



Security Council

Seventy-first year

7821st meeting

Wednesday, 30 November 2016, 9 a.m.

New York

Provisional

President: Mr. Seck (Senegal)

Members:

Angola	Mr. Lucas
China	Mr. Liu Jieyi
Egypt	Mr. Aboulatta
France	Mr. Delattre
Japan	Mr. Bessho
Malaysia	Mr. Ibrahim
New Zealand	Mr. Van Bohemen
Russian Federation	Mr. Safronkov
Spain	Mr. Oyarzun Marchesi
Ukraine	Mr. Yelchenko
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . .	Mr. Rycroft
United States of America	Ms. Power
Uruguay	Mrs. Carrión
Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)	Mr. Suárez Moreno

Agenda

Non-proliferation/Democratic People's Republic of Korea

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

16-40713 (E)



Accessible document

Please recycle



The meeting was called to order at 9.05 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Non-proliferation/Democratic People's Republic of Korea

The President (*spoke in French*): In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Armenia, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Croatia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Montenegro, Morocco, the Netherlands, Norway, Peru, the Philippines, Poland, Portugal, the Republic of Korea, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey to participate in this meeting.

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

Members of the Council have before them document S/2016/999, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Armenia, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Croatia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Montenegro, Morocco, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, the Philippines, Poland, Portugal, the Republic of Korea, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Turkey, Ukraine, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America and Uruguay.

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

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, China, Egypt, France, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Russian Federation, Senegal, Spain, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay and Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)

The President (*spoke in French*): The draft resolution received 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 2321 (2016).

I now give the floor to His Excellency the Secretary-General, Mr. Ban Ki-moon.

The Secretary-General: The Security Council has today taken strong action on one of the most enduring and pressing peace and security challenges of our time — the nuclear and ballistic missile activities of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. I welcome the unanimous adoption of resolution 2321 (2016). Maintaining such unity is crucial to tackling security challenges on the Korean peninsula and beyond.

The Council first adopted a resolution on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea nuclear issue in 1993 (resolution 825 (1993)). Twenty-three years and six sanctions resolutions later, the challenge persists. This time, the Council has taken longer than ever before — nearly three months — in responding to a nuclear test by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the fifth such act. The time taken to reach agreement on the resolution vividly illustrates the complex nature of the challenge.

This year, the Council has met on nine occasions in emergency consultations in response to nuclear tests and ballistic missile activities of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This is an unprecedentedly high number. Since January, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has conducted two nuclear tests and at least 25 launches using ballistic missile technology, including launches of a satellite, submarine-launched ballistic missiles, and medium- and intermediate-range ballistic missiles. We must assume that, with each test or launch, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea continues to make technological advances in its pursuit of a military nuclear capability. The increase in and nature of these activities pose an ever growing threat to regional security and the global non-proliferation regime.

Today's resolution includes the toughest and most comprehensive sanctions regime ever imposed by the Security Council. It sends an unequivocal message that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea must cease further provocative actions and comply fully with its international obligations. Targeted sanctions matter. Security Council sanctions represent the clear and unified will of the international community.

Yet sanctions are only as effective as their implementation. It is incumbent on all States Members of the United Nations to make every effort to ensure that these sanctions are fully implemented. Some States may have difficulty translating sanctions into their national regulatory regimes. Others may lack the capacity to enforce them within their territories. That is why we need international partnerships for capacity-building. Sanctions should be anchored in a comprehensive strategy for lasting peace and security.

We must remain committed to a peaceful, diplomatic and political solution to this complex and dangerous situation. As demonstrated by the agreement on Iran's nuclear programme, a diplomatic solution can be achieved if there is the will. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea must reverse its course and move onto the path of denuclearization through sincere dialogue. I reiterate my call on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to take the steps necessary to reduce tensions in the region.

It is important not to forget the country's acute humanitarian needs. The civilian population of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, including vulnerable groups such as the elderly and children, are particularly exposed to hardships, which are further aggravated by natural disasters. International humanitarian assistance remains vital for safeguarding the lives of millions in need. I also reiterate my call on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea authorities to engage with the international community to address the grave human rights situation and improve the living conditions of the country's people.

In addressing all these challenges, I would like to conclude by reaffirming the readiness of the United Nations to assist in any way possible.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

I shall now give the floor to the members of the Security Council.

Ms. Power (United States of America): I thank the Secretary-General for being here on such an important occasion.

We are here because of dangerous choices made by a State Member of the United Nations — the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea — including the choice to be the only country in the twenty-first century to conduct a nuclear test;

the choice to defy the Council's clear and consistent requirements by testing nuclear devices twice this year alone; the choice to continue producing fissile material for its nuclear programme; the choice to accelerate prohibited ballistic missile launches to an unprecedented rate — more than two dozen since January, including from new delivery systems such as submarines; the choice to keep threatening neighbours and countries continents away with nuclear annihilation.

These choices reflect a calculated strategy. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is determined to refine its nuclear and ballistic missile technology to pose an even more potent threat to United Nations Member States and, more broadly, to international peace and security. Let us consider what the leader of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Kim Jong Un, said after testing an engine for a long-range missile in April — that North Korea

“can tip new-type intercontinental ballistic rockets with more powerful nuclear warheads and keep any cesspool of evils in the Earth, including the United States mainland, within our striking range”.

The United States recognizes China for working closely with us in negotiating the extremely rigorous and important resolution 2321 (2016). We are also grateful for the critically important contributions made by Japan and the Republic of Korea, which face a grave threat that one Korean official likened to living with a Cuban missile crisis every day.

Lately, the Council has been divided on many issues, but the unanimous adoption of new sanctions shows that, as long as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea pursues this dangerous and destabilizing path, the Council will impose ever harsher consequences on those responsible. In March, the Council adopted what were then the toughest sanctions to date on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, but that country remained as determined as ever to continue advancing its nuclear technology. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea found ways to continue diverting revenue from exports to fund its research. It tried to cover up its business dealings abroad, and it looked for openings to smuggle illicit materials by land, sea and air.

Today's resolution systematically goes after each of these illicit schemes. Let me highlight three ways in which the resolution breaks new and important ground.

First, the resolution imposes major new restrictions on the sources of hard currency, in particular coal exports, that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is using to pay for its nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles. Of course, resolution 2270 (2016) bans coal exports not exclusively used for what the Council called "livelihood purposes", but the coal revenues of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have remained about high, accounting for about one-third of its entire export revenue. Contrary to the letter and the spirit of resolution 2270 (2016), that coal export revenue has not been used to help the people of North Korea. It has been used to further build up the regime's illegal weapons programmes.

So the resolution imposes a new, binding cap on how much coal the Democratic People's Republic of Korea can ship out of the country, cutting what the country earns by approximately \$700 million per year from its 2015 total, or more than 60 per cent of its coal export revenue. Much of this coal trade involves Democratic People's Republic of Korea companies with links to the regime and its prohibited nuclear and ballistic missile programmes. In addition, the resolution imposes a new ban on the export of copper, nickel, silver and zinc, which will eliminate another \$100 million or more in annual hard-currency revenue for the regime. In total, therefore, the resolution will slash by at least \$800 million per year, the hard currency that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has to fund its prohibited weapons programmes, which constitutes a full 25 per cent of its entire export revenues.

But we knew going into this negotiation that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has found itself masterful at using non-traditional means to stash currency, and the resolution goes after some of the less obvious ways that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea makes money. We have banned the export of monuments. The Council might ask why on earth would we ban the export of monuments. It turns out that exports such as a statue of Laurent Kabila, standing in Kinshasa today, two statues for which Robert Mugabe paid \$5 million to be stood up in Zimbabwe upon his passing, and countless others found around the world generate tens of millions of dollars for the regime. We have called out countries that host Democratic People's Republic of Korea labourers by urging those countries to take steps to ensure that wages are not supporting the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regime's prohibited programmes.

Secondly, the resolution makes it much harder for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to use diplomats to advance its prohibited programmes. In the past, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has tried to enable nuclear and ballistic-missile officials to travel by giving them phony diplomatic titles. Meanwhile, Democratic People's Republic of Korea officials posted in embassies abroad have spent their time running businesses and brokering arms sales to fund the regime's military. But an arms dealer with a diplomatic passport is still an arms dealer. So from now on, States must restrict the travel of those affiliated with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's nuclear and ballistic-missile programmes or other prohibited activities, diplomatic passports or not.

Thirdly, the resolution imposes unprecedented measures to restrict the flow of illicit materials into the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. On land, the resolution emphasizes that cargo heading into and out of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea by road or rail must be inspected. At sea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will no longer be allowed to mask its ships and evade scrutiny by flying the flags of other countries or controlling other vessels with their crews. And by air, Member States should inspect the baggage of anyone flying into and out of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In the next 15 days, the Security Council's Democratic People's Republic of Korea Sanctions Committee will make another important determination, publishing for the first time a list of conventional arms dual-use items that will no longer be allowed to enter the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. They are commercially available components that have civilian uses, such as sophisticated electronic sensors, but that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea can use to build advanced military equipment, including radar systems, night vision and stealth technology.

I began by talking about the fact that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea made the choice to pursue nuclear weapons, but, before closing, I would like to discuss another choice that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regime has made — the choice to systematically violate the human rights of its people. As the United Nations commission of inquiry on human rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea found in its 2014 report (A/HRC/25/63), the Democratic People's Republic of Korea arbitrarily detains between 80,000 and 120,000 political prisoners in its gulags,

where they are subjected to deliberate starvation, forced labour, executions, torture and rape, among other abuses. As the report notes, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea seeks nothing less than total control of organized social life, through tactics ranging from summary executions to forced indoctrinations to the methodical repression of freedom of expression.

Even though we have heard it before — and many of us have repeated it — it is worth underscoring the commission's finding that

“[t]he gravity, scale and nature of these violations reveal a State that does not have any parallel in the contemporary world.” (*A/HRC/25/63, para. 80*)

The situation in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea reaffirms what we have said elsewhere — when Governments flagrantly violate the human rights of their own people, they almost always show similar disdain for the international norms that help ensure our shared security. For the first time, this resolution enshrines that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea must respect the welfare and inherent dignity of people in its territory. That includes the North Korean people, of course, but also those of other nationalities in its territory, including unjustly detained Americans and those abducted from countries such as Japan and the Republic of Korea, whose families, in some cases, have endured decades of suffering from not knowing the fates of their loved ones.

The defence of human dignity is a basic demand, and it is long overdue coming from the Council. The same clique of leaders responsible for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's pursuit of nuclear weapons is the one responsible for systematically abusing their people at home. For the first time, today's resolution also recalls that, in keeping with Article 5 of the Charter of the United Nations, if the Democratic People's Republic of Korea continues on its current path, systematically and flagrantly violating its Charter obligations, it could see some or all of its rights and privileges here at the United Nations suspended.

The United States is realistic about what today's resolution will achieve. No resolution in New York will likely persuade Pyongyang to cease its relentless pursuit of nuclear weapons tomorrow, but this resolution imposes unprecedented costs on the regime of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for defying the Council's demands. The door remains open for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to choose

a different path — a path of negotiations towards complete, verifiable and irreversible denuclearization. When the Democratic People's Republic of Korea makes that choice, the United States — and I know the Council — will be ready to engage, and with sustained international pressure, it is possible to change the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's calculus. To do that, the members of the Council and all States Members of the United Nations must fully implement the sanctions that we have adopted today. The strength of this resolution and our ability to change the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's threatening, belligerent behaviour depends on Member States exercising maximum vigilance to enforce each and every one of the provisions in today's resolution. We call on all Member States to remain united in imposing consequences on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for its many dangerous choices.

Mr. Bessho (Japan): I thank the Secretary-General for his presence here and for the very strong statement that he made.

Japan welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 2321 (2016). We would like to express our sincere appreciation to the United States for taking the lead, and our appreciation also goes to all other members of the Security Council for their support. Japan is pleased to have contributed throughout the process. The fact that this robust resolution was passed unanimously deserves attention. We have attained a great number of sponsoring countries from outside the Security Council as well. Now not only Council members but all States Members of the United Nations share a common responsibility to fully implement the resolution.

Japan, together with the international community, strongly condemns once again the repeated violations of Security Council resolutions by North Korea. We urge North Korea to fully comply with the relevant resolutions, including today's, and to abide by its other international commitments and obligations. Today's resolution does not impose sanctions for the sake of sanctions. It is a tool to correct North Korea's course of action. It is a sincere call from the international community to North Korea, urging it to abandon its nuclear ambitions and return to the negotiating table. We are always ready to resume dialogue if North Korea shows a sincere commitment and takes concrete steps towards denuclearization. In order for North Korea

to change its attitude, we have no other option but to continue to increase pressure.

Resolution 2270 (2016), adopted in March, was already very robust and comprehensive. However, some of the livelihood exemptions for the people of North Korea contained in the resolution have been misused. The resolution adopted today closes such gaps and introduces new additional measures. Drastic coal import limitations, additional sectoral bans to cut revenues and other measures should all have a significant impact on North Korean nuclear and missile development programmes. At the same time, I emphasize that these sanctions are not meant to target ordinary North Korean citizens. It should not be forgotten that North Korea's nuclear and missile development continues at the expense of the welfare of the people of North Korea. It is significant that heightened attention has been paid in today's resolution to the nexus between people's unmet needs and the continuation of nuclear and missile development. We welcome the stronger emphasis on the deplorable humanitarian conditions in North Korea, including the abduction issue, to which Japan attaches utmost importance.

Unfortunately, we have heard some sceptical voices in the process of implementing resolution 2270 (2016), suggesting that nuclear and missile development has not stopped even after the adoption of that resolution, and that resolution 2270 (2016) is not as effective as it should be. I believe that this view confuses cause and effect, and that the degree to which the measures outlined in resolution 2270 (2016) were unsuccessful was in fact the result of those sceptical voices. In other words, international efforts have not kept pace with North Korea's capacity to evade sanctions or its determination to continue nuclear development.

Now is precisely the time for the international community to rigorously implement the resolution we have just adopted and send the strong, unified message that North Korea cannot afford to continue its current policy. Japan will continue to work very closely with the members of the Council and all States Members of the United Nations to reach a comprehensive solution to the problems related to North Korea.

Mr. Oyarzun Marchesi (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): I would like to thank the Secretary-General for his strong statement and all the members of the Security Council, particularly the delegations of the United States and China, for their collaboration, which has

enabled us to adopt resolution 2321 (2016), establishing an unprecedented sanctions regime for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The two main reasons that Spain was a sponsor of the resolution are, first, for the sake of consistency and out of a sense of responsibility. It was also for reasons of consistency that we supported resolution 2270 (2016), which responded to repeated violations by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Regrettably, however, those violations continued, and on 9 September we witnessed a new nuclear test and the launching of various ballistic missiles. Resolution 2270 (2016) was very clear in its intention to adopt significant additional measures should the Democratic People's Republic of Korea conduct a new nuclear test or missile launch. That did indeed turn out to be the case, and that is why we have been obliged to adopt resolution 2321 (2016) today.

The second reason we sponsored the resolution is our special sense of responsibility owing to the fact that, as we know, Spain is Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1718 (2006). Because of that, it is our particular duty to ensure the effectiveness, transparency and rigour of resolutions having to do with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Since March, the Committee has worked very hard to implement the sanctions while, I should emphasize, striving not to worsen the humanitarian situation in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea but only to ensure that those who are responsible for its nuclear programmes to bring them to a halt. I hope that resolution 2321 (2016), which the United States Ambassador has so clearly explained, achieves its aims.

Lastly, I would like to emphasize that Spain and the Security Council have always affirmed the principle that sanctions are not an end in themselves but rather a means for achieving lasting peace and stability, as the Ambassador of Japan made very clear. It is up to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to respect international law and work for its people's prosperity, which is the ultimate goal of today's resolution. In the few weeks remaining until the end of my mandate as Chair of the 1718 Committee, nothing would give me more satisfaction in what I hope is the near future than to see the Committee disappear because the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has begun to comply with its obligations under international law.

Mr. Safronkov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): The Russian Federation voted in favour of today's resolution 2321 (2016), which sanctions the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for conducting a fifth nuclear test. We should note that while Pyongyang's behaviour ignored the legitimate requests of the international community and therefore required us to adopt tough measures in the form of a standard Council resolution, today's resolution is in no way designed to close off the possibility of reviving the process of negotiations on the nuclear problem on the Korean peninsula and seeking a political solution to the outstanding issues in Asia's North-East.

We want to particularly emphasize that the new resolution should absolutely not be used to stifle North Korea's economy or to worsen the humanitarian situation and the people's circumstances. The situation on the Korean peninsula should not be used as a pretext for increasing the foreign military presence in the region. We firmly condemn any buildup of offensive weapons near the borders that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea shares with neighbours, including the deployment of Terminal High Altitude Area Defense anti-ballistic missile systems. A country cannot possibly achieve lasting long-term security if it tries to build it at the expense of the security of other States. We urge all sides to show restraint, avoid provocative rhetoric and aggravations of the situation and act speedily in seeking a way out of the crisis. On that basis, the Russian Federation is ready to cooperate on the issue with its regional and international partners.

Mr. Liu Jieyi (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): On 9 September, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea conducted yet another nuclear test, in defiance of the universal objections of the international community. The Government of China is firmly opposed to such acts. The Council's adoption today of resolution 2321 (2016) reflects the international community's united position against the development of nuclear missile programmes by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and in support of the international nuclear non-proliferation regime. The resolution reaffirms the importance of safeguarding peace and stability on the Korean peninsula and in North-East Asia, commits to seeking a solution to the issue through peaceful, diplomatic and political means, supports the resumption of the Six-Party Talks and the commitments made in the joint statement of 19 September, and emphasizes

the importance of easing tensions on the peninsula for all parties concerned.

As the resolution notes, the sanctions measures are not aimed at worsening the humanitarian situation in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, harming its people's livelihoods or affecting normal economic and trade activities. China urges the parties concerned to work to effectively implement the resolution's relevant provisions in their entirety. Since the beginning of the year, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has conducted two nuclear tests and multiple ballistic-missile launches. However, certain parties have continued to strengthen their military deployments, increase their military presence and scale up military exercises, and the confrontation on the peninsula has intensified into a vicious circle as a result. That situation must change as soon as possible.

As a near neighbour of the Korean peninsula, China has consistently insisted that it should be denuclearized and its peace and stability upheld. We have always called for the issue to be resolved through dialogue and consultations and have fought against turmoil and conflict. We are opposed to the deployment of the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense anti-ballistic missile system on the peninsula, as it seriously undermines the strategic security interests of China and other countries of the region and disturbs the regional strategic balance. It is neither conducive to achieving the goal of denuclearizing the Korean peninsula nor helpful to the maintenance of peace and stability there.

China urges the parties concerned to stop forthwith the related deployment process. The current situation on the Korean peninsula is sensitive, complex and dire. All parties must look at the big picture, meet each other halfway and avoid any rhetoric or action that might exacerbate tension. The top priority for the parties concerned is to resume dialogue and negotiations and relaunch the Six-Party Talks as soon as possible in order to work together in a genuine effort to advance the denuclearization process and achieve peace and stability on the Korean peninsula.

China urges the parties concerned to push forward in parallel the negotiations on denuclearization, on one hand, and the replacement of armistice with a peace treaty, on the other. China will persist in advancing dialogue and consultations with a view to solving the problems related to the Korean peninsula within the framework of the Six-Party Talks, thereby playing a

positive and constructive role in achieving enduring peace and stability on the Korean peninsula at an early date.

Mr. Van Bohemen (New Zealand): I thank the Secretary-General for his strong statement today.

New Zealand welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 2321 (2016), which strengthens and expands the sanctions in place against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This year has seen the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's defiance of the international community and its flouting of international norms reach new heights. As the Secretary-General reminded us, the Council has met many times this year to discuss North Korea's succession of nuclear and ballistic missile tests. These events and the overall trajectory of the situation on the Korean peninsula are sources of great concern and frustration for New Zealand. Given the seriousness of those developments, it is entirely appropriate that the resolution provides for some of the strongest sanctions ever imposed by the Security Council.

New Zealand has co-sponsored the resolution for a number of reasons. Not least of those is our concern at the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's dangerous and provocative behaviour and its ongoing defiance of the Council and of its own international obligations. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea's continued provocations pose arguably the most significant threat to the security of New Zealand's region, the Asia-Pacific. New Zealand's support also reflects our commitment to the nuclear non-proliferation regime, to which the actions of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea — the only country to have tested nuclear weapons this century — pose a grave challenge.

We commend the United States and China for their leadership and cooperation in preparing the measures set out in today's resolution. It is now the responsibility of the international community to ensure that the measures in the resolution are fully implemented and effectively enforced. Coordinated and comprehensive implementation by Member States is one of the strongest signals the international community can send to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that its continued proliferation activities and disregard for international obligations will not be tolerated, and that a change of course is urgently needed.

Ultimately, sanctions are a means, not an end, for effecting change on the Korean peninsula. The resolution sends a further signal to North Korea's leadership

that their current path of isolation and defiance of international norms is wrong-headed and that a return in good faith to negotiations on denuclearization provides the best prospects for the security and prosperity of their country and their people. We hope that today's resolution and the strengthened measures that it puts in place can help set us back on the path towards a return to negotiations and ultimately the resolution of this long-standing security challenge.

Mr. Yelchenko (Ukraine): I thank the Secretary-General for his presence and for his strong position on the issue at hand.

Ukraine welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 2321 (2016) and commends the efforts of those delegations that were involved in drafting and submitting the text. We consider the resolution to be a comprehensive and balanced document that, on the one hand, strengthens the existing regime and reinforces it with additional sectoral and targeted sanctions, and, on the other, confirms the Council's openness to dialogue on a peaceful and diplomatic solution to the situation on the Korean peninsula and its intention to avoid affecting the North Korean population.

I would like to stress that the resolution was adopted in response to the fifth and largest nuclear explosive test conducted by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on 9 September, which constituted a blatant violation of its international obligations, including under relevant Security Council resolutions. Ukraine has always been committed to effective multilateral action against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Our collective decision today represents a historic step that clearly demonstrates the Council's consolidated and firm stance to respond decisively to an existing threat to the global non-proliferation regime. Ukraine is honoured to co-sponsor the resolution, which we all hope will contribute to the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula.

Mrs. Carrión (Uruguay) (*spoke in Spanish*): We welcome the presence of the Secretary-General and appreciate his strong statement.

Uruguay voted in favour of and co-sponsored resolution 2321 (2016). We welcome its unanimous adoption, as we believe that it will be a very useful tool of deterrence in the current situation in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In that context, Uruguay reiterates its firm condemnation of the nuclear tests, the launch of missiles and the continued provocation of

the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which only escalate tension on the Korean peninsula, constitute a clear violation of international law and relevant Security Council resolutions, and represent a very serious threat to international peace and security.

Uruguay is committed to nuclear disarmament and the non-proliferation regime and reiterates its commitment to and support for the strengthening of multilateralism, universal and complete disarmament and the strengthening of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as a cornerstone of the disarmament and non-proliferation regime. In that framework, Uruguay urges the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to completely, verifiably and irreversibly abandon its existing nuclear programme and to put an end to related activities, including launches of ballistic missiles and other activities that can only be seen as acts of provocation. Similarly, we urge the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to return to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and to the safeguards regime of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Despite the measures taken in March by the Security Council with the adoption of 2270 (2016), which imposed new, more severe sanctions against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, we meet today to adopt new, significant measures due to the fact that the regime of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea continues to defy and ignore all of the positions of this Council by pursuing its nuclear and ballistic missile programme with actions that constitute clear violations of the relevant Security Council resolutions. In that respect, we reiterate that Uruguay considers the implementation of sanctions to be a tool of the Council that can be used to achieve a specific end. They should be used not to punish a State, but rather to achieve a political objective.

Uruguay stresses the urgent need to continue to work towards a peaceful, diplomatic and political solution for the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. Our country continues to support all initiatives aimed at dialogue, which is why we believe that we must step up our efforts to revive the Six-Party Talks for the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. Failing that, the Security Council would find itself in the position of having to continue adopting resolutions and imposing sanctions. We also stress the need for all States to resolutely honour their obligations under the resolution adopted today, as the Security Council's actions cannot be effective in any other way.

We would like to point out that Uruguay supports the resolution in the conviction that the implementation of these new sanctions will not directly harm the civilian population, whose human rights and humanitarian concerns are critical.

Mr. Suárez Moreno (Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela) (*spoke in Spanish*): We welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ban Ki-Moon.

Firmly committed to nuclear disarmament and the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela voted in favour of resolution 2321 (2016) in response to the nuclear test undertaken on 9 September by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, as we believe that it affects international peace and security, particularly on the Korean peninsula and enhances the risk of possible confrontation. That country's other nuclear tests this year and launch of ballistic missiles violate Security Council resolutions on the issue and the nuclear non-proliferation regime. The resolution adopted today is part of the global focus on mechanisms and formulas to build a sustainable environment conducive to forging a path towards a political and sustainable solution to the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula.

We call on the Security Council to step up its efforts in promoting dialogue and negotiations between the parties in order to contribute to a negotiated solution of the issue. The sanctions regime applied to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea should be seen as a means and not an end in itself. Its ultimate goal should be aimed at denuclearization, peace and stability in the region through a negotiated political solution. Furthermore, we urge the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to meet its obligations under the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, and we appeal to all parties to act cautiously so as to avoid heightening tensions that could lead to an armed conflict.

We reiterate that the measures contained in the resolutions adopted on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea should be applied in full respect for the principles of international law, with specific goals, in a responsible, transparent manner and with clear criteria for ending them if the Democratic People's Republic of Korea ends its nuclear programme. At the same time, we must ensure that the measures contained in the resolution do not have a negative humanitarian impact on the civilian population. We are concerned

that the restrictions imposed on the export of primary goods could affect its population.

We also believe that those controls should not serve as a precedent for limiting the rights of States to manage their own natural resources in a sovereign manner to meet their socioeconomic goals, in line with General Assembly resolution 1803 (XVII). The implementation of the measures contained in resolutions 2321 (2016) and 2270 (2016) should in no way impede the coordination of international organizations providing technical and humanitarian assistance to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Those organizations should continue to cooperate in the development of projects and the establishment of conditions conducive to the stability and well-being of the North Korean people.

In conclusion, we reiterate our appeal to Member States with influence on the issue to demonstrate the political will to find a mutually acceptable solution for all parties and to make the necessary efforts to establish a climate of trust that would help to resolve in a peaceful and constructive way the relaunching of the Six-Party Talks, such as the important and unique mechanism to peacefully resolve the intentions and differences on the Korean peninsula.

Mr. Rycroft (United Kingdom): The United Kingdom strongly supports the unanimous adoption of resolution 2321 (2016). We welcome the leading role played by the United States and China, as well as the statement made this morning by the Secretary-General.

In 2016, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has conducted an unprecedented number of provocations, including two nuclear tests. Today, we have shown that the international community will simply not stand for it. We have sent a clear signal to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that the Security Council steadfastly opposes the reckless pursuit of nuclear weapons. Today, we redouble our efforts to bring the Democratic People's Republic of Korea back into the fold of law-abiding States. Until we see genuine commitments and actual steps to change course, United Nations sanctions will remain.

We must continue with renewed vigour to limit the activities of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea entities involved in the nuclear programme, deter the involvement of any external actors tempted to facilitate such activity, and constrain the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's ability to raise illicit funds. We are acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United

Nations for the second time this year with regard to North Korea. That is far from standard practice, but this unique threat deserves nothing less.

Resolution 2270 (2016), adopted in March, marked a substantive increase in pressure on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Since then, ships have been impounded, cargo has been intercepted and bank accounts have been closed. If implemented fully by all Member States in the long term, resolution 2270 (2016) can and will greatly reduce the ability of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to evade sanctions and raise funds. But in the face of Council action, Pyongyang chose to continue on its course of confrontation. As a result, we have taken direct action to build on those landmark sanctions of resolution 2270 (2016). Three concrete steps in the new resolution illustrate our resolve.

First, the mechanism agreed to cap coal exports will directly target a sector used by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to raise foreign currency. Put simply, we have just denied nearly one-quarter of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's foreign income. That is roughly \$700 million that from now on cannot be put forward towards the next nuclear test or the next missile launch. This is a powerful message that will be heard loud and clear in Pyongyang. There are direct financial consequences to continued nuclear provocations.

Secondly, the resolution clarifies and further enhances controls agreed in resolution 2270 (2016), including on technology imports, shipping, banking and the abuse by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of its privileges abroad. Every avenue of illicit activity must be shut down.

Thirdly, the text makes an explicit political statement condemning the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's proliferation choices at the expense of the welfare of its people. Every dollar spent on North Korea's nuclear weapons programme is a dollar that could have been spent on improving the lives of its own citizens, roughly half of whom live in extreme poverty.

The resolution also breaks new ground by calling for an awareness abroad of Democratic People's Republic of Korea labourers being exploited. Sadly, this is a textbook example of modern slavery — something that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea employs both inside and beyond its borders. When implemented fully, these further measures will create

robust new constraints on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's activity. As with all Security Council actions, the resolution is not intended to have adverse humanitarian consequences for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's civilian population, or to affect negatively the work of international organizations or non-governmental organizations carrying out assistance and relief activities in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The United Kingdom has diplomatic relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and will continue to work towards dialogue and a peaceful resolution of this crisis. Diplomacy must continue and be part of the solution. We note that the resolution's provisions, including the provisions on cargo, are consistent with the obligations set out in the Vienna Conventions on diplomatic relations.

Finally, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has a clear choice to make. It can either continue its destabilizing and dangerous behaviour or follow clear steps to begin to rebuild a future for its people. Today, we are united in support for a meaningful change of course.

Mr. Aboulatta (Egypt) (*spoke in Arabic*): First of all, I would like to express our gratitude to the United States for its efforts in preparing resolution 2321 (2016), adopted today. We thank China for its diplomatic and political efforts aimed at restoring stability and ensuring security on the Korean peninsula, and for its support for the resolution.

The unanimous adoption of resolution 2321 (2016) sends a very strong and firm signal from all members of the Security Council that we will not accept the latest measures adopted by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, especially following its fifth nuclear test on 9 September, which represents a violation of the country's commitments under the relevant Security Council resolutions and resolutions of international legality. The test also undermines the non-proliferation regime as a whole.

Resolution 2321 (2016) strengthens sanctions against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We welcome the balanced drafting of the resolution, which takes into account the political process and the importance of resuming the Six-Party Talks aimed at denuclearizing the Korean peninsula. The resolution also seeks to avoid exacerbating the humanitarian situation in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

We do not seek to impose sanctions on the people of North Korea or to deprive them of the humanitarian assistance and development projects carried out in their country by the United Nations and its specialized agencies and other donors. Furthermore, the sanctions should not have an adverse effect on the work of embassies in Pyongyang, in accordance with the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961 and the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations of 1963.

Today, Egypt believes that resolution 2321 (2016) represents a step forward on a path that will not undermine the non-proliferation regime based on the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). Egypt has always warned against double standards and double criteria when it comes to nuclear non-proliferation and denuclearization in our region. A single country in the Middle East has not yet become a member of the NPT. This is an issue that Egypt and other countries of the Middle East have not accepted and are never going to accept. Today's adoption of resolution 2321 (2016) represents an opportunity to remind the international community and members of the Security Council of that reality, and we urge the Council to shoulder its responsibilities in this regard.

In conclusion, we reaffirm the prominent role played by the Security Council and the importance of its unity and of working constructively within the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1718 (2006) and its Group of Experts in order to implement the resolutions of the Security Council and to preserve international legality and the Council's authority.

Mr. Ibrahim (Malaysia): We join other Council members in expressing appreciation to the delegations of China and the United States as well as to all those involved in the work that led to the adoption of resolution 2321 (2016) today. Malaysia welcomes the unanimous adoption of this very important text, in the light of our belief that the illicit development and procurement of weapons of mass destruction and related technologies and capabilities by any State are unacceptable and cannot be tolerated by the international community. Such activities undermine the work and commitment of all Member States to peaceful relations with each other and to the peaceful resolution of conflict. It is for this reason that Malaysia voted in favour of resolution 2321 (2016).

Malaysia remains convinced that a comprehensive solution, which would take into account the interests

of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the grave hardship its people are facing as well as their humanitarian needs, is indispensable. We call upon the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to return to the negotiating table and resume peaceful dialogue and negotiations within the framework of the Six-Party Talks. The language in the text that safeguards humanitarian exemptions is a crucial element. It is designed to prevent the effects of possible unintended consequences against legitimate interests, particularly those related to the livelihoods and the humanitarian situation of the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We fully support that aspect of the resolution.

As we did upon the adoption of resolution 2270 (2016) in March, Malaysia wishes to re-emphasize that interpretation of relevant provisions in the resolution must not be a pretext for disrupting diplomatic access or further impede the conduct of legitimate diplomatic and humanitarian activities in the country, as stipulated under the Vienna and Geneva Conventions, respectively. At the twenty-third regional forum in July, sponsored by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, Malaysia called on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to abide by all relevant Security Council resolutions, dismantle its nuclear programme in a complete, verifiable and irreversible manner, and refrain from conducting any provocative acts, in order to maintain peace and stability in the region.

Our aspiration is to see the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. We also wish to see the Democratic People's Republic of Korea returning to the negotiating table and embracing change that builds trust so that shared security and prosperity might be pursued through international cooperation.

Mr. Delattre (France) (*spoke in French*): I thank the Secretary General for his presence today and for his powerful statement. I also thank the United States for submitting resolution 2321 (2016), which we have just adopted unanimously and which France co-sponsored.

After the January nuclear test, the launch of a long-range missile using ballistic technology, and the various ballistic-missile tests conducted this year, North Korea's fifth nuclear test in September served only to strengthen our deep concern over that country's destabilizing provocations. The test demonstrates Pyongyang's stubbornness and represents an irresponsible decision to forge ahead. Let there be no

mistake — the determined, methodical and systematic effort of North Korea to develop nuclear and ballistic capabilities is today one of the main threats to regional and international peace and security and an attack on the international non-proliferation regime, making it one of the most important challenges the Security Council has to face and therefore one of its highest priorities.

In that context, France welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 2321 (2016). The resolution marks a necessary and decisive step in strengthening sanctions against North Korea and allows us to send a clear and unambiguous message on the unity and determination of the international community to sanction any unacceptable challenge to the non-proliferation regime. Its goal is therefore to lead to a radical policy change in Pyongyang.

The unanimity that the Security Council has shown today is a fine example of its capacity to come together when the essential is at stake. I hope that this unity will be renewed every time issues related to the proliferation or use of weapons of mass destruction should arise. Resolution 2270 (2016), adopted in March, represented a very significant evolution in the sanctions regime. In that same vein, resolution 2321 (2016) allows us now to move one step further in several respects. First, it identifies, clarifies and provides a stricter framework for some of the provisions contained in resolution 2270 (2016). That is the case particularly with regard to the export of coal, the inclusion of new designations and the banning of the transfer of new goods.

The resolution also diversifies the means of action that we have available to us by identifying new tools that allow us to prevent the development of North Korea's nuclear and ballistic missile programmes, including, for example, new banking and financial measures, new limits on transport modes that the regime is using, and enhanced constraints on the diplomatic means being used by North Korea.

Resolution 2321 (2016) also enables us to enhance our capacity to prevent Pyongyang from funding its nuclear programmes. The extension of sectoral measures, which are synonymous with additional constraints on the regime, illustrates that fact. Through the new resolution, we also condemn the logic being followed by the regime, which involves diverting existing resources to fuel its illegitimate programmes to the detriment of the North Korean people.

Finally, the resolution strengthens the strong message of dissuasion sent to Pyongyang by clearly recalling not only our determination to take additional measures in the event of further provocations, but also that the rights and privileges of membership of a State subject to sanctions do not emerge out of nowhere. The resolution does not close the door to dialogue, because the imposition of sanctions is not our final objective. And yet, as long as those provocations continue, we will have no choice but to enhance them. The determination of France in that regard is adamant. It is now up to North Korea to concretely show, by abandoning its nuclear and ballistic missile programmes, that it is ready to fully respect its international obligations.

Mr. Lucas (Angola): We express appreciation for the efforts of China and the United States in drafting resolution 2321 (2016), which we have just adopted.

Angola joined the consensus of the Security Council by voting in favour of resolution 2321 (2016). The text of the resolution is self-explanatory, and the statements by Security Council members have expressed our collective concern about the threat that the nuclear programme of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea poses to international peace and security.

We can only appeal to North Korea to abide by the international community's decisions related to its nuclear and ballistic missile programmes by negotiating the end of those programmes under the agreed framework, concentrating its resources on the social development of its people, meaningfully contributing to the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, and thereby to international peace and security, as well as avoiding becoming an international pariah — a type of development that may become extremely detrimental to the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and an additional danger to peace and security.

The President (*spoke in French*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Senegal.

In voting unanimously in favour of resolution 2321 (2016), thereby strengthening and expanding the sanctions imposed on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, our Council has shown strong unity in its will to urge the North Korean authorities to give up their nuclear and military programme, which violates the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, as well as the non-proliferation regime.

That very strong and unanimous message was possible thanks to the United States delegation, our facilitator, which cooperated closely with the Chinese delegation. We hope that the additional measures of resolution 2321 (2016) will lead the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to fully cooperate with the Security Council, and thereby allow for the resumption of negotiations within the framework of the Six-Party Talks, so as to denuclearize and stabilize the Korean peninsula.

We have said on many occasions that sanctions are a means and not an end. With the objective of paving the way for a political process, the humanitarian aspect of the new measures is quite telling. The complexity and scope of the measures specified in the resolution will require, as was indicated by the Secretary-General, technical assistance, as well as capacity-building, in order to make it possible for Member States of the United Nations, and the international community as a whole, to implement them effectively. It will also be a test of the determination and will of the Security Council.

As we are talking about non-proliferation, my delegation would like to take this opportunity to reiterate Senegal's commitment to full respect by all for the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty. Echoing the statement made by the Permanent Representative of Egypt, I call for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones throughout the world, including in the Middle East. To conclude, Senegal calls for total nuclear disarmament.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

I give the floor to the representative of the Republic of Korea.

Mr. Oh Joon (Republic of Korea): I would first like to express my appreciation to you, Mr. President, and the Senegalese presidency for convening today's meeting, and for inviting my delegation to participate in this meeting.

The Republic of Korea welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 2321 (2016). I thank Ambassador Samantha Power and the United States delegation for taking the initiative for the resolution, as well as other members of the Council for supporting it.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea's nuclear-weapons programme, with its latest nuclear

test — its fifth — has become the most serious threat to the global non-proliferation regime. It poses unprecedented challenges to the authority of the Security Council. The programme seems to be nearing the final stage of weaponization, and Pyongyang makes no secret of its intention to acquire and use a nuclear arsenal. That is totally outrageous.

By adopting the resolution today, the international community has once again made it clear that we will never tolerate the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's pursuit of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). My delegation supports the new resolution's introduction of robust measures that complement and reinforce the existing sanctions regime. When implemented, they will significantly restrain the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's ability to carry on with its WMD programmes by targeting the flow of hard currency, materials, equipment and technology that they require.

This year alone, it is estimated that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has spent more than \$200 million on nuclear tests and missile launches. It is also estimated that the total cost so far for their nuclear programme must have surpassed \$1 billion. That money could have been used to buy one year's worth of food for the entire North Korean population. People need to eat food, not weapons. For reasons defying any common sense, Pyongyang is paying a heavy price to gain a nuclear arsenal, at the expense of its own people. If it had used those resources to benefit people's livelihoods, the North Korean population's hardship would have been much relieved.

In that vein, my delegation welcomes the fact the resolution 2321 (2016) takes a more holistic approach by addressing the North Korean people's welfare and dignity, as shown in paragraph 45, which has been included in a sanctions resolution on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the first time. We hope that the resolution and the continuing discussion on human rights will contribute to helping our brothers and sisters in the north in their quest for a better life and human dignity.

For me personally, this is my last time participating in a United Nations meeting, as I have completed my term here and am flying out tonight. I am relieved

because the resolution has been adopted before my departure, but I am also sorry that I am leaving without seeing the issue being resolved. The North Korean nuclear issue is multifaceted. It is an issue of nuclear non-proliferation that poses the question of whether or not we will be able to maintain the global nuclear non-proliferation regime that we have had for the past half century. We will have to consider whether we will be able to stand up to the challenge posed to the regime or whether we will be able to stop it or let it go. We have a very serious question before us.

It is also an issue of international security. In our region, when North Korea acquired nuclear capabilities, it had the effect of breaking the status quo in terms of our strategy balance. Thus, the other countries of the region have to consider how to restore the balance. It is a serious question to be considered whether other countries should try to match the capabilities or come up with other ways to restore the strategy balance in the region. For South Koreans, it is a question of soul-searching as well — soul-searching about our national identity, national division and national desire for unification. Korea's national division should not become a national curse. When we watch North Korea's missile launches on television, we feel as if a brother in the family is wielding a gun and shooting in the air while his children are screaming out of hunger and fear.

All in all, I believe that what we are doing here — applying pressure on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea through non-military sanctions measures — is the right thing to do, and I believe and I hope that those measures will eventually work. They will work for the non-proliferation regime, international security and the two Koreas so that we can eventually get over the issue and go back to dialogue and cooperation.

I would like to thank you, Sir, all the members of the Security Council and the Secretariat for the cooperation and assistance rendered to me during the past three years.

The President (*spoke in French*): I wish the representative of the Republic of Korea a safe return to his country.

The meeting rose at 10.25 a.m.