorse, and he had no shame or guilt. His sense of victory haunts me

even today. Whenever I see news reports on television about terrorist attacks anywhere in the world, my heart goes out to the victims and survivors of such attacks, who go on to live rest of their lives in trauma.

We, the victims of the 26/11 Mumbai attacks, continue to wait for justice, as the sponsors of those dastardly attacks remain free, even after 14 years. Too many lives have been lost, too many children have been orphaned and too many people have been traumatized. I urge the international community, through the Council, to bring to justice the sponsors of the 26/11 Mumbai attacks and to give closure to the families of the victims.

The President : I thank Ms. Kulthe for her briefing.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the Minister for External Affairs of India.

At the outset, I acknowledge the presence here today of the honourable Ministers of Ireland, the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom, the United States, Kenya and Ghana, as well as all of the other high-level representatives, whom I thank for accepting my invitation to participate in today’s meeting.

I would also like to thank Ambassador Vladimir Voronkov, Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations Office of Counter-Terrorism (UNOCT), and Mr. Weixiong Chen, Acting Executive Director of the Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate, for their briefings to the Security Council today. We value the work of the UNOCT in leading the United Nations efforts to assist Member States by providing them necessary capacity-building through its various global programmes.

I also thank nurse Anjali Kulthe, a valiant victim of the 26/11 terror attacks who has just vividly shared with us her recollection of the human cost of terrorism. Her testimony is a stark reminder to the Council and the international community that justice is yet to be delivered for the victims of several terrorist incidents, including the 26/11 Mumbai attacks.

The Council is well aware that terrorism is an existential threat to international peace and security. It knows no borders, nationality or race, and it is a challenge that the international community must combat collectively. India faced the horrors of cross-border terrorism long before the world took serious note of it. Over the decades, we lost thousands of innocent civilian lives. But we fought terrorism resolutely, bravely and with a zero-tolerance approach. As Prime Minister of

India Narendra Modi has declared, we consider that even a single attack is one too many, and even a single life lost is one too many. We will therefore not rest until terrorism is uprooted.

Today's briefing is a part of India's ongoing efforts in the Security Council to reinvigorate the counter-terrorism agenda – efforts that are overdue because the threat of terrorism has actually become even more serious. We have seen the expansion of Al-Qaida, Da'esh, Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab and their affiliates. At the other end of the spectrum are lone-wolf attacks inspired by online radicalization and biases. But somewhere in all of that, we cannot forget that old habits and established networks are still alive, especially in South Asia. The contemporary epicentre of terrorism remains very much active, regardless of any gloss that may be applied to minimize unpleasant realities. On this occasion, let me highlight four specific challenges with which the counter-terrorism architecture is currently grappling.

The first challenge is the issue of terror financing and State culpability, whether by commission or omission. The world may no longer be willing to buy into the justifications and cover-ups as it did in the past. Through bitter experience, we know that terror is terror, whatever the explanation. The question now arises as to the responsibilities of the States from whose soil such actions are planned, supported and perpetrated.

The second challenge is to ensure the integrity and accountability of the counter-terrorism multilateral mechanisms and their working methods. They are on occasion opaque, sometimes driven by agendas and at times even pushed without evidence.

The third challenge is to address double standards in countering terrorism that lead to concerns of politicization. Uniform criteria are not applied to sanctioning and prosecuting terrorists. It would seem sometimes that the ownership of terrorism is more important than its actual perpetration or its consequences.

The fourth challenge is to counter threats from the misuse of new and emerging technologies by terrorists, which is likely to be the next frontier of our battle.

Let me expand on each of those aspects briefly. By now, it is well established where and how terrorist organizations operate and under what kind of protection. Activities like recruitment, financing and

motivation are often done in the open. The days when it could be said that we are unaware are now behind us. Consequently, assigning responsibility is that much easier. The response of the sponsors of terrorism is not to give up but to conduct and execute their agendas at arm's length. In order to do that, they create narratives of limitations and difficulties. We buy into such explanations at our own peril. The suggestion that States are apparently capable in everything else but only helpless when it comes to terrorism is ludicrous. Accountability must therefore be the bedrock of counter-terrorism.

The working methods of the relevant mechanisms is also a subject of legitimate concern and debate. On one level, we have seen levels of protection that come close to justification. At the same time, there are also evidence-backed proposals that are put on hold without adequate reason. Moreover, there has even been recourse to anonymity so as to avoid taking ownership of untenable cases.

Regarding the third challenge, on how we should deal with double standards, both inside and outside the Council, for too long, some have continued to believe that terrorism is just another instrument or stratagem. Those invested in terrorism have used such cynicism to carry on. That is not just plain wrong, but could also be downright dangerous, even for the very people whose toleration extends that far.

Regarding the fourth challenge, on the growing potential for the misuse of new and emerging technologies by extremists, radicals and terrorists, over the years, they have diversified their funding portfolio and expanded their recruitment toolkit. They exploit the anonymity afforded by new and emerging technologies, such as virtual currencies for fundraising and finances. Terrorist groups are taking advantage of the openness of democratic societies by spreading false narratives, inciting hatred and radicalizing ideologies.

Taking all of that into account, we need to adopt a comprehensive, contemporary and results-oriented approach to that set of challenges. No individual State should endeavour to seek political gain from terrorism, and none of us, collectively, should ever put up with such calculations. When it comes to tackling terrorism, we must overcome our political differences and manifest a zero-tolerance approach.

When we began our current term on the Council in January 2021, I had proposed an eight-point action plan

on counter-terrorism to its members (see S/2021/48). I am glad that some of the action points have been reflected in presidential statement to be adopted by the Council at the end of today's meeting. As the Chair of the Counter-Terrorism Committee of the Security Council this year, India has striven to bring those principles into the counter-terrorism architecture at the United Nations and into the debate on terrorism at the Council. We were privileged to host the members of the Council in Mumbai and New Delhi during the special meeting of the Counter-Terrorism Committee at the end of October. The Delhi declaration that was adopted there is a landmark document, and with it, we hope that the Council will build on this further.

Let me conclude by emphasizing that we cannot let another 9/11 of New York or 26/11 of Mumbai happen again. In the past two decades, terrorism has been significantly countered, and its justification delegitimized. But it remains a work in progress. Combating terrorism is a battle in which there is no respite. The world cannot afford attention deficits or tactical compromises. It is most of all for the Security Council to lead the global response in that regard. Today's briefing is another step in that direction.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

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

I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister for Defence of Ireland.

Mr. Coveney (Ireland): I would like to thank our three guests today, who have just given us very thought-provoking and emotive briefings. I also want to commend India for its focus on the important issue of counter-terrorism throughout its tenure on the Security Council and congratulate it on its successes.

I would like to start my statement by expressing my deep sadness at the death of an Irish peacekeeper and the injuries to three others in an incident in Lebanon yesterday. I want to thank the Indian presidency for the respect it has shown by inviting the Council to observe a minute of silence at the start of today's meeting. Those soldiers were serving proudly as part of the 121st Infantry Battalion of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon.

The incident and the loss of life is a stark reminder that our peacekeepers serve in dangerous circumstances.

They put themselves in harm's way, always for the cause of peace. They operate under mandates that we decide here in this Chamber to ensure that they can do the work they need to do and that they operate as safely as possible, in terms of our obligation to manage risk. I want to offer my deepest condolences to the family and loved ones of the young soldier who died, and to the loved ones of all peacekeepers who have died in the course of their duty — too many this year.

When I first addressed the Council after Ireland joined it almost two years ago (see S/2021/48), I stated clearly that terrorism remains one of the gravest threats to international peace and security. Over the past two years, we have witnessed that threat evolve and, unfortunately, spread in the Sahel, in Afghanistan, with the sheltering of Al-Qaida and other terrorist groups under Taliban rule, and in Iraq and Syria, with the continuing threat there. As Ireland prepares to leave the Council, I welcome the opportunity to reflect on how our counter-terrorism efforts can have more of an impact.

The most effective way to counter terrorism is to prevent it from happening in the first place. Tackling the global terrorist threat means addressing its complex and varied drivers. We know that communities affected by conflict, poverty, inequality, poor governance and human rights violations are more vulnerable to radicalization and recruitment. Unless we address the root causes, we resign ourselves to addressing the same security challenges over and over again. Respect for human rights and the rule of law are vital in preventing the growth of radicalization and extremism, and they are both critical components of effective counter-terrorism responses. Too often, measures adopted by States to counter terrorism have been misused to repress human rights and freedoms.

In October, together with the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism, Fionnuala Ní Aoláin, Ireland hosted an event highlighting the ways in which counter-terrorist financing measures are sometimes misused to target civil society, humanitarian actors and human rights defenders. Those actions serve only to drive radicalization and reinforce terrorist narratives.

We must also heed the calls of our African partners, who have consistently advised us on the ways that climate change can aggravate the root causes of

terrorism itself. Most United Nations Member States, including the large majority of those on the Council, recognize the clear link between climate change and instability. It is staring us in the face. And it is high time that the Council act on the facts.

We know that there is a wealth of experience and analysis that civil society partners can provide on the issues of counter-terrorism. Yet the avenues for civil society to engage with the Council's counter-terrorism architecture are too limited. Dealing effectively with those issues, particularly the use of new and emerging technologies for terrorist purposes, requires a much more serious partnership with civil society. In addition, the full, equal and meaningful participation of women in counter-terrorism processes is critical. Empowering women and ensuring that they are at the counter-terrorism table fundamentally disrupts the status quo for the better.

United Nations sanctions are one of the critical instruments employed by the Council to hold terrorists to account and to target them. But in order to have the desired effect, sanctions must be targeted and effective in the areas where we need them to be. During our term on the Council, one of the recurring messages we heard from civil society and humanitarian partners was about the inadvertently negative impact of sanctions measures on the delivery of humanitarian assistance. We listened carefully to that message, and we responded collectively as a Council. Alongside the United States, we were proud to secure agreement, on Friday (see S/PV.9214), on resolution 2664 (2022). That landmark initiative providing humanitarian exemptions across all United Nations sanctions regimes will help to ensure that aid reaches all populations at risk, particularly in areas where terrorists are active. At a time of unprecedented global challenges, I am heartened that the Security Council took decisive action and provided a humanitarian lifeline to those experiencing conflict and terrorism.

In conclusion, I would like to offer some short reflections on our two-year term on the Security Council.

Just last week, we marked the hundredth anniversary of the Irish Free State. One of its first actions was to seek membership of the then League of Nations. A hundred years on, Ireland is steadfast in its commitment to multilateralism. To sit at this table, elected by the Members of the General Assembly, is a great privilege. Those of us lucky enough to do so

should be frank enough to admit that multilateralism is struggling today. We need reform. We need creative, responsive solutions to global challenges that could not even have been imagined by the drafters of the Charter of the United Nations. But most of all, we need political will.

As our Prime Minister said in his speech during the high-level week (see A/77/PV.9), in the Security Council, the General Assembly and the other organs, institutions and agencies that make up the United Nations, we have the spaces to discuss, negotiate, share experiences and craft solutions. We have an interlocking web of charters, treaties, norms, resolutions, international jurisprudence, political declarations and agreed statements and conclusions. Our global structures are not perfect. We know that. No structures ever are in reality. But it is not our systems or our structures, or our treaties or our charters, that are fundamentally failing us today. It is the lack of political will to implement and uphold them that is the root cause of our failures in the Security Council.

Reform is essential, particularly reform of the veto, the use of which is self-defeating, the use of which, in my view, has no place in a twenty-first century Security Council. But reform alone will not make multilateralism work. That responsibility rests with us, the Member States, together. Member States will continue to have differing perspectives on many of the issues on the Council's agenda, but they must, we must, find a way to work in genuine partnership and good faith, so that the Council can act with the ambition and determination that is so urgently required.

Too often we see narrow self-interest taking precedence. We see Council members block crucial decisions to protect themselves and/or their allies.

Council members, whether permanent or elected, have reached this table in different ways. But once we are in this Chamber, surely we have a shared responsibility to defend international peace and security and the hundreds of millions of vulnerable people who rely on us to do that. We must do better to live up to that responsibility.

The President: I now give the floor to the Minister of Culture and Youth of the United Arab Emirates.

Ms. Al Kaabi (United Arab Emirates) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I would like to join my colleagues in expressing our sincere condolences to

His Excellency Mr. Simon Coveney and the family of the Irish peacekeeper who was killed today in a brutal attack while on duty in southern Lebanon. We also wish a speedy recovery to all those injured.

I thank the Republic of India for organizing this important discussion on the international community's approach to combating terrorism. I would also like to thank Under-Secretary-General Voronkov, and the Acting Executive Director, Mr. Chen, for their valuable briefings. I also attentively listened to the moving briefing by Ms. Anjali Vijay Kulthe.

Over the past two decades, and through this Organization, we have adopted many measures and policies to address the terrorist threat to international peace and security, including most notably the historic adoption of resolution 1373 (2001), which responds to one of the greatest challenges of this era which undermine stability and prosperity.

Despite the effective efforts by the international community, we see that global terrorist threat continues to adapt through advanced and complex tactics that have allowed it to branch out and become widespread. Terrorist groups continue to exploit natural resources to finance their operations and use modern technology to launch cross-border terrorist attacks. Terrorists have also taken advantage of the absence of State authority and the distraction of attention due to numerous crises and difference of priorities, which have led to exacerbating their threats.

We have made great strides towards strengthening international cooperation, building capacities and developing strategies as a means to combat terrorism. We realize, however, that there is still a long way to go to eradicate terrorism. Therefore, we must promote international momentum and stay vigilant in identifying and addressing shortcomings and preventing the exploitation of gaps. We must also be more flexible to keep pace with the methods of terrorist groups and be proactive in our prevention of extremism and terrorism.

Those concerns point to the importance of our discussion today. I would like to highlight three main aspects that we should focus on.

First, the geographic scope of terrorist activities is expanding. Recent reports by the United Nations note that the African continent, like others, has not been spared from the repercussions of that scourge. Nearly half of the victims of terrorism in the world last year

were in Africa, where terrorist groups seek refuge in search of shelter and breeding grounds. Therefore, it is no longer enough for the Security Council to focus on certain terrorist groups to the exclusion of others, especially considering the transnational nature of terrorist threats. It is imperative that the Council harness all its tools, including sanctions committees, to curb terrorist activities. Moreover, local and regional efforts must be supported while intensifying coordination with various actors, including women and young people.

Secondly, terrorists use sophisticated means and methods. Terrorist groups have proven their ability to exploit technological advances, including drones and digital currencies to achieve their goals. Accordingly, the Delhi declaration on countering the use of new and emerging technologies for terrorist purposes represents an important step through which we look forward to building upon it in order to close the gaps and develop solid regulatory frameworks in which the public and private sectors participate at the local and international levels.

Thirdly, terrorism in all its forms must be addressed through comprehensive and multilateral strategies that focus on prevention and eradicating extremism. We will not be able to eradicate terrorism without exposing extremist ideologies that fuel violence and hatred, as well as incite killing and destruction. Therefore, we must immunize our societies against extremism and address its root causes.

The United Arab Emirates has been keen to work through a comprehensive framework to counter extremism that includes rejecting all attempts to distort and exploit Islam by terrorist groups. It is imperative to raise awareness and promote tolerance, co-existence and diversity, which are inherent values in our Islamic culture. In that regard, public and private institutions in the United Arab Emirates have launched several initiatives in cooperation with regional and international partners to eliminate extremism in a sustainable manner. One of the most prominent examples of such initiatives is the Global Conference of Human Fraternity hosted by the United Arab Emirates. The conference resulted in the signing of the document entitled "Human fraternity for world peace and living together" by His Holiness Pope Francis and the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar Al Sharif, Sheikh Ahmed al-Tayeb Ahmed Al-Tayeb, to catalyse dialogue on coexistence and brotherhood among peoples and to promote those values globally. The designation of 4 February of every

year as the International Day of Human Fraternity has become an opportunity to enhance multilateralism and diversity of cultures.

The Forum of Religions of the Group of 20, which the United Arab Emirates is hosting during the current week, demonstrates our country's vision of creating a global system of tolerance, coexistence and diversity by presenting the recommendations of approximately 100 leaders of various religious communities to the leaders of the New Delhi summit in 2023 with a view to establishing a world of more solidarity and peace.

In conclusion, the presidential statement that we are adopting today confirms that terrorism remains at the top of the Security Council priorities. As Chair of the Counter-Terrorism Committee next year, the United Arab Emirates will build on the achievements made during the Indian presidency this year. We will also continue to cooperate with our colleagues to enhance the Committee's capacity to implement its mandate amid changing terrorist threats globally and to achieve security, stability and prosperity across all our societies.

Ms. Nuland (United States of America): First, our hearts are with Minister Coveney, the Irish people, the family of their fallen peacekeeper and with those who are recovering from the vicious attack in Lebanon. It is further evidence of the risks that all our peacekeepers take in support of the missions of this body.

I also want to thank Mr. Jaishankar, Permanent Representative Kamboj and India for this vital meeting, for their presidency of the Council this month and for their active engagement and leadership as Chair of the Counter-Terrorism Committee this year.

The United States Coordinator for Counterterrorism was just in New Delhi this week, working on ways to deepen our own partnership further, including against new and emerging threats.

I also want to also thank our United Nations briefers, especially Ms. Anjali Vijay Kulthe, for reminding us that the numbers on terrorism do not show the true story of the pain and the human toll. Ms. Anjali's story is painful not because it is unique, but because it is not. Last year, the world faced more than 8,000 terrorist incidents across 65 countries, which killed more than 23,000 people. Stories like Ms. Anjali's tell of families and communities left shattered. They are stories of unbelievable horror and desperation, but also of heroism like hers.

Other recent attacks around the world — the bombing of a police station in Indonesia, the coup attempt in Germany and hateful incidents in our own country — remind us that no country is safe from that threat, and it cannot be defeated by any of us alone or by any regional bloc. We must all work together. It is incumbent upon us to tackle those issues jointly, from the undergoverned and ungoverned spaces susceptible to terrorist control and the desperate conditions that are conducive to recruitment, to the sources of illicit finance and the perverse ideologies spreading online and across borders.

The United Nations now estimates that racially or ethnically motivated violent extremism, what we call "REMVE", has increased over 320 per cent in recent years, with worrisome new transatlantic links among groups. That ideology, rooted in hate like xenophobia, racism, anti-Semitism and all forms of bigotry, has found common cause online, with new members being recruited through various social media platforms and fake and manipulated photos quickly spreading misinformation and hate. It is therefore critical that we build on our shared capabilities in order to better detect, degrade and respond to those new threats. That is why we are working with partners now to strengthen domestic law enforcement, judicial capabilities and border security, improve intelligence and information-sharing on those threats and sever key sources of terrorist financing.

In May, we launched the Counterterrorism Law Enforcement Forum in Berlin, bringing together law enforcement officials from some 40 countries to build capacity and share best practices.

In Indonesia, for example, the United States supports continuous mentorship programmes to vetted law enforcement agencies investigating terrorist activity.

In Kenya, we work with security and law enforcement to enhance detection and prevention and improve investigations and prosecutions and ensure we get convictions.

Here in September, during the General Assembly, at the Global Counterterrorism Forum, I announced a new toolkit to counter racially and ethnically motivated violent extremism, developed jointly by the United States and Norway, to provide practical recommendations for countries and communities to recognize and respond to that threat.

But while we work on racially and ethnically motivated violent extremism, we also have to not distract from the parallel fight against Al-Qaida and the Islamic State in Iraq and the Sham (ISIS) wherever it is found. Despite the success of our Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS and the decisive strike against Al-Qaida leader Ayman al-Zawahiri in July, the threat is significant.

One way the Security Council can help is by doing more on the current sanctions list to ensure it accurately reflects the realities on the ground. United Nations sanctions are an essential tool in our counter-terrorism tool kit. The Council should support listing all ISIS and Al-Qaida affiliates, as well as their leaders and key supporters, so that they face global asset freezes, travel bans and arms embargoes.

Unfortunately, the Security Council Committee pursuant to resolutions 1267 (1999), 1989 (2011) and 2253 (2015), concerning the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (Da'esh), Al-Qaida and associated individuals, groups, undertakings and entities, and the Security Council Committee pursuant to resolution 751 (1992), concerning Al-Shabaab, have only agreed to designate one entity and one individual this year. An array of holds, due to unrelated political fights, stand in the way of new listings. That political obstructionism fundamentally undermines the Committees' mandates to prevent and deter threats to international peace and security and weakens the impact of the United Nations sanctions regime.

We have been pleased to co-nominate several listings with India on ISIS and Al-Qaida, and we hope that the 1267 Committee will move forward with those and other new nominations.

The Council took strong steps last week to adopt resolution 2664 (2022) to help ensure that reputable, impartial humanitarian actors are able to do their life-saving work, even in areas where terrorists operate or control territory. That will ensure that those in need get the help they need and are not left simply at the mercy of terrorists. We simply cannot afford to leave those civilians exposed to the predations of malign actors who fail to meet their basic needs and often steal from them, destroy their property and take their lives. We are very grateful for the efforts of humanitarian organizations to advocate for that resolution and ensure that they can help vulnerable populations.

It is also critical that counter-terrorism campaigns not be used as a pretext for Member States to violate

fundamental freedoms themselves. And it is concerning that some Member States seek to undermine the advances on gender, civil society and human rights made in Security Council resolutions and the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. We have seen time and again that counter-terrorism cannot succeed through sheer force and hard security measures alone.

As I was reminded during my recent travels to Burkina Faso, Mali, Mauritania and the Niger, to be truly effective, as many have said, counter-terrorism needs to be nested in a whole-of-Government and whole-of-society effort. We have to nurture good governance, respect for human rights, access to education, health care and economic opportunity. We have to support Governments and their ability to deliver for their citizens. That is key to breaking the cycle of violent extremism.

As I saw in the Niger, we, the United States, can support security forces — that is important, and it is paramount for slowing terrorist activities — but it is not enough in a country in which half of the students are not in school. As President Bazoum of the Niger himself says, that kind of lack of education is a driver of the next generation of insecurity and terrorism. We must ensure that women and girls have safe access to education, health care and economic opportunity and that their communities and their countries are more stable and more prosperous. That is why we are focused on implementing the current, robust global counter-terrorism framework focused on a whole-of-society approach.

I also have to register the United States deep concern over the untenable situation in north-east Syria in the detention centres where the single-largest group of terrorists anywhere in the world currently resides, and also over the Al-Hol displaced persons camp, with over 50,000 associated women and children. With approximately 10,000 foreign fighters in detention in north-east Syria, ISIS will seek to exploit regional instability to continue to pursue its “Breaking the Walls” campaign, freeing prisoners and replenishing its ranks. That is why we are working with all Council members to spearhead an urgent effort to improve security coordination and encourage countries to repatriate, rehabilitate, reintegrate and, where appropriate, prosecute their nationals who participate in violent extremism. As part of that approach, our Department of Defense is working to construct a new all-purpose detention facility in neighbouring Rumaylan that

will be managed by the Syrian Democratic Forces to securely and more humanely accommodate detainees.

Finally, I would just note that I came from Washington, D.C., yesterday evening, where we are hosting 49 African Heads of State gathered for the United States-Africa Leaders Summit. Over the past few days, we have engaged in meaningful efforts to advance shared peace and security, spur economic growth, revitalize democracy, improve health infrastructure, overcome global food and energy insecurity, and tackle the climate crisis — priorities that everyone around this table shares. But all of those shared goals are put at risk by the pervasive threat of terrorism. And the inverse is also true: if we can make progress against those goals, we will drain the swamp where terrorism lives and thrives.

As we look collectively to overcome the cumulative destabilizing impact of the coronavirus disease, climate shocks and armed conflict, including Russia's brutal war on Ukraine, we cannot afford to fail.

Next year, the General Assembly will review the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. We urge the international community to unite to address the scourge of terrorism, because as Ms. Anjali Vijay Kulthe has reminded us in painful detail, the consequences of failure must not be acceptable to any of us.

Lord Ahmad (United Kingdom): Before I proceed, I would like to join others and express the deepest condolences to my dear friend Mr. Simon Coveney and all the people of Ireland with regard to the tragic loss of a peacekeeper in Lebanon, someone who was doing his job. Indeed, in extending our prayers and best wishes for the recovery of those injured, I join with him once again in our strong solidarity with those who represent this Organization on the world stage and in some of the most difficult places in the world and, ultimately, as we have seen, tragically, pay with their lives. We pay tribute to their bravery and courage, and our prayers and best wishes go out for the quick recovery of those injured.

I would first like to thank you, Mr. President. It is a great pleasure to join this Security Council meeting under your stewardship. I pay tribute to India for its stewardship and contributions to the Security Council, in particular on the issue of counter-terrorism, during its Council tenure. The Government of India deserves immense credit for the focus it has brought to the issue

of counter-terrorism and what lies beneath and drives terrorism, which is a perverse ideology of extremism. We need to work together to counter that.

I would also like to join in thanking our three briefers: Mr. Voronkov, who I know well — I am sorry to not see him in person today, Mr. Chen and Ms. Anjali Vijay Kulthe, whose inspiring testimony of bravery and courage we heard.

I was delighted that my dear friend the Foreign Secretary was able to join the meetings that India has led, in particular the excellent Counter-Terrorism Committee meetings in Mumbai and New Delhi, and set out our strong position of working together with India, and indeed all international partners, to counter the global threat of international terrorism. It is a threat that is ever-evolving and is becoming ever-more complex. It requires collective and comprehensive solutions and responses.

Terrorist groups, including Al-Qaida, which operate today in Afghanistan and beyond, and the Da'esh affiliates — Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab, to name but two — are continuing to work across different parts of the world and inflict human suffering on innocent lives and innocent people and destroy communities around the world.

But we also need to recognize and be cognizant to the fact that those terrorist organizations are increasingly employing new methods of radicalization, the driver of terrorism and evolving tactics. They use technology in innovative ways. Even in the United Kingdom, we continue to face that challenge. Young minds are being corrupted. The front door is circumvented as technology is used as a tool to radicalize young men and women. Those evolving tactics require a response from us as well to ensure that we counter that abhorrent ideology. We must also make effective use of our sanctions regimes to prevent terrorists from acquiring weapons and financing. We must adapt and evolve our own counter-terrorism efforts, prevent terrorist exploitation of emerging technologies, and indeed of vulnerable communities. Radicalization takes place through innovative technology means. We need to ensure we counter it through similar measures.

As we tackle terrorism, we must be vigilant and uphold three important principles.

First, we urge all colleagues, friends and Member States to address the real drivers of terrorism and violent

extremism, using a whole-of-society approach. We must work with communities and faith leaders to address and eradicate the perverse ideologies that are used to drive the abhorrent crimes of terrorism. The United Kingdom is working with its partners to understand how the United Nations can better incorporate civil society perspectives into its work.

Secondly, our policy and programming should understand and address the gender dynamics of terrorism. We know that terrorists and violent extremists are perpetrators of sexual violence. Two weeks ago, I had the honour to host, on behalf of the United Kingdom, an international conference on preventing sexual violence in conflict aimed at strengthening the global response. I was honoured to host, among others, Nobel Peace Prize laureate Nadia Murad and many other survivors of sexual violence, who spoke about the need for Governments to do more to end those atrocities.

And there is also an important solution. In hearing Ms. Anjali Vijay Kulthe today and her bravery and courage, we need to ensure that we work with those who survive, those who experience the scourge of terrorism, hand in glove to ensure they inform our policies and what we can also do in working together to eradicate extremist ideology.

We also — and I join with the Foreign Minister of Ireland in this — ask why in 2022 we are having this conversation on involving more women. It seems almost illogical that women today have to be subject to debates and conversations on getting them seats at the main table, and not in some side room, in pursuit of solutions. We need to address this issue and address it now. We need to ensure that Member States everywhere involve women, and we must take the lead in ensuring that women are pivotal to developing strategies to prevent and counter violent extremism and terrorism. Those strategies must also address activities that specifically target women, not only as victims and influencers in communities, but also as potential perpetrators.

Thirdly, I wanted to touch upon the importance of human rights in our responses. As the Security Council, we have the obligation under international law to protect and promote human rights. States must therefore act within the bounds of such law when countering terrorism. Otherwise, we undermine the very rights and freedoms that the United Nations was established to promote.

In conclusion, the Security Council has a vitally important role to play in tackling the scourge of terrorism, which tragically continues to destroy innocent lives around the world today. To those lives lost, whom we remembered at the start of today's meeting, we owe it to act together and to act now.

Mr. Sing'oei (Kenya): At the outset, I should like to convey Kenya's condolences to His Excellency Mr. Simon Coveney and to the Republic of Ireland on the unfortunate killing of their peacekeeper in the mission in Lebanon. This underscores the need to act together to ensure the protection of all peacekeepers as they carry out their critical mandates.

I wish to congratulate the President of the Security Council for convening this important event. I also commend India's stewardship of the Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee over the last 12 months. The Committee's historic adoption of the Delhi Declaration of the Counter-Terrorism Committee on countering the use of new and emerging technologies for terrorist purposes this October reflects this leadership.

I also thank Mr. Vladimir Voronkov and Mr. Weixiong Chen for their briefings. Ms. Anjali Vijay Kulthe's story as a survivor of terrorism is one of courage and resilience. She is an inspiration to many around the world who have suffered from these heinous acts.

Terrorism and violent extremism constitute grave threats to international peace and security. The bulk of the Security Council's counter-terrorism measures are responses to the prominent targeting of Member States by Al-Qaida and its affiliates, the 11 September 2001 attacks here in New York being a prime example. Unfortunately, despite the many counter-measures that have been instituted since then, this threat is persisting and even spreading dangerously.

In several parts of Africa, terrorist groups, with the support of foreign terrorist fighters and inspired by Al-Qaida and Da'esh ideologies, are destabilizing and even holding Governments to ransom. They are exploiting intercommunal tensions to expand their recruitment and radicalization and intensify attacks across the continent.

Kenya's counter-terrorism effort is multi-agency and multisectoral. The lessons we have learned in building it may serve as a useful example to others. In the last five years, we have developed some of

the most advanced disengagement and reintegration capabilities in the world. Operational decision-making is undertaken from the national to the local level and includes multiple security and non-security institutions. The Government's intelligence, criminal justice and administrative structures work hand in hand with each other. Every one of Kenya's 47 subnational counties has developed prevention strategies, which are at different stages of implementation.

Civil society is equally involved, reflecting the Kenyan peoples' commitment to the national priority of preventing and defeating terrorists. Over time, this has contributed to a marked reduction in the number of attacks, and, critically, it has blocked off any public legitimacy, in any section of our citizenry, for terrorist groups. In the light of this, and bearing in mind the need for a unified front to ensure effective and sustained counter-terrorism, I wish to make five recommendations.

First, counter-terrorism against groups affiliated with Al-Qaida and the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) should never cede ground to these groups' extreme political demands and should offer no path to legitimacy. Too often, counter-terrorism is too kinetic and narrowly technical. It misses the essentially political, social and even cultural dimensions of the threat. Accordingly, counter-terrorism measures that serve to minimize the worst excesses of the terrorists without being adequate enough to realize sustained victory are often deployed. The United Nations and its States Members must add political, economic and social tools to their counter-terrorism efforts.

They must also make it clear that terrorism will not offer terrorist groups or militants who employ this form of violence a path to political legitimacy or power. Campaigns to negotiate with militant groups affiliated with Al-Qaida and ISIL should differentiate between factions that are willing and able to renounce transnational terrorism and aims opposed to the United Nations Charter and its articulation in national constitutional and legal regimes.

Secondly, counter-terrorism must be linked to broader State and civil efforts to deal with its root causes. Political exclusion and marginalization, lack of economic opportunities, weak governance, persistent armed conflicts and serious historical grievances create conditions for militancy that escalates into terrorism. In addition, the illegal exploitation of natural

resources, returning foreign fighters and natural resource conflicts, particularly in populations dealing with the effects of climate change, are compounding agents. In short, fundamental changes in development and improved governance, reflected in inclusive and competent government, are requirements for overcoming the spread and entrenchment of groups affiliated with Al-Qaida and ISIL.

Thirdly: The full weight of the Security Council's counter-terrorism measures must be brought to bear in equal measure and without discrimination. Kenya has consistently called for the application of the sanctions regime established pursuant to resolution 1267 (1999) on all affiliates of Al-Qaida, particularly Al-Shabaab, but a few members of this Council have resisted this call, even as they unilaterally sanction the group for the same reasons for which we seek its inclusion in United Nations sanctions.

Last December, we negotiated for a humanitarian carve-out for resolution 1267 (1999). We are glad to see that our aim has been realized in a humanitarian carve-out resolution (resolution 2664 (2022)). We hope that this will clear the way for the listing of all groups that are formally and operationally linked to Al-Qaida and ISIL. We agree with India that the de facto practice in the Security Council of classifying terrorists in inconsistent and opaque ways must be brought to an end if our counter-terrorism efforts are to succeed.

Fourthly, at the technical level, cooperation in information-sharing and capacity-building is critical. We encourage enhanced collaboration at regional and global levels, including on capacity-building initiatives by States that have advanced the prevention and countering of terrorism and violent extremism. We commend continued efforts of United Nations counter-terrorism entities in coordinating technical assistance and capacity-building to support Member States in this respect.

Fifthly, in view of the current technological trends, we need to build partnerships on digital space and new technologies. Partnerships with Internet providers and social-media organizations can buttress the ability and efforts of national authorities to detect and disrupt online terrorism activities, including modes of terrorism, resource mobilization and financing. We must also support States to develop measures and capabilities to regulate new technologies, such as

drones and virtual currencies, and to counter the use of improvised explosive devices by terrorists.

In conclusion, I reaffirm Kenya's unreserved commitment to the fight against terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

Mr. Cleland (Ghana): Ghana conveys its deep condolences to Ireland on the unfortunate loss of lives of peacekeepers while serving a worthy cause for humankind. We are also grateful to the two briefers — Mr. Voronkov and Mr. Weixiong Chen — for providing excellent contexts for our discussions. Finally, we commend Ms. Kulthe on her bravery and courage to share her story with the international community.

Ghana commends India's choice of the theme for this Security Council debate. I believe that this discussion will engender a renewed sense of urgency among States and give added impetus to existing efforts to address the menacing activities of terrorists.

We once again thank Under-Secretary-General Vladimir Voronkov and Acting Executive Director Weixiong Chen for setting the stage for what promises to be an open and frank discussion on a matter that must be at the top of the Council's agenda. We acknowledge the efforts of the Office of Counter-Terrorism (UNOCT) in assisting Member States in implementing the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy and encourage further collaboration between the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and Member States in the face of the rising threat of terrorism.

Terrorism represents the most significant evolution of the threats to international peace and security, which the Council is mandated to address. It represents a huge burden on our fragile security architecture, as it converges with existing security threats to expose weaknesses in national, regional and global mechanisms to protect our people. And it affects nations, regions and our international community in profound ways, setting back our progress as a civilization.

The urgency to act becomes more pressing by the day, as emboldened terrorists now seek to gain access to maritime resources, more endowed territory and highly urbanized and more developed terrain. The nature and gravity of the threat to international peace and security and to international commerce and investments needs no further elaboration. And it strikes at the heart of our efforts to achieve the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development as the attacks compound the development

challenges facing the communities worst affected by terrorism.

In order to respond to the daunting challenges posed by terrorism and violent extremism, our collective response must match the gravity of the threat to all our countries. The transnational character of terrorism warrants our global approach and coordinated action. In that context, Ghana reaffirms its commitment to the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy and the implementation of all four pillars of the Strategy in the ongoing war against international terrorism. We will continue to work with all Member States in that regard.

Against that backdrop, I wish make several key points.

Despite the continuing absence of a definition of terrorism, the international community cannot afford a lack of unity in its actions to counter the threat posed by terrorist groups. We believe that, to successfully detect, disrupt and deter terrorist acts, we need a shared vision, a common understanding and equal commitment to implement counter-terrorism frameworks, particularly through proactive national initiatives and improved international collaboration. Such a goal requires the Council and the wider international community to adopt a zero-excuse and zero-tolerance policy when it comes to the treatment of terrorist groups. There should be no differentiation between terrorist groups, as differential treatment would only undermine efforts to combat terrorism in a balanced manner.

Terrorist groups engage in illicit trade in natural resources, raise revenue from illegal taxes imposed in territories they control and use the dark web to raise and move funding. Our aim must be to dry up those sources of funding for their nefarious activities. To do so, countries affected by terrorists and their networks must be adequately supported with the funding needed to undertake operations to monitor the movement of money in and out of their borders and to regain control of the territories controlled by terrorists.

Member States on the front lines of terrorism therefore require greater international solidarity, especially in these difficult times, when three years of multiple crises have diminished the capacity to counter terrorism. We equally encourage enhanced budgetary support for UNOCT and call for sustained funding for the implementation of the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy.

Before concluding, let me briefly share some elements of Ghana's implementation of the Strategy, with a strong focus on prevention as the primary objective that needs to be pursued in addressing terrorism. Ghana has adopted a whole-of-society approach by involving the private sector and civil society organizations in addressing the underlying motivations for terrorism, while also taking a gender-sensitive approach to combating terrorism. That is helping to reduce the vulnerability of youth groups to radicalization and recruitment through the opening up of further opportunities for them to fulfil their legitimate aspirations. We have also undertaken a wide array of measures for institutional development and to safeguard vulnerable communities, critical national infrastructure, mobility corridors and public places and cyberspace, corresponding to the second pillar of the Strategy.

Within the context of the third pillar of the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, we continue cooperation with the Economic Community of West African States, the African Union and the United Nations and believe in strong partnerships for regional-led counter-insurgency operations, as well as cross-regional intelligence-sharing in order to halt cross-border collaboration among terrorist groups. In that regard, we urge sustained international support for regional mechanisms such as the Accra Initiative, which facilitates intelligence- and information-sharing on questions of terrorism, transnational organized crime and violent extremism, in relation to the expansionist agenda of terrorist groups from the Sahel region.

Finally, we believe in the complementary and mutually reinforcing nature of counter-terrorism measures and the protection of human rights, as envisaged by the fourth pillar. In our national strategy for the prevention and suppression of terrorism, special attention has been placed on the protection of human rights, and all measures taken to combat terrorism fully comply with our national Constitution, which has some of the highest standards of human rights, as well as with our obligations under international law, in particular human rights law, refugee law and international humanitarian law.

Let me conclude by reiterating Ghana's commitment to working with all States Members of the United Nations in efforts to prevent and eliminate terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. Although much work remains, our determination to overcome our differences

is what would ultimately yield the desired outcomes. We therefore look forward to next year's discussions on the implementation of the Counter-Terrorism Strategy.

Ms. Juul (Norway): I thank the President and the Foreign Minister for convening today's important meeting. Let me also first extend my condolences to Ireland for the peacekeeper killed and those injured in yesterday's tragic attack in Lebanon. I would also like to thank today's briefers for their insightful and thought-provoking remarks and testimony.

Two decades ago, during Norway's previous term on the Council, the 11 September attacks shocked the world and triggered a profound shift in global security policy — one that recognized international terrorism as a global threat. Since then, the multilateral counter-terrorism architecture has grown at a rapid pace and now forms a key part of the broader peace and security agenda. This therefore is an opportune moment to take stock of these efforts and consider both their strengths and deficiencies as we reflect on the way forward.

There is no doubt that notable success has been achieved. Al-Qaida is severely degraded and no longer capable of conducting complex attacks on the scale of 11 September 2001. The Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) has been territorially defeated in its core area. And, according to the latest Global Terrorism Index, global deaths from terrorism are nearly 60 per cent below their peak in 2014.

Yet we have also witnessed more troubling trends emerging. Africa is now the continent most affected by terrorism. ISIL and Al-Qaida affiliates have strategically exploited armed conflict, weak governance and local grievances in order to radicalize and recruit. In many other parts of the world, right-wing extremism is on the rise. And new and emerging technologies are increasingly susceptible to misuse for terrorist purposes.

Moreover, in some contexts, counter-terrorism measures have had grave implications for human rights. Over the past two decades, in the absence of an internationally agreed definition of terrorism, some Governments have deployed counter-terrorism measures that violate a broad range of rights. And sometimes they are used to target political opposition, thereby shrinking civic space. Some counter-terrorism measures have also had unintended negative consequences for humanitarian action, such as adversely affecting vulnerable people's access to much-

needed humanitarian assistance and protection. The newly adopted resolution 2664 (2022), however, can be an important tool to address that issue.

In sum, we must acknowledge that the international community is up against a threat it cannot define, with no clear success criteria, and which, in some contexts, is exploited to justify repressive measures. That is counterproductive to national and international efforts to combat terrorism. Those challenges must be addressed.

Allow me to underscore three points that Norway considers crucial in guiding our collective efforts moving forward.

First, our counter-terrorism approach must be holistic and form part of a broader political strategy—one that is preventive, conflict-sensitive, gender-responsive and regionally integrated. Addressing root causes through the promotion of the rule of law, sustainable development and human rights is essential.

Secondly, those efforts should be rooted in a whole-of-Government and whole-of-society approach that marshals cross-sectoral public resources, recognizes the importance of women's participation and institutionalizes strategic engagement with civil society in the development and implementation of counter-terrorism measures.

Thirdly, human rights must be respected at all times, including in the context of counter-terrorism. On the multilateral level, all United Nations counter-terrorism entities should continue to mainstream human rights considerations across their work. For instance, the Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate should further integrate human rights in its assessment activities and use the resulting data to inform its analytical products.

In conclusion, Norway believes these principles are key to strengthening future counter-terrorism efforts. It is our hope that they be adhered to and that, in another 20 years, the issue will no longer be on our agenda.

Mr. De Rivière (France) (*spoke in French*): At the outset, I express the condolences of France to Ireland following the death of one of its peacekeepers in Lebanon.

I thank India for organizing this debate. I also thank the Under-Secretary-General and the representative of the Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive

Directorate for their briefings, and I thank Ms. Kulthe for her testimony.

The terrorist threat is not diminishing; it is spreading and diversifying. Jihadism remains the most acute and deadly terrorist threat worldwide. Far from having disappeared, the threat from Al-Qaida and Da'esh continues to evolve. Present in the Sahel, these groups are expanding towards the Gulf of Guinea, Central and Southern Africa and the Horn of Africa. In the Levant, the territorial defeat of Da'esh should not lead us to lower our guard. The Taliban takeover and recent developments confirm our fears that these terrorist groups may again find a safe haven in Afghanistan. The pandemic has also highlighted the vulnerability of our societies to new and emerging manifestations of terrorism, such as politically and ideologically motivated terrorism. That is taking place in a general context of deteriorating security, as illustrated by the return of war to the European continent. The means to combat this scourge must therefore evolve.

That is why the Counter-Terrorism Committee, with the support of its Executive Directorate, has rightly highlighted key aspects this year, in particular at an important meeting held in October in India. They include continued efforts to counter the diversion of financial innovation for terrorist financing. Resolution 2462 (2019) enabled progress in that regard. France is now calling for the strengthening of international cooperation and the implementation of the recommendations of the Financial Action Task Force.

These efforts also include the fight against the misuse of the Internet for terrorist purposes. President Macron and the Prime Minister of New Zealand launched the Christchurch Call to Action on 15 May 2019 in Paris. An essential dialogue with digital platforms has been initiated. The third Call to Action summit, held during the General Assembly's high-level week, confirmed the commitment of States and private actors to curb the circulation of terrorist propaganda on the Internet.

To be fully effective, our fight against terrorism must be part of a comprehensive response, including development assistance, strengthening governance and the rule of law and fighting corruption. We must also respond to the fundamental challenges of climate change and the links between terrorism and resource trafficking and, more generally, with crimes affecting the environment. France will continue to advocate for

the implementation of this comprehensive approach, which addresses the root causes of terrorism, while respecting human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Mr. Hoxha (Albania): Let me join others in expressing our condolences and heartfelt sympathy to Ireland for the loss of a peacekeeper in Lebanon. He was working to implement a mandate adopted by the Security Council, and we owe him and everyone working on behalf of the United Nations infinite gratitude and respect.

I thank Under-Secretary-General Voronkov and Acting Director Weixiong Chen for their valuable inputs, as well as Ms. Kulthe for her sobering and painful account.

We share the same assessment: terrorism remains a serious threat to global peace and security, and we must respond effectively and decisively. Yesterday, we shared views about multilateralism and joint efforts to face and deal with common challenges (see S/PV.9220). Countering and fighting terrorism is an area par excellence where, for all of us to succeed, we need to plan and act jointly, continuously and in a coordinated manner.

Albania has continuously and unequivocally condemned, in the strongest possible terms, any act of terrorism, committed wherever and by whomsoever. There is no justification whatsoever for terrorism or terrorist ideologies and activities. Terror represents an affront to all humankind and its values.

Terrorist organizations such as Da'esh and Al-Qaida have been defeated, but they have not disappeared. They continue to gather financial resources to enhance their activities, including through the use of new technologies.

Terrorism continues to thrive in armed conflict zones where rule-of-law institutions and human rights have broken down. It flourishes where poverty and hopelessness rule, especially among young people. Inequality, intercommunal conflicts, xenophobia and injustice often serve as fertile ground for terrorist groups to grow.

The increased activity of Da'esh, Al-Shabaab, the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant-Khorasan Province and Boko Haram and their ability to attack, move, fundraise and communicate transnationally, exploit new technologies to spread their hateful propaganda, brainwash new recruits and stay ahead of counter-

terrorist measures point to the troubling reality that our existing policies are not working as effectively as they should. It shows that repressive policies and forceful means alone are not enough.

We are all aware of the ever-growing impact of new technologies in every aspect of development and life. That makes cyberdefence a priority matter of national security for everyone. Cyber is a tool used not only by criminals but also by terrorists, be they State or non-State actors. We experienced it ourselves in July. It is therefore imperative that we keep cyberdefence on top of the multilateral counter-terrorism agenda by working together to ensure appropriate responses fit for our times and the digital age.

Prevention is critical in our common fight against terrorism. We need to win the hearts and minds of the people, of young people in particular, before the terrorist do. We need to put bespoke programmes in place that address, in a comprehensive and sustainable manner, the manifold drivers of terrorism. Prevention requires good and transparent governance, development, the rule of law, human rights, accountable institutions and health care, including new forms of outreach through educational programmes. To that end, we believe that the role of civil society, including religious communities, is crucial. All preventive measures require time, energy and a lot of resources, but in the long run they are far more useful than taxing. Above all, they put people and victims of terrorism at the centre of efforts.

We must always be aware that repressive policies can also be used, unfortunately, to deny basic rights and exacerbate grievances and potential for added violence. We must always remember that successful counter-terrorism and prevention of violent extremism efforts must be rooted in respect for human rights, including the freedom of expression and the rule of law. Efforts to counter terrorism become counterproductive when used as a pretext to restrain the freedom of religion or belief and other human rights and fundamental freedoms, when they target members of minorities and when they are used for repressive surveillance or for coercive population control. Such measures have little, if anything, to do with counter-terrorism. They are human rights violations and abuses.

We believe close cooperation is critical to finding solutions. That is why Albania has 16 regional and international agreements on border management, exchange of data and mutual support. Through

prevention, close cooperation and coordination, we will be better equipped to deal with this and other collective challenges. We highly value the support of the Office of Counter-Terrorism to Member States in developing comprehensive assistance plans to better support victims of terrorism.

The unity of the Council on the nature of the threat and the means to deal with it is vital for our collective success, as demonstrated with the landmark unanimous adoption of resolution 1267 (1999). That spirit should continue and prevail, not become a victim of narrow interests that prevent the Council from discharging its responsibilities.

We must never forget that war begins in the minds of men, and it is precisely there we need to work when developing a comprehensive strategy to defeat terrorism and enable people to lead normal lives in peace and dignity. We must spare no effort to prevent the direct or indirect incitement to terror acts, any glorification of violence or of criminals, to stand strongly against hate speech and discrimination, while staying true to our tenet that terrorism cannot and should not be associated with any religion, nationality, civilization or ethnic group. For us there is no doubt — it is through continued collective action that we will be able to successfully fight terrorism, in all its forms and manifestations and wherever it occurs.

Mr. Zhang Jun (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I join my colleagues in expressing our condolences over the death of an Irish peacekeeper and injuries to three others in Lebanon yesterday. We also convey our condolences to the bereaved families and to the Government of Ireland.

I welcome His Excellency Foreign Minister Jaishankar, who is presiding over today's meeting. I listened attentively to the briefings delivered by Under-Secretary-General Voronkov, Acting Executive Director Chen Weixiong and civil society representative Ms. Kulthe. I wish to take this opportunity to thank the Office of Counter-Terrorism (UNOCT) and the Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate for their important contributions to the global counter-terrorism endeavour.

Combating terrorism is the shared responsibility of the international community and a major duty of the Security Council. Thanks to years of efforts, progress has been made in international counter-terrorism cooperation. Yet the situation is still grave, and much

remains to be done. Hence the need for continued efforts by the international community.

As we speak, global terrorist activities are multiplying even faster, with terrorist groups such as Da'esh, Al-Qaida and the Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement running amok. Recently, the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant-Khorasan Province attacked a hotel in Kabul, Afghanistan, resulting in casualties. China strongly condemns that attack and supports Afghanistan in combating all forms of terrorism and violence. That terrorist attack is yet another stark reminder that terrorism is the public enemy of humankind and that the international community must step up coordination and cooperation in order to effectively combat terrorism and to do everything possible to prevent the spread of terrorist forces.

I wish to underscore the following three points.

First, we should further consolidate political will on counter-terrorism cooperation and maximize synergy. Terrorism is a global challenge. The prevalence of that phenomenon, the complexity of organizational networks, the frequent movements of terrorists and terrorism's extremely deleterious effects are beyond the capacity of any one country to tackle on its own. All countries should be aware that we are a community of shared security. It is our common interests to comprehensively, accurately and steadfastly implement all counter-terrorism resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and crack down on all terrorist organizations and individuals listed by the Council.

In recent years, certain countries backpedalled on terrorism issues. China finds that deeply regrettable. Those politicizing and instrumentalizing counter-terrorism issues and pursuing double standards or a selective approach that will ultimately harm themselves and others and undermine global counter-terrorism cooperation as a whole. In the face of the common threat of terrorism, all parties should abandon geopolitical calculations and ideological biases, earnestly step up practical counter-terrorism cooperation in the judicial and other fields, support the Organization's central coordinating role and expedite negotiations on a comprehensive convention on international terrorism.

Secondly, we should further optimize resource allocation, with a greater focus on the regions of the highest priority and the most pressing issues in counter-terrorism cooperation. In recent years, the direct

terrorist threats faced by developed countries have decreased, leading to a relative decline in investment in counter-terrorism cooperation and, consequently, a global shortfall in counter-terrorism resources. Regions such as Africa, the Middle East and Central Asia are at the forefront of global counter-terrorism efforts. Those regions face most the direct terrorist threats and suffer the most serious terrorist attacks. Their need for upgraded counter-terrorism capabilities are therefore the most urgent. In the light of that need, the United Nations and the international community should appropriately increase resource allocation in order to help developing countries strengthen their counter-terrorism capacities at the legislative, judicial and law-enforcement levels. The counter-terrorism situation varies from one region to another. We therefore need contextualized and targeted measures if we are to prevent terrorists from abusing the Internet and new and emerging technologies in order to incite, plan and carry out terrorist acts or to recruit and finance. We should take the threats posed by the backflow of foreign terrorist fighters seriously and make proper repatriation and resettlement plans for those terrorist fighters stranded in foreign countries. Efforts must be made to effectively block the diverse channels of terrorist financing, and a multipronged approach should be taken to sever the ties between terrorism and organized crime.

Thirdly, we must continue to address both the symptoms and root causes of terrorism and strive to eradicate the terrorist scourge at its source. Military means alone can hardly achieve this. We must give equal emphasis to tackling both the symptoms and root causes and to harnessing political, economic, judicial and other means to respond holistically. It is essential to pursue political solutions to hot-spot issues, help countries concerned and improve their humanitarian situation, as well as prevent terrorist forces from feeding on instability.

Underdevelopment is one root driver of terrorist forces' inception and growth. While resolutely fighting all terrorists, countries should give due regard to economic recovery, poverty eradication, education and employment. They should also pursue sustainable development pathways tailored to their own national conditions, so as to minimize the living space for extremist ideologies and gradually eliminate the breeding ground for terrorism. At present, the global development cause has been suffering setbacks.

Developing countries urgently need more international support. The international community should place the development agenda front and centre, increase development assistance and help countries concerned root out terrorism through development.

China has always attached great importance to and been actively engaged in international counter-terrorism cooperation. In recent years, through the China-United Nations Peace and Development Fund, we have supported the projects of UNOCT and other agencies, and by conducting trainings, providing equipment and holding cross-border counter-terrorism seminars, we have helped countries in Africa and Central Asia prevent and combat terrorism.

Chinese President Xi Jinping put forward the Global Security Initiative and the Global Development Initiative, advocating a common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security concept in service of the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. This is of major practical significance for deepening international counter-terrorism cooperation, eliminating the root causes of terrorism and maintaining common security and development. China stands ready to work with all parties to implement these two major initiatives and make new contributions to international counter-terrorism endeavours.

Mr. Nebenzia (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Allow me, first of all, to express our condolences to the delegation of Ireland following the death of the Irish peacekeeper in Lebanon.

We thank the Indian delegation for convening the meeting today on such a relevant topic, and we express our support for all victims of terrorism, represented here today by Ms. Kulthe. We thank Mr. Voronkov and Mr. Weixiong Chen for their detailed analyses of the threats that we are facing and overviews of the situation in countering terrorism as a whole. We are grateful for the efforts of the Office of Counter-Terrorism and the Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate in countering terrorism. The work of these bodies in striving to react to current trends gives us hope that the existing international counter-terrorism architecture will continue to be capable of tackling the new and emerging threats and challenges.

The coordinating role of the United Nations, the principle of affected States having primary responsibility, and respect for States' sovereignty, national characteristics and priorities are the fundamental

conditions on which international cooperation should be built. Let me recall in this regard that the United Nations counter-terrorism mechanism — first and foremost in the Security Council — is already developed. It is up to Member States to implement the commitments they undertook. It is only in this way that we will come closer to the desired outcome, namely, reducing the threat of terrorism. In order to be successful in this context, some, of course, will have to display strong political will, and some will have to reject their policies of double standards.

Eradicating the phenomenon of terrorism is impossible until such time and for as long as terrorists are being used for geopolitical purposes and are being separated into categories of good, bad and not-too-bad terrorists. Unfortunately, we have more than enough examples of this being done, and we were subjected to this approach ourselves when we were conducting counter-terrorism operations in our own territory in the 1990s, as well as during the period in which the fight against the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) in Syria was ongoing.

International terrorists found sponsors for themselves. They were being trained in third countries, which supplied them with money and weapons. Subsequently, they were provided with shelter, and they were even granted political refugee status. Even more outrageously, there were even attempts to present hardened terrorist organizations as opposition parties or humanitarians, but the outcome of this was the same: then as now, criminals remain criminals, and when they are endorsed by sponsors and have the freedom of manoeuvre, they continue to advance their terrorist ideology. They continue to organize and perpetrate terrorist attacks, and they often even turn their weapons against their forebears, as was the case with Al-Qaida and ISIL. Evil always returns like a boomerang, and when it happens, an international coalition needs to be formed to combat it.

In November, we received the report of the Secretary General entitled “Terrorist attacks on the basis of xenophobia, racism and other forms of intolerance, or in the name of religion or belief” (A/77/266). In this regard, we would like to draw attention to an important detail. The report shows that there is a regional aspect to such attacks, as they are localized in the countries of Western and Eastern Europe, North America, Australia and Oceania. Because of this, there is reason to believe that these regions are characterized by certain trends.

It remains for us to determine what the root cause in Western society for this phenomenon is. Why has it come into being there? And why is it progressing so rapidly?

We also have questions with regard to the conceptual approaches to countering terrorism, in particular the creation of a separate category for some kind of “violent extremist”. The seemingly harmless use of language could lead to serious consequences, keeping us from combating terrorism, breaking our focus and devaluing our joint efforts in this regard, while the terrorists themselves end up being sheltered from the international prosecution mechanism. We are witnessing attempts to pack Security Council documents on counter-terrorism with human rights dimensions, including the gender dimension. We are left with the impression that catchy statements are being made for the sake of making such statements, or to shift the focus away from one’s own unsavoury record.

Many of those who are vocal advocates for human rights in the counter-terrorism context have to date done nothing to investigate the horrific instances of torture, abuse and extrajudicial killings of people accused of terrorism or under investigation in the prisons of Afghanistan, Iraq or other countries where special secret jails were located. Do we know anything about those who have been found guilty in these cases? Have there been any proceedings at all? Who has been brought to account under these proceedings?

Could our colleagues tell us anything at all about the functioning of the prison in Guantanamo? That is indeed a very striking example of human rights violations in the context of countering terrorism. Incidentally, for 10 years now, promises to close Guantanamo have been made. Unfortunately, these promises remain empty, which shows that every time new human rights wording is proposed, these countries think that this language is addressed to everyone but themselves.

In conclusion, I would like to thank India, which has focused so much attention during its Council presidency on the issue of coordinating the international community’s efforts to counter terrorism. Unfortunately, the threat of terrorism is changing very quickly. It takes on new forms and adapts the most advanced technologies to its needs. We are convinced that countering terrorism can only be done by acting together, with strict adherence to the norms and principles of international law, including

the United Nations Charter, with the United Nations playing a central and coordinating role, and by paying due regard to the primary responsibility of States in countering terrorism.

Mr. De la Fuente Ramírez (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): Allow me to express my country's condolences to the delegation of Ireland on the death in the line of duty of their compatriot.

We thank Under-Secretary-General Voronkov and CTED Acting Executive Director Chen for their briefings, and we particularly appreciate the courageous testimony of nurse Anjali Kulthe. We welcome the fact that India has convened us for this meeting to address one of the most urgent and sensitive issues facing us all, because terrorism is undoubtedly a threat to us all.

Mexico believes that it is important to take a preventive approach that is more effective than that used so far in addressing the threat posed by international terrorism, with an emphasis on sustainable development and the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. As we have reiterated on numerous occasions, the real fight against terrorism must be carried out through development and creating opportunities for employment, education and improved living conditions, and the guarantee of the full enjoyment of human rights and gender equality. Accordingly, Mexico considers it necessary to incorporate the impact of concepts of masculinity into our strategy to prevent terrorism, as has been recognized in the report of the Secretary General of 26 July (S/2022/576).

Combating terrorism also requires full adherence to the rule of law and unrestricted respect for international law, in particular international humanitarian law and international human rights law. We are concerned about the ongoing invocation of legitimate self-defence when using force against non-State actors in a third State, under the so-called unwilling and unable doctrine. We reiterate that these interpretations go beyond the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter.

We also continue to be concerned about the expressions of discrimination and violence that emanate from intolerance and xenophobia, and we take this opportunity to stress once again the urgency of curbing the proliferation of hate speech. In the same vein, it is necessary to comply with the restrictions on access to small arms and light weapons, as well as the need to strengthen efforts to prevent, combat and eliminate

illicit trafficking in these weapons. We are well aware that they are very often used in acts of terrorism.

All of the foregoing must go hand in hand with activities coordinated to strengthen national justice systems and law-enforcement agencies in order to effectively punish the perpetrators of criminal acts in accordance with the law, in full compliance with the norms of due process. Under this logic, it is incumbent upon the General Assembly to channel efforts to prevent and combat terrorism. If the root causes are not addressed, mere sanctions and the use of force encourage cycles of violence and are clearly limited in their beneficial effects.

A serious problem is the absence of an internationally agreed definition of terrorism, which contributes to blurring the lines within which actions to combat terrorism are framed to the detriment of respect for international law. The negotiation of a general convention on international terrorism, which gives legal certainty around this phenomenon and puts an end to unilateral designations, is necessary as a priority matter.

Finally, we naturally welcome the adoption last week of resolution 2664 (2022), which establishes a humanitarian exception to all sanctions regimes for the first time. Given the great impact that counter-terrorism operations authorized by the Security Council have had on humanitarian organizations, especially in the light of the sanctions regime established under resolution 1267 (1999), Mexico has on numerous occasions raised the issue of the importance of having such safeguards in place. We are confident that this resolution will contribute to guaranteeing the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the places where it is most needed and that it will protect humanitarian personnel, especially health-care personnel, from being criminalized for carrying out their mandate.

Mr. Costa Filho (Brazil): I would like to join other speakers in conveying to the people and the Government of Ireland our very deep condolences on the loss of the peacekeeper in Lebanon yesterday. As a United Nations peacekeeper, he was one of our own, and it is fitting that we all mourn his passing.

Madam President, I am honoured to participate in this briefing under your presidency. I would like to congratulate India for its successful tenure in the Security Council and for its efforts in building consensus on the presidential statement that we are going to adopt today.

I would also like to thank Mr. Voronkov, Mr. Chen and Ms. Kulthe for their informative briefings.

Brazil welcomes the topic chosen for today's debate and would like to share some of the principles that guide my country's approach to counter-terrorism.

The repudiation of terrorism is a principle enshrined in Brazil's Constitution. We strongly condemn terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and reiterate that there is no justification for terrorist acts.

The lack of an internationally agreed upon definition of terrorism weakens our ability to cope with the phenomenon. It affects the cohesion of global efforts to address terrorism and could lead to the application of double standards. It is imperative that we overcome the stalemate in the Sixth Committee and work towards the adoption of a comprehensive convention on international terrorism.

The importance of upholding legality must guide any response to this phenomenon. Counter-terrorism has to be fully compliant with international law, including the Charter of the United Nations and its rules pertaining to the prohibition of the use of force, international human rights law, international humanitarian law and international refugee law. This entails guaranteeing respect for the freedom of association and expression and the right to privacy, attending to victims, enforcing standards for due process in the designation of terrorist individuals and entities, and designing sanctions regimes that do not affect vulnerable populations, worsen food crises or hinder neutral, impartial and independent humanitarian assistance. In this respect, I would like to express our recognition for the efforts of Ireland and the United States in coordinating efforts to ensure a horizontal humanitarian carve-out through resolution 2664 (2022), which is an undeniable step forward.

As the Security Council has already recognized, the nature and scope of possible linkages between terrorism and transnational organized crime vary considerably depending on the geographic, social and political context. There are no automatic linkages between these two phenomena. They demand different remedies and must be addressed in their respective forums.

Prevention should be central to any counter-terrorism strategy. This includes tackling its root causes, which are often linked to social, economic and political exclusion, food insecurity, inequality, xenophobia and

other human rights violations. Therefore, promoting sustainable development on an equitable basis as well as the rule of law and access to justice is important to addressing the conditions that lead to terrorism and the violent extremism that is conducive to terrorism. It is also essential to work towards the elimination of discrimination and stigmatization based on nationality, religion, gender or ethnicity. In the end, we must not forget that the persistence of protracted conflicts and regional tensions contributes to creating fertile ground for terrorist action.

National law enforcement and strong judicial institutions are also key to an effective counter-terrorism strategy. We must enhance international cooperation and technical assistance with a view to strengthening national capabilities to face terrorist threats. The United Nations is pivotal in facilitating this cooperation, and we commend the important role played by the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Coordination Compact entity. We also acknowledge the decisive contribution of regional and subregional organizations in building local capacity to fight terrorism.

As reflected in the recently approved Delhi Declaration, although new and emerging technologies may be misused to increase the reach of terrorism, they can also strengthen our ability to prevent and combat it. Their potential to foster economic opportunities and job creation can also contribute to addressing some of the root causes of terrorism.

Finally, the development of counter-terrorism strategies has to be inclusive. We must encourage the participation of women, civil society organizations, academia and the private sector. We must also pay special attention to the needs of children and vulnerable populations if we want to step up our capacity to address terrorism in the full diversity of its causes, manifestations and effects.

Let me conclude by mentioning that in the next six months the United Nations will have an opportunity to improve the most important framework it has in terms of the fight against terrorism. The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy emanates from its most representative body, the General Assembly, and therefore encompasses a wide range of views and needs. Brazil is ready for constructive engagement with Member States with a view to achieving ambitious results during the upcoming discussions.

Mr. Biang (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): I wish to convey my condolences to Ireland on the death of the Irish peacekeeper who fell on the field of operations in Lebanon.

I would like to congratulate India for its outstanding presidency and for initiating today's debate on the threat that terrorist acts continue to pose to international peace and security. I thank Under-Secretary-General Vladimir Voronkov and Executive Director Weixiong Chen for their inspiring briefings. I also thank Ms. Anjali Kulthe for her moving testimony.

Terrorist networks are constantly evolving and are clearly resilient, despite the international community's mobilization against them. Terrorist threats are increasing in magnitude and geographic reach, spreading to all the regions of the world. Governments are increasingly under pressure from populations fed up with growing insecurity, especially since political and economic measures seem to fall short of the urgency and firmness required to fight this scourge. It is a war that puts the limited capacities of countries to the test and destabilizes entire regions.

Between January and September of this year, 1,093 terrorist attacks were perpetrated in Africa, killing 7,816 people and injuring 1,772. According to these figures from the African Centre for Studies and Research on Terrorism, each of the five regions of the continent has had its share of victims among civilians, security forces and officials. This transnational threat is formidable, and no Government or organization can fight it alone. Concerted action at national, regional and global levels is crucial. Our action must be equally determined, multidimensional and based on the principles of multilateralism.

African leaders understand this. On 28 May 2022, the Heads of State and Government of the African Union, meeting in Malabo, adopted an important declaration in which they reaffirmed their commitment to combating all forms and manifestations of terrorism and extremist violence on the continent. This declaration strengthens the many regional initiatives to combat terrorism.

Gabon welcomes the measures taken in the binding normative framework to fight international terrorism and the measures to make international cooperation closer. But we must do more. Above all, we must ensure that the current polarization in the world does not lead to a weakening of multilateralism from which terrorist groups and their affiliates could dangerously benefit.

Above all, we must emphasize the need for a holistic approach that takes into full account the precarious socioeconomic conditions that make many disillusioned youth easy targets for radicalization and recruitment into terrorist organizations.

In the face of this scourge, we must agree on a number of cardinal principles, including, first, zero tolerance for all forms and manifestations of terrorism and extremist violence; secondly, the anchoring of our actions in strict adherence to international law and respect for the rule of law and relevant international instruments and protocols; thirdly, protection of our actions from any form of politicization through impeccable impartiality; and fourthly, the delegitimization of any justification for terrorism.

Terrorism is not caused by deficits in governance, but it continues to unravel and destabilize governance plans and efforts in developing countries and feeds at the needy table of societal fragilities. We need to pursue and consolidate our cooperation through information-sharing, the training of security and intelligence personnel, and, where appropriate, support for counter-terrorism operations that weaken terrorist groups, particularly along common borders, where very often State capacity and authority are limited. On the African continent, the Accra Initiative, which seeks to provide a coherent response that combines a military approach with long-term interventions to address governance deficits, is a benchmark approach in this regard.

We must tailor our response with coherence, because fragmented responses fuel the interests of terrorist groups, which exploit systemic flaws in order to ferment the soil for violence. Among these gaps are health crises, such as the coronavirus disease pandemic, and humanitarian crises, which are becoming increasingly complex owing to the effects of climate change, coupled with the rise in poverty and inequality inherent in recurring political and socioeconomic crises. Our collective action against terrorism therefore requires a comprehensive approach and appropriate measures to address the socioeconomic challenges facing affected countries, including education and training of youth; strengthening the authority of the State, particularly in fragile States; and improving the living conditions of disadvantaged populations.

Similarly, we must dry up the sources of financing for terrorist networks through consolidated

partnerships in the areas of intelligence on online monetary transactions; the illicit exploitation of natural resources; the fight against the circulation of small arms and light weapons; and combating human trafficking and kidnapping for ransom perpetrated by armed groups.

The United Nations must redouble its efforts, increase its avenues for action and firmly support peace initiatives and operations, in particular African initiatives. We must present a united front on counter-terrorism, and everyone must be fully committed. We must also continue our efforts to adopt an international convention on international terrorism, which would provide the most tangible illustration of the fact that our States and the peoples of the world unanimously condemn the threat of international terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

It is therefore important that we conduct an ongoing review of current sanctions regimes to ensure that they are tailored to the changing terrorist threat, in particular by better targeting the perpetrators of terrorist acts and their support structure. Respect for the rule of law is crucial in that exercise, as we minimize the adverse effects and potential collateral damage of sanctions on communities that are likely to be unfairly affected.

Gabon believes that the efforts of the international community must be guided by regional and subregional organizations that better understand the situation

on the ground. However, they can be effective only if they have real capacity. It is up to us therefore to provide those organizations with the necessary tools for building resilience. In that regard, I must underscore the linkage between peace, security and development and the need for a holistic approach in the fight against the root causes of terrorism.

In conclusion, I would like to underscore the crucial nature of our fight against terrorism as an absolute necessity for the peace, security and development of our States. The international community should be more determined to take urgent measures that are commensurate with the threat, within the context of broader governance involving all segments of society. That would deprive terrorists of the ideological propaganda they use to radicalize and manipulate vulnerable communities.

The President: The Council has before it the text of a statement by the President on behalf of the Council on the subject of today's meeting. I thank Council members for their valuable contributions to the statement.

In accordance with the understanding reached among the members of the Council, I shall take it that the members of the Security Council agree to the statement, which will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2022/7.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.