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Threats to international peace and security

Provisional

President: (Switzerland) Members: Albania Ms. Dautllari Mr. De Almeida Filho Brazil..... China..... Mr. Geng Shuang Mr. Montalvo Sosa Mr. De Rivière Gabon Ms. Koumby Missambo Ghana Mrs. Hackman Mr. Ishikane Malta.... Mrs. Frazier Mozambique Mr. Fernandes Mr. Nebenzia Ms. Shaheen United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . . Dame Barbara Woodward United States of America..... Mr. Wood **Agenda**

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The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Threats to international peace and security

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

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Adedeji Ebo, Director and Deputy to the High Representative, United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs, to participate in this meeting.

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

I give the floor to Mr. Ebo.

Mr. Ebo: Since the previous briefing to the Security Council by the High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, held in February on the topic of transfers of military assets to Ukraine (see S/PV.9256), the provision of military assistance to the armed forces of Ukraine has continued. Information from Governments about their transfers of weapon systems and ammunition is available from open sources. The transfers have included heavy conventional weapons, including battle tanks, armoured combat vehicles, combat aircraft helicopters, large-calibre artillery systems, missile systems and uncrewed combat aerial vehicles, as well as remotely operated munitions and small arms and light weapons. There have been reports of States transferring, or planning to transfer, weapons such as uncrewed combat aerial vehicles and ammunition to the Russian armed forces for use in Ukraine. Media outlets have also reported on the transfer of major conventional arms, including artillery rocket systems, to non-State groups involved in the war in Ukraine.

A large-scale influx of weapons and ammunition into any situation of armed conflict raises concerns about peace, security and stability, including as a result of diversion. Measures to address the risk of diversion to unauthorized end users and for unauthorized uses are essential if we are to prevent further instability and insecurity in Ukraine, the region and beyond. Such measures include pre-transfer risk assessments, end-user certification, effective legal and enforcement

and post-shipment verifications such measures as on-site inspections. Diversion prevention also requires cooperation and information-sharing between importing, transit and exporting States, as well as concrete measures such as marking and tracing, effective accounting practices and the physical safeguarding of arms and ammunition, along with customs and bordercontrol measures. The United Nations Register of Conventional Arms (UNROCA) remains a key tool in that regard. Transparency in armaments can serve as a confidence-building measure, thereby contributing to the prevention and reduction of misperceptions and tensions among Member States. In UNROCA's 30 years of operation, 178 Member States have submitted a report to it at least once. I call on Member States to participate in the mechanism, because among other things, it helps to track the influx of weapons into conflict zones.

In order to prevent the diversion of conventional arms and regulate the international arms trade, States have also established a number of arms-control treaties and instruments, which include the Arms Trade Treaty, the Firearms Protocol and the Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, with its International Tracing Instrument. Moreover, Member States are in the process of developing a new global framework for through-life conventional ammunition management. I call on States to consider joining the relevant treaties and to implement their legal obligations and political commitments under the conventional arms control instruments to which they are party in order to minimize the risk of diversion of arms and ammunition.

Beyond addressing arms transfers, all parties to the conflict have a duty to protect civilians in armed conflict and to ensure compliance with applicable international law, including and especially international humanitarian law. Since 24 February 2022, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights has recorded 23,821 civilian casualties in Ukraine — 8,836 killed and 14,985 injured, with the actual figures likely to be considerably higher. Most of the civilian deaths and injuries continue to be caused by the use of explosive weapons with wide-area effects, including attacks by heavy artillery, tanks, multiple launch rocket systems and missiles and air strikes.

After almost 15 months of the Russian Federation's military offensive in Ukraine, the suffering, loss, displacement and destruction continue to form part of

an unbearable routine. In addition to the thousands of civilians killed or injured, the destruction of essential critical infrastructure and services is particularly alarming. Homes, schools, roads and bridges have been destroyed and damaged. Attacks on energy infrastructure have interrupted power, heating, the drinking water supply and sewage facilities, as well as mobile and Internet communications. Hospitals and health facilities have been attacked, resulting in the deaths or injuries of health-care workers and disruptions to essential services. Explosive remnants of war have resulted in widespread land contamination, rendering land unusable for agriculture and impeding the movement of people.

Under international humanitarian law, combatants must not direct attacks against civilians or civilian infrastructure and must take all feasible precautions in the conduct of military operations to avoid — or at least minimize — incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians and damage to civilian objects. The attacks against civilians and civilian infrastructure must stop. I take this opportunity to call on all Member States to support and effectively implement the Political Declaration on Strengthening the Protection of Civilians from the Humanitarian Consequences Arising from the Use of Explosive Weapons in Populated Areas, which was adopted in November 2022. That Declaration is an important tool for better protecting civilians from the increasing urbanization of armed conflict.

Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which is a violation of international law, including the Charter of the United Nations, is causing massive suffering and devastation for Ukraine and its people. The world cannot afford for the war to continue. I appeal to all Member States to make every effort for peace. The United Nations stands ready to support all genuine efforts to that end.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank Mr. Ebo for his briefing.

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

Mr. Nebenzia (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Western countries insist that they are not parties to the conflict but are only helping Ukraine to defend itself. However, the reality is the polar opposite. A proxy war is being waged with Russia in Ukraine. Since the last Council meeting in February on the subject of Western arms deliveries to Ukraine (see S/PV.9256), not only has the flow of arms not decreased, but it is increasing.

That shows that NATO countries support increased arms flows. It is clear that they are not interested in a peaceful settlement to the conflict. The European Union High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Josep Borrell Fontelles, added another feather to his cap. He said that in order to end the war now,

"stop providing military aid to Ukraine and Ukraine [will] have to surrender in a few days. That is it, the war is over".

British Defence Secretary Ben Wallace also spoke on the matter. He said that the United Kingdom would continue to provide military aid to Ukraine so that other Western countries would not be tempted to force the Kyiv authorities to make concessions in order to achieve peace. The supply of increasingly powerful weapons systems, combined with the ongoing transfer of strike data to Kyiv and the training of the soldiers of the Armed Forces of Ukraine on its territory, means that those States are not only parties to the armed conflict with Russia, according to the 1907 Hague Convention concerning the Rights and Duties of Neutral Powers in Naval War, but they are also complicit in the war crimes committed by the Armed Forces of Ukraine and nationalist battalions.

The aims of the collective West are obvious to everyone. Western politicians do not try to hide them. And neither moral principles nor the highest human values are of any consequence, since they use Ukraine as a testing site and seek to prolong the conflict to the last Ukrainian, in an effort to inflict a strategic defeat on Russia. At the heart of that strategy is a clear desire to continue to impose their will and so-called rules on everyone. Exorbitant sums of money are being spent to pump arms into Ukraine — billions of dollars from taxpayers' pockets, which flow into the accounts of the Western military-industrial complex. Last December, the United States Congress approved \$48 billion in military assistance to Ukraine, while a new tranche of \$1.2 billion was announced a few days ago. Not long ago, Mr. Borrell also reported that the assistance provided to Kyiv by European Union countries and organizations alone totalled €16 billion. The same Josep Borrell Fontelles offered to allocate €3.5 billion for additional financing for the European Peace Facility, the funds of which are used to pay for military supplies to Ukraine. It is time to call it what it is and rename it the "European War Facility".

The European Commission plans to allocate another €1.5 billion for the production of ammunition. Germany also reportedly plans to send the largest amount of so-

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called assistance, worth €2.7 billion, which will include armoured vehicles, Leopard tanks, anti-aircraft guns, hundreds of guided missiles, reconnaissance drones and logistical support vehicles. As noted by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg, NATO countries have together already allocated more than €65 billion to the Armed Forces of Ukraine. By comparison, \$18 billion was spent on food security between 2021 and 2023. Those are the real priorities of the collective West. Moreover, the range of supplies is steadily expanding, going far beyond defence weaponry. European countries report that some 600 tanks have already been sent to Ukraine. Discussions are under way on deliveries of combat aircraft — fighter jets and bombers. Crews are being trained in European countries and special forces are being trained in Germany, according to media reports.

The fact that Ukraine is being used by the West as a training site and that the West is not concerned about the fate of its population is well illustrated by London's decision to supply depleted uranium shells to Kyiv. The United Kingdom is well aware of their dire long-term consequences for the environment and public health. The Serbs are still reeling from the NATO bombing in 1999, when 15 tons of depleted uranium were used. Numerous cases of increased cancer and other pathologies have been documented. Iraq, where the Americans have dropped hundreds of thousands of such shells, is also no stranger to that.

But this time, the British were quick to cover themselves: James Heappey, the Minister of State for the Armed Forces of the United Kingdom, was quick to declare that London has no obligation to monitor the deployment of the depleted uranium shells or to eliminate the consequences of their use after the end of the conflict.

It is with the same cynicism that London is trying to absolve itself of responsibility for Kyiv's use of British-supplied long-range Storm Shadow missile systems. On 12 and 13 May, combat aircraft of the Armed Forces of Ukraine launched Storm Shadow missiles and an American ADM-160 miniature air-launched decoy missile at the Polypak polymer products plant and the Milam meat processing plant in Luhansk, which started a fire, destroyed residential buildings and injured civilians, including 6 children. The United Kingdom did not stop there. It supplied an additional 400 such missiles, as well as anti-aircraft missile systems and drones with a range of more than 200 kilometres.

How many of those missiles will hit civilian targets? After all, attacks by the Kyiv regime on civilian infrastructure and civilians in Donbas are a daily reality. Donetsk has lived under constant shelling since 2014, and now not a day goes by without reports of civilian casualties. Western countries are well aware of those practices, but they never mention those cities when they talk about the protection of civilians or the norms of international humanitarian law. They have absolutely no shame about the fact that those attacks are carried out with weapons supplied by them. We have repeatedly cited examples of the use of American HIMARS missiles on civilian targets. Moreover, The Washington Post has cited evidence from Ukrainian officials that the United States de facto controls some military operations, and Kyiv as a rule does not use Washington-provided missile systems without the confirmation or the provision of coordinates by the United States military.

In that regard, the hypocrisy of Western countries is also clear due to their direct violation of their international agreements and commitments regarding the supply of such military equipment. We spoke at length about that during the open debate of the Security Council on 10 April (see S/PV.9301), citing specific examples of the extremely negative consequences of such violations. Other countries from various regions of the world have also called for an end to the uncontrolled proliferation of weapons.

Recently, independent journalist Seymour Hersh reported that early in the special military operation, weapons supplied by Western countries to Ukraine flooded into Poland, Romania and other border countries because Ukrainian commanders at various levels were personally reselling the shipments or dumping them onto the black market. Even the British Ministry of Defence recently admitted that not all shipments reach the conflict zone.

We have repeatedly pointed out that Western weapons will end up in the hands of organized crime groups, terrorists and armed groups, not only in Europe, but also in other regions of the world. Western countries invariably try to gloss over that uncomfortable topic. In the same way, they ignore the many crimes of the Zelenskyy regime. Moreover, the direct confession on 16 May of the Head of the Main Directorate of Intelligence of the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine, Kyrylo Budanov, who said that they had already gotten — which means killed — many people, including public and media personalities from Russia, also went unnoticed.

The terrorist nature of the Kyiv regime is clear. That is also relevant for those in the West who take the time to listen to the statements of its representatives. Here is a statement by Mykhailo Podolyak, adviser to the Head of the Office of the President of Ukraine, who said that

"If they stop sending weapons to Ukraine, the war would start in other countries. The number of terrorist attacks in Europe would increase significantly. In general, people would not be able to sit quietly eating croissants in restaurants in Europe."

But the Western countries knew exactly who they were bringing to power as a result of the 2014 coup d'état and who they had carefully nurtured prior to that in the interests of systematically transforming Ukraine into an anti-Russia country. The misanthropic heart of the current Kyiv regime, which worships the Ukrainian nationalists of the past who committed heinous crimes against the peaceful Polish, Jewish and Russian population, was fully demonstrated in the longstanding war it unleashed against the Russian-speaking population of Donbas. The countries of the West not only did not prevent that, but their leaders themselves admit that they blatantly sabotaged the implementation of the Minsk agreements in order to continue to use the Kyiv authorities for their own interests. Despite their already unprecedented level of involvement in the conflict, they are not abandoning their goals now.

Russia reserves the right to take any measures necessary to neutralize threats to its security, and the goals of the special military operation will be met.

Mrs. Hackman (Ghana): I thank Mr. Adedeji Ebo, Director and Deputy to the High Representative of the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs, for his briefing.

At the outset, let me reaffirm Ghana's unwavering commitment to the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine and its inherent right to self-defence, enshrined in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. While the use of force has long been outlawed by customary international law, the framers of the Charter rightly asserted the rights of States to individual or collective defence when an armed attack occurs. That is the legitimate endeavour that has engaged the resources of Ukraine for close to 16 months now.

We believe strongly that the sovereign rights and interests of Ukraine can best be assured in the context of peace and never through a brutal war — one that has

now resulted in more than 23,000 civilian casualties and left cities and towns in ruins. It is only in the context of relative peace that the compounding dispute between the two neighbouring countries can be effectively resolved in accordance with the tenets of international law and in the spirit of the Charter.

The fact is that arms proliferation, especially in conflict areas, poses a serious threat to international peace and security, including the risk of escalation and the diversion of arms to unintended destinations or recipients. We in Africa are unfortunately familiar and still grappling with the consequences of the influx of arms from other regions into the continent, especially in the Sahel region, where insurgent and undesirable elements are being equipped in the perpetuation of their destabilizing activities.

We therefore strongly reassert the need for transparency and accountability through effective tracing and monitoring mechanisms to ensure that all arms supplied to Ukraine serve their intended purpose. We urge strict compliance with international non-proliferation arrangements, including the Arms Trade Treaty, the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms, the European Union's common position on arms exports and other relevant national regulations. Arms control measures, especially in the context of the war in Ukraine, would help to assuage any concerns and provide assurance on mitigation efforts against post-conflict and illegal proliferation.

Unfortunately, the real burden carriers for the wide-ranging missiles and other lethal weapons targeted at several parts of Ukraine are the country's men, women and children, whose only chance of possible escape are the bunkers, in which we are told they are seeking refuge for several days and weeks at a time. With the hostilities still ongoing, we are compelled to underscore once more the responsibility of the warring parties under international humanitarian law and international human rights law to protect civilians and civilian infrastructure from deliberate harm and destruction. We also stress the obligation of the parties to act in accordance with the humanitarian principles of necessity, distinction and proportionality, not only to prevent further breaches of international law but also to save innocent lives.

The conscience of the international community as a collective must be awakened to the colossal risks associated with the elevated military expenditure recorded globally and to the fact that the plugs must to be pulled while we still have control over the situation.

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We are also concerned about the contrast with development funding in a post-pandemic era where most, if not all, States are faced with stifling economic and fiscal challenges. Those shared concerns should spur our collective peace efforts to help end the war and reverse the tides of the global three-pronged crisis of food, energy and fuel that is now upending our shared ambitions for peace and sustainable development.

We remain profoundly concerned that the military posturing and further militarization of the conflict between the Russian Federation and Ukraine is crowding out the prospects of a diplomatic solution, which is now overdue. However, we remain confident that the tools of diplomacy and dialogue offer the best chances of a comprehensive political settlement, and that is why we continue to urge international support in that direction. We further urge the two sides to commit to a political settlement in their mutual interest and in the wider interest of the global community. We emphasize the need for all peace efforts to be carried out with due regard to international law and the purposes and values of the Charter of the United Nations in order to ensure durability.

Lastly, we reiterate the many calls that have been made to the Russian Federation to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its neighbouring country and to end its war of aggression through the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of its troops from the internationally recognized borders of Ukraine.

Ms. Dautllari (Albania): I thank Mr. Ebo, Deputy to the High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, for his briefing.

Let me start by recalling why we are having this discussion today — a permanent member of the Council that is violating international law called a meeting to condemn those who support the victim of their attack. It is the same country that invaded a member of the United Nations, a sovereign State; is deliberately targeting civilians and civilian infrastructure; is importing missiles, weapons and drones, including by violating Security Council resolutions; and declared its intention to transfer tactical nuclear weapons to a neighbouring country, thus undermining the architecture of nuclear disarmament. In short, this meeting is yet another attempt in furtherance of what we have seen since February last year.

There is only one reality, one truth: Russia is the aggressor and Ukraine is trying to defend itself. Ukraine has asked for help, and it is our — and, we

think, everyone's — moral duty to support Ukraine to defend its freedom and to protect our shared norms and values against aggression, annexation and atrocities. The military support that it is receiving complies with transparency and equality, in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. We welcome the commitment of the Ukrainian Government to use the weapons only within the borders of Ukraine and appreciate the commitments of national institutions to properly manage and control them.

In contrast, Russia is transferring illegally arms from Iran and North Korea, in violation of Security Council resolutions, specifically Annex B, paragraph 4, of resolution 2231 (2015). Russia is using those weapons to attack civilians and civilian infrastructure throughout Ukraine.

This week, the Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Council of Europe approved the establishment of a register of damage, which will document the damages resulting from Russia's brutal war against Ukraine. That is an historic decision. It is one of the first legally binding decisions to hold Russia accountable for its brutal military aggression, and it paves the way towards a future international comprehensive compensation mechanism for the victims of the aggression.

The accountability process should be part of every diplomatic solution, aiming at a just and comprehensive peace settlement. Peace efforts should be fully in line with the United Nations Charter and the General Assembly resolution ES-11/6, adopted earlier this year. Also, the extension of the Black Sea Grain Initiative for 60 days, achieved yesterday, is good news, as part of the global response for humanitarian purposes. Albania commends the strong engagement and substantial mediation role of the United Nations and the Republic of Türkiye in that important process.

Let me conclude by repeating our call that, if Russia takes the peace talks seriously, it should start by putting an immediate end to this war, withdraw its troops and respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine, within its internationally recognized borders.

Ms. Shaheen (United Arab Emirates): We also thank the Deputy to the High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, Mr. Ebo, for his informative briefing, and I welcome Ukraine's participation in today's meeting.

The development of security and defence capabilities is integral to the right of self-defence. Engaging in such activities also comes with certain risks and responsibilities to mitigate those risks. For instance, poorly managed weapon stockpiles and supplies can be diverted to terrorist groups or other malign actors. It is critical to guard against such risks. We have seen how illicit weapons transfers to such groups have been behind the proliferation of violence and numerous attacks against civilians and undermined the security and stability of many States. We underline, therefore, the importance of the appropriate management of weapons during transfer, storage and deployment.

The United Nations has worked with Member States to support these efforts and establish international standards. For example, the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs supports the Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects and its International Tracing Instrument. There are many other ongoing efforts to establish international norms with respect to the manufacture, trade and storage of weapons. We are encouraged by the Organization's work in that regard.

In addition to international cooperation and standards setting, constant monitoring and oversight by national authorities is critical and requires the utmost attention. Additional risks may arise in situations of armed conflict, and it is vital that the relevant national authorities take all appropriate measures to mitigate such risks. Enhancing cooperation, including information exchange and the sharing of best practices, can help reduce such risks.

Earlier this week we heard a briefing on the humanitarian situation in Ukraine. It highlighted that civilians bear the costs of conflict. To address these impacts, we call upon all parties to engage in diplomacy and dialogue. We strongly welcome the agreement to continue the Black Sea Grain Initiative and commend the work of the United Nations and Türkiye in that regard. This shows how much more is to be gained through peace, and we stand ready to support genuine efforts towards dialogue to bring the war to a just, sustainable end consistent with the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. De Almeida Filho (Brazil): I thank Mr. Ebo for his informative briefing.

In February 2022, when the Council first met to discuss the subject (see S/PV.8983), we noted that the increasing emphasis on arms transfers in our debates signalled, in fact, a dangerous escalation of the conflict. That observation remains valid.

The right of States to self-defence is a fundamental principle of the Charter of the United Nations. However, it is now more than a year since the beginning of the conflict, and the necessary willingness to dialogue and the abandonment of the illusions of military victory are still not visible. Only a negotiated solution can bring about lasting peace.

Massive transfers of highly lethal weapons to the battlefront can further undermine prospects for a peaceful outcome. The increasing flow of weapons into the conflict in Ukraine will only fuel more violence and will not contribute to ending it. The presence of arms and ammunition in large quantities tends to become a destabilizing factor in the long run, compromising the chances of lasting peace in the region and beyond.

Brazil shares concerns about the risks of the diversion of arms and ammunition. The choices we presently make must take into account the repercussions and long-term consequences. A significant worry arises with regard to the proper accounting of all dispatched weapons, particularly those that are lightweight, manportable, and untraceable. There is abundant evidence that the uncontrolled supply of weapons in conflict areas can benefit criminal and terrorist groups, even after a ceasefire. It should come as no surprise if, in the near future, weapons directed to the war in Ukraine resurface elsewhere in the world and are employed for malicious purposes.

We must also consider the aftermath of conflicts. There is no shortage of examples of strong paramilitary groups and militias retaining possession of weapons and capabilities originally intended for a State, leading to unforeseen and harmful consequences. We must not underestimate the historical precedents of these capabilities being turned against their original providers. History demonstrates that when it comes to the transfer of weapons, the probability of the situation spiralling out of control is anything but insignificant.

Bearing this in mind, Brazil, as a party to the Arms Trade Treaty, wishes to recall the importance of the Treaty as a milestone in efforts to regulate conventional arms transfers. We urge States parties to the Treaty to adopt measures to ensure compliance with

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its provisions and encourage other States to join it or, at least, consider applying its main guidelines. We believe that cooperation between Governments is the best way to regulate and monitor arms transfers.

Let me conclude by reiterating our call for a cessation of hostilities and the opening of peace negotiations based on the principles of the United Nations Charter and on considering the security concerns of all parties.

Mr. Ishikane (Japan): I thank the Deputy to the High Representative, Mr. Adedeji Ebo, for his briefing.

Almost 15 months have passed since Russia's aggression against Ukraine began. It is unfortunate to see the losses continuing to mount.

Russia requested today's meeting to discuss the issue of growing supplies of lethal weapons to Ukraine. Any aspect of the war needs to be considered in the context of the whole: this illegal and unprovoked war of aggression against Ukraine was initiated by Russia in the first place. In this larger context, concerns about potential ramifications of the influx of weapons must be taken into account, but we must not misjudge the fundamental cause.

Russia has repeatedly attempted to divert public attention from its own violations of the United Nations Charter, but we must not confuse victims with perpetrators. We underscore Ukraine's right to self-defence to defend itself against aggression. The international community is lending its support to Ukraine in order to stop Russia's aggression and maintain international peace and security. On the contrary, no nation should support the aggression.

In this context, we also strongly condemn the transfer of unmanned aerial vehicles from Iran to Russia. We would support efforts by the United Nations Secretariat to investigate the potential use of Iranian drones by Russia in its war against Ukraine, in accordance with resolution 2231 (2015).

For as long as Russia continues to evade accountability for its aggression, the international community will repeat this same condemnation. Japan reiterates our condemnation of Russia's aggression against Ukraine in the strongest terms. Russia must withdraw all of its troops and military equipment from Ukraine and respect Ukraine's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders.

Ms. Koumby Missambo (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): I would like to thank Mr. Adedeji Ebo for his briefing and welcome the participation of the Ambassador of Ukraine in this meeting.

The war in Ukraine continues to send millions of displaced persons and refugees on the road to exodus, both inside and outside Ukraine. The human toll of this deadly war among the civilian population was estimated last February at approximately 8,000 dead and nearly 12,000 wounded. On the military level, the situation of the forces involved, the concentration and location of the fighting in certain cities or regions, the announcements of offensives and counter-offensives on both sides, and the declarations of additional arms deliveries, are all data that make us fear a war of attrition, and therefore more civilian victims.

Indeed, military leaders are announcing the deliveries of advanced weaponry, such as cruise missiles, drones, tanks and other heavy armaments, in the coming weeks and months. This not only adds to the confusion caused by the difficulty of tracing all these weapons, but also increases the risk of their diversion to armed groups, organized crime networks or mafia networks of all kinds.

We call on all parties to respect treaty obligations with regard to arms supplies and to implement and strengthen monitoring, verification and reporting measures for arms, particularly small arms and light weapons. We emphasize the particularly destructive effects of certain weapons that indiscriminately target populated areas and civilian populations, and we warn of their humanitarian consequences. Belligerents must take all necessary precautions to avoid the effects of cluster munitions and anti-personnel mines on civilian populations and the natural environment. We would also remind the parties of their obligations under international humanitarian law and the resolutions protecting civilians and civilian infrastructure.

The intense diplomatic activity marked by high-level visits that has continued in recent weeks and days provides little information about the possibility of de-escalation. We remain attentive to mediation offers that might open the way to a diplomatic and political solution to the conflict. My country continues to call on the protagonists to come to the table to consider ways to end this war and stop the suffering of millions of innocent civilians. We call on them to rekindle the momentum that prevailed when the grain agreement and the agreement on prisoners were concluded, with a view to reaching a ceasefire.

The search for peaceful coexistence and shared prosperity borne out of a peace based on and for the benefit of people should guide the Security Council in accordance with the noble aspirations of the United Nations Charter. We urge all parties to engage in negotiations for a lasting and mutually acceptable settlement of the situation.

Mr. Montalvo Sosa (Ecuador) (spoke in Spanish): I wish to express my appreciation for the valuable information provided by Director Ebo, which complements the recommendations offered by the High Representative for Disarmament Affairs at the 10 April and 8 February meetings of Security Council (see S/PV.9301 and S/PV.9256, respectively). I also welcome the presence of the Permanent Representative of Ukraine at today's meeting.

I reiterate once again Ecuador's historical position of rejecting armed violence, militarization and a focus on armaments. This position has always been accompanied by our recognition of the right of peoples to legitimate self-defence, in accordance with international law. That right is the pillar of peaceful coexistence among nations and is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, including in Article 51, the relevant first part of which I quote.

"Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security."

Ecuador therefore recognizes the right of Member States to equip themselves with tools for the defence of their territorial integrity, provided that the equipment, its transfer and its use do not contravene international law or international humanitarian law.

We are always concerned about the challenges to peace and security posed by the large-scale inflow of arms and ammunition in any situation of armed conflict, including the risks of diversion, propagation and escalation. Measures to counter those risks are key to post-conflict recovery and to regional security and stability, and even to the prevention of conflicts on other continents. For that reason, we reiterate the continuing need to increase the standards of marking, registration and traceability of weapons and their ammunition, prioritize the protection of civilians and the objective of global stability over any other logic

with regard to industry, production or distribution. We deplore the fact that the prolonged invasion of the territory of Ukraine continues to fuel those risks amid growing global military spending, which already exceeded \$2 trillion dollars last year.

At last Monday's meeting (see S/PV.9321) we raised the issue and today reiterate the urgent need to put an end to the use of explosives in populated areas. We deplore the fact that explosive weapons with wide-area effects have been the cause of 92.5 per cent of civilian victims in Ukraine.

We also recognize the vital role of some defence materials and systems, including anti-aircraft systems, which can contribute to preventing or decreasing the destruction of infrastructure and the number of civilian casualties, when used properly. Export control efforts must therefore focus on the need to guarantee the protection of civilians and take into account the obligation to respect the principles of distinction, proportionality and precaution in the use of any weapon. We once again condemn the violations of the arms embargoes and sanctions regimes prohibiting such exports and any transfers aimed at fuelling the aggression or military occupation.

Finally, we once again insist that the Russian Federation bring an end to the military occupation and hostilities against Ukraine and reiterate our deeply held belief in the validity of the statement by the President of the Security Council S/PRST/2022/3, of 6 May 2022, by which the Council recalled that all Member States had undertaken, under the Charter of the United Nations, the obligation to settle their international disputes by peaceful means and expressed strong support for the efforts of the Secretary-General in the search for a peaceful solution.

We recognize in particular the efforts of the Secretary-General, which are reflected in the extension of the Black Sea Grain Initiative, and other humanitarian achievements, and we call on the Council to further support his efforts, so that we may move towards a peaceful resolution on the basis of the territorial integrity and political independence of Ukraine.

Mr. De Rivière (France) (*spoke in French*): I thank Mr. Ebo for his briefing.

This is the fifth time that Russia has called a meeting on arms deliveries to Ukraine. Repeating that exercise ad nauseam will not be enough to bring about a parallel reality. The end of this war and its

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negative consequences depends exclusively on Russia. On 24 February 2022, it was Russia that undermined our collective security with an act of aggression. It was Russia that decided illegally to use force and to escalate and commit war crimes. No one else is seeking to continue the conflict today. If Russia withdraws its troops from Ukraine, as the International Court of Justice demanded on 16 March 2022, the chaos will stop.

What is Russia waiting for? Is it waiting for the supply of arms to Ukraine to stop so that it can win this war and impose its will? And then what? Would we then move on to something else, a new aggression? Russia cannot and must not win this conflict. It flouts the principles of our Organization. This aggression must fail because we cannot accept the normalization of the illegal use of force. We cannot accept a world in which the sovereignty and security of all people depend solely on power relations.

For all those reasons, France, along with its partners, has chosen to support the Ukrainian people in their right to self-defence, as established in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. We will continue to do so, bilaterally and through the European Union, taking account Ukraine's most urgent needs to strengthen its defence capabilities.

Our military support is strengthening Ukraine. The invasion was supposed to be over in a matter of days. It has now been nearly 15 months that Russia has been held at bay.

Our assistance is enabling Ukraine to defend its people from Russian strikes. By focusing our efforts on air defence capabilities, we are helping the Ukrainian people to cope with the deliberate destruction of civilian infrastructure by Russia, which is trying to sow destruction in its wake, by trampling on the Geneva Conventions, since it cannot make progress on the front lines.

Finally, that support seeks to rebalance the power relations to establish the conditions for the resolution of the conflict. That will allow credible negotiations, leading to a just and lasting peace, and will guarantee a peace in accordance with international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

While we are legally delivering weapons to Ukraine, Russia is seeking to illegally acquire them to replenish its dwindling stocks. By purchasing combat drones from Iran and missiles and ammunition from North Korea, Russia is violating the resolutions of the

Security Council. Some of those weapons are used by the Wagner Group private militia, whose abuses and crimes are now well documented.

There is only one possible outcome: a peace in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations that respects the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine. It is in that spirit that France supports the Ukrainian peace plan.

Mr. Geng Shuang (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank the Deputy to the High Representative for Disarmament Affairs for his briefing.

The Security Council has considered the issue of weapons supplies to Ukraine many times before, and China has comprehensively expounded its position on many occasions.

Today I will stress only three points.

First, the constant feeding of weapons to the battlefield will lead only to the escalation and spread of the war and cause more civilian casualties and displacement, making it harder to start peace negotiations and make the hope of a ceasefire and a cessation of the war even more elusive.

Secondly, the constant feeding of weapons to the battlefield will bring about a huge risk of proliferation. If diverted to terrorist and armed groups, those weapons are likely to cause new turmoil in a wider geographical area and claim more innocent victims.

Thirdly, the constant feeding of weapons to the battlefield will pose serious challenges to post-war reconstruction. The painful lessons in Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia, among other countries, have repeatedly taught us that weapons and explosive remnants of war pose security risks and add to the burdens of post-war reconstruction.

There can be no military solution to the Ukraine crisis. Dialogue and negotiation are essential to restoring peace. In the current circumstances, all the parties should work to promote a political settlement in good faith and with the greatest possible sense of urgency to create the conditions that will enable a return to negotiations, an agreement on a ceasefire and an end to the war. China has always stood on the side of peace and dialogue on the Ukraine issue, and we have continued to actively promote peace talks. We are neither an instigator of nor a party to the Ukraine crisis, much less a provider of weapons to any party to the conflict. The Chinese Government recently sent Li Hui, its Special

Representative on Eurasian Affairs, to Ukraine, Poland, France, Germany and Russia to engage with all parties on finding a political solution to the crisis. We welcome the fact that six African leaders plan to visit Russia and Ukraine soon to promote a ceasefire and an end to the war. As President Xi Jinping has made clear, any effort that leads to the peaceful resolution of the crisis should be supported. We call on the international community to forge synergies to promote peace talks and collectively play a constructive role in promoting a political settlement of the crisis in Ukraine.

Mr. Fernandes (Mozambique): We thank Mr. Adedeji Ebo, Director and Deputy to the High Representative of the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs, for his briefing. I acknowledge the presence of the Permanent Representative of Ukraine at this meeting.

As our delegation stated when this issue was brought before the Security Council in February (see S/PV.9256), the trajectory of the conflict between the Russian Federation and the Ukraine is headed towards a prolonged war. The regular public announcements of the delivery and deployment of armaments outside the umbrella of the United Nations arms-control and disarmament framework are indicative of further confrontation and a rejection of de-escalation and compromise. Mozambique is deeply concerned about the possibility that this trend could lead to strategic miscalculation and an irreversible spread of the conflict, ultimately involving Europe and the activation of other military defence pacts and alliances. As we said in February, the massive deployment of arms and weapons by both sides into an already raging military confrontation is adding fuel to the fire.

Our considered opinion remains that the prospects for a peaceful settlement of the conflict, on the one hand, and the increasing supply of arms, on the other, are not mutually compatible. We remain steadfast in our call for seeking a diplomatic off-ramp for the confrontation, including the rapid re-establishment of diplomatic channels and the deployment of the good offices of the Secretary-General. We need to step back from the abyss of war and from the dangerous logic of a military solution to the ongoing crisis.

The Council cannot remain deadlocked and hostage to the mutual distrust resulting from the conflict. Despite the well-meant claims that equal attention is being given to all global crisis hotspots, the reality is that the crisis in Ukraine continues to be a divisive

issue that is diverting resources and bandwidth not just from the Council but from the pressing humanitarian and security responses needed for the other immediate challenges facing the international community. As we stressed on Monday during the debate on the humanitarian situation in Ukraine (see S/PV.9321), we strongly believe that the peace initiative put forward by several States, including members of the Council and African States, should be given a chance. A political settlement is the right way to address the crisis, as a matter of urgency. At the high-level open debate on silencing the guns in Africa held during Mozambique's presidency (see S/PV.9299), President Filipe Nyusi stated that our experience has taught us that only dialogue and building trust can break the trend to violence. We must resolve conflicts through peaceful diplomacy and not resort to arms.

In conclusion, Mozambique would like to welcome the agreement reached between Russia, Ukraine and Türkiye yesterday to extend the Black Sea Grain Initiative for an additional two months. It is a rare breakthrough that should be capitalized on in a spirit of constructive engagement. Mozambique therefore reiterates its call on all parties to adhere to Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations and to settle their disputes "by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered."

Dame Barbara Woodward (United Kingdom): I join others in thanking Mr. Ebo for his briefing.

Four hundred and forty-nine days into the Russian Federation's illegal and full-scale war, Russia continues to attack Ukrainian cities, hospitals and schools — the country's civilian infrastructure — killing and injuring innocent families in their homes or forcing them to flee, with 8 million people now displaced as a result of Russia's attacks. Last night, for the ninth time this month, Russia rained down another barrage of missiles on Ukrainian cities in blatant disregard for human life. Russia is deploying more and more powerful weapons. It is sourcing weapons for Putin's illegal war from States such as Iran and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in blatant violation of the relevant Security Council resolutions. The United Kingdom calls on other States not to provide Russia with military assistance.

We have repeatedly urged Russia to end the war, respect Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity, cease attacks on civilians and civilian infrastructure and withdraw its troops from Ukraine. Ukraine did not

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want or provoke this war. The Ukrainian people want peace, but they face a choice between annihilation and taking up arms in self-defence. They have done so in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. We therefore support Ukraine in defending its sovereignty and territorial integrity in line with the Charter. We share its goal of securing peace in line with the Charter. As my Prime Minister has made clear, we will continue to respond to Ukraine's requests for the means to defend itself against Russia's aggression.

Last week we announced the provision of Storm Shadow missiles to Ukraine. We have also provided a range of air defence systems, including advanced medium-range air-to-air missiles. Those defensive weapons can defeat Russian cruise missiles to help Ukraine defend its skies and its people from Russia's indiscriminate attacks. The Russian representative also mentioned depleted uranium. The British army has used depleted uranium in its armour-piercing shells for decades. It is a standard component and has nothing to do with nuclear weapons or capabilities. Russia knows that, but it is deliberately trying to spread disinformation. I therefore want there to be no doubt that we are providing all our military support to Ukraine in accordance with international law and with robust measures in place to prevent any illicit transfers.

The cost of this war is felt around the world. Its impact on food and commodity prices is severe. We welcome the continuation of the Black Sea Grain Initiative and call on Russia not to hold up the movement of ships under that deal as a pressure tactic. As States Members of the United Nations, we want to focus on other priorities, on which the world desperately needs us to work together, such as delivery of the Sustainable Development Goals. Instead, Russia's war has made those Goals harder to reach.

In conclusion, I listened carefully to the Russian delegation. It is trying to persuade the world not to provide defensive support to Ukraine. The reason for that is blindingly obvious. Russia wants to overrun the Ukrainian military, as it has tried and failed to do since February 2022. Why? Because it wants to conquer a sovereign country and annex its territory. That is why the missiles are still falling on Kyiv. Russia can end the war at any time by withdrawing its troops. Until then, we will help Ukraine defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity and uphold the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. Wood (United States of America): I thank Mr. Ebo for his detailed briefing.

We gather again just weeks after discussing the same topic, and unfortunately little has changed. We are here again listening to Russia's allegations that arms shipments from the United States and other countries providing support for Ukraine and its self-defence are the grave threat in the Ukraine conflict, and not Russia's invasion of its sovereign neighbour. It is a really interesting — and I might add twisted — narrative it chooses. It is very much alone in that position. Members of the Council and the General Assembly, as well as the Secretary-General have all repeatedly made clear that Russia's invasion of Ukraine is a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and Ukraine's territorial integrity. The United States has staunchly supported Ukraine's right to defend itself against Russia's brutal, unprovoked war of aggression. We, along with 50 other States, will continue to do so.

The provision of weapons for Ukraine's territorial defence is not extending or exacerbating the conflict. Rather, those arms help repel Russia's invasion of its neighbour and prevent an even further invasion of Ukraine's sovereign territory. Those arms shipments help prevent Russia from further brutalizing Ukrainian civilians, forcing them from their homes and driving up energy and food costs across Europe and around the world. Arms shipments by the United States and other friends of Ukraine are not the cause of the continuation of Russia's needless war. If Russia had any genuine desire for de-escalation, it would simply withdraw its troops and end its invasion. Instead, underscoring its own hypocrisy, Russia brings topics such as this one to the Security Council and blames others for the death and destruction that its aggression has caused and is continuing to cause in Ukraine.

Russia is cynical enough to call for this discussion while it continues to relentlessly rain down missiles and drone strikes on cities and critical infrastructure, killing civilians, all in the service of the Kremlin's bloody land grab in blatant violation of the United Nations Charter. We know that both Russia and Iran violated resolution 2231 (2015) when Iran transferred drones to Russia. Russia has used those drones to attack Ukraine's critical infrastructure and kill Ukrainian civilians. We know that in November 2022, the Wagner Group, a vicious mercenary organization working in coordination with the Kremlin, imported infantry rockets and missiles from the Democratic People's

Republic of Korea, in violation of the United Nations arms embargo on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Moreover, senior Russian officials in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have been involved in additional discussions, aimed at Russia providing the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with food and commercial aircraft in exchange for more than two dozen different kinds of weapons and munitions, in what would be further violations of multiple resolutions of the Council. And just last week, the owner of the Wagner Group openly called for the transfer of more shells and munitions into Ukraine for his troops to continue Russia's illegal invasion. And yet, Russia wants to talk about support for Ukraine's self-defence as the problem. Once again, Russia seeks to instrumentalize the Council as yet another platform for its ongoing disinformation campaign. We must not and will not let it.

The United States and others will not end our support for Ukraine in the exercise of its right of self-defence. Doing so would only allow Russia's unconscionable killing and injuring of civilians to continue unchecked. Accepting Russia's brazen attempts to redraw borders by force would tear up the rulebook that has made all of us more secure and would have dangerous repercussions around the world. Instead, we will continue to provide our support, while working with Ukraine to maintain the highest safeguards to ensure that the weapons we provide are not diverted into unintended hands. We take the risks of diversion seriously. Last year, our Administration unveiled a strategy to help Ukraine and partners in the region to counter the threats posed by the potential diversion of weapons in Eastern Europe. We have stressed accountability from the very beginning of the conflict and have processes in place to counter illicit diversion.

Ukraine has been a transparent, willing partner in those processes throughout. By helping Ukraine and neighbouring States account for and safeguard arms and ammunition during their transfer, storage and deployment, strengthening border management and security in Ukraine and neighbouring States, and building the capacity of relevant Government agencies to deter, detect and interdict the illicit trafficking of certain weapons, we are taking concrete steps to address the threats posed by such potential diversion.

By supporting Ukraine and its self-defence, we are upholding the United Nations Charter. Through its heinous actions in Ukraine, Russia is trying to drive a stake through the heart of the Charter. In the Council and at every opportunity, we will continue to state the obvious. Russia can end its war of aggression at any time. Russia can end its reliance on its ineffectual attempts to distract us. Russia can simply remove its troops from Ukraine's territory and stop its relentless bombardment of Ukraine's cities, people and civilian infrastructure. That is what we need to remain focused on. Until that happens, the United States will continue to support Ukraine for as long as it takes.

Mrs. Frazier (Malta): I thank the Deputy to the High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, Mr. Ebo, for his briefing and acknowledge the participation of the Permanent Representative of Ukraine in our meeting today.

Today's meeting was requested by the Russian Federation to condemn the increasing supply of weapons to Ukraine. We must remind ourselves that it was Russia that launched a full-scale invasion against a sovereign, independent United Nations Member State. Ukraine has a legitimate right to self-defence, enshrined in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. Today's briefing is another attempt by Russia to distract the world from its abhorrent actions in Ukraine by implying that the urgently needed and legitimate support for Ukraine's self-defence against an unprovoked war of aggression is a threat to peace and security. Russia created the circumstances in which Ukraine is forced to defend itself. Russia began the war and could end it at any time by ceasing its aggression and withdrawing Russian troops and military equipment from Ukraine's internationally recognized borders.

We are deeply concerned about recent reports that Russia is seeking to acquire weapons from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for use in its war of aggression against Ukraine. Any such deal would violate multiple Security Council resolutions and undermine the authority and integrity of the Security Council itself. We call on all States to refrain from transferring any arms to Russia, in the light of its ongoing illegal war of aggression.

The result of Russia's aggression against Ukraine is affecting nearly 18 million people, not only in Ukraine but all over the world. In doing so, it has wilfully violated the rules-based international order. It has caused unimaginable suffering to the Ukrainian population. The human rights monitoring mission in Ukraine has concluded that Russia's strikes targeting critical energy and civilian infrastructure not only are

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a violation of international humanitarian law and a war crime, but also infringed on the human rights to security, health, work, education, social support for persons with disabilities and freedom of religion or belief. Women and girls are at heightened risk of sexual and gender-based violence, both in Ukraine and while fleeing to safer areas and across borders.

The position of Malta, which I have consistently expressed during our tenure in the Security Council, is principled and clear. Ukraine's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity must be upheld. We cannot but note, once again, that Russia's invasion is a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and international law.

The situation of children bears highlighting. The reported widespread transfer and deportation of Ukrainian children not only violates international humanitarian law, but also constitutes a war crime. In addition, the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on Ukraine has found that the citizenship and family placement measures Russia has instituted for Ukrainian children are a violation of their right to identity. We call on Russia to immediately cease these unlawful policies and to facilitate children's return to Ukraine. We reiterate our full support for mechanisms seeking to hold perpetrators of these unlawful acts to account.

Malta reaffirms its commitment to continue providing humanitarian support to Ukraine and safeguard its population from indiscriminate attack in line with the United Nations Charter. The people of Ukraine and millions around the world continue to suffer from the continuation of this unjustified and unprovoked war. In conclusion, we therefore stress once again the overwhelming necessity for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in Ukraine. Malta also welcomes the extension of the Black Sea Grain Initiative, which remains paramount in ensuring global food security. We hope that that agreement continues to provide reliable agricultural exports and alleviate the pressure on global food markets.

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

I thank Mr. Ebo, Director and Deputy to the High Representative of the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs, for his briefing. As Member States of the United Nations, we are all committed to the fundamental principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. These include respect for the sovereign equality and territorial integrity of States, in particular the prohibition of the use of force and territorial expansion by force. With Russia's military aggression against Ukraine, these fundamental principles of the multilateral order have been flagrantly violated. Like all States, Ukraine has the right to ensure its security and defend its territorial integrity. We do not accept the responsibility for this war and its consequences being diverted.

The civilian population has been paying far too high a price and suffering the consequences of this military aggression for more than a year. Thousands of people have been killed or wounded, and more than 8 million people had to flee Ukraine. Vital infrastructure, hospitals, schools and homes have been destroyed, the most recent examples of this having occurred only a few days ago. The parties must respect international humanitarian law, in particular the principles of distinction, proportionality and precaution. The civilian population and civilian property must be protected. Moreover, worldwide food and energy insecurity has increased. In this regard, we welcome the continuation of the Black Sea Grain Initiative and encourage further discussions in order to achieve its improvement, development and extension.

Switzerland deplores the disastrous consequences of the war and condemns the military aggression against Ukraine in the strongest possible terms. I reiterate here the firm call upon Russia to de-escalate the situation, cease all combat operations and withdraw its troops from the whole of Ukrainian territory without delay, a call that has been made repeatedly and confirmed by the International Court of Justice. This would not only put an end to the suffering of the civilian population, but would also allow international support for Ukraine to focus more on its reconstruction needs instead of its defence. Every day that the military aggression continues is one day too many. It is urgent to hold those responsible accountable and to bring about a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in accordance with international law. Until then, Switzerland will continue to provide humanitarian aid, to work for justice, to welcome refugees and to support the reconstruction process in Ukraine. We stand in solidarity with Ukraine and its people.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I give the floor to the representative of Ukraine.

Mr. Kyslytsya (Ukraine): I recognize the representative of Putin's regime in the permanent seat of the Soviet Union.

When addressing the crimes of that regime, it important to remember that they derive from the genocidal practices of Putin's predecessors in the Kremlin. It is exactly today that we commemorate the victims of one of the most horrendous crimes of Stalin's regime: the attempt to exterminate the Crimean Tatar people through mass deportation from their native land, which started on 18 May 1944. The evil returned in 2014, with the attempted annexation of Crimea. It has changed its symbols but not its essence. If we do not stop the crimes of Putin's regime, soon there will be no free dates in the calendar to commemorate the victims of all the crimes committed by Moscow.

I thank Mr. Ebo, Director and Deputy to the High Representative, for his briefing that exposed the baseless nature of the Russian allegations. I am also grateful to those members of the Security Council who have called a spade a spade today in relation to the Russian aggression.

Indeed, when addressing this issue, it is enough to return to basics: to begin with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, which envisages the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member State of the United Nations until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security; to continue with General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX), of 14 December 1974, which defines aggression as the use of armed force by a State against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter; to continue further with General Assembly resolution ES-11/1, of 2 March 2022, which deplores in the strongest terms the aggression by the Russian Federation against Ukraine in violation of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, as well as subsequent emergency session resolutions reiterating that provision; and to note the order of the International

Court of Justice of 16 March 2022, which indicates as a provisional measure that the Russian Federation shall immediately suspend the military operations that it commenced on 24 February 2022 in the territory of Ukraine.

Ukraine will continue to exercise its right of self-defence in strict accordance with Article 51 of the Charter. We will continue to fight until every Ukrainian citizen and every parcel of our sovereign land are liberated and Russia suffers military defeat in Ukraine. We will continue to forge international solidarity until all Russian war criminals are held accountable.

A formula for comprehensive, just and lasting peace already exists, and its main element, which follows on from General Assembly resolution ES-11/6 of 23 February 2023, is consistency with the Charter, including the principles of the sovereign equality and territorial integrity of States. If Russia is interested in surviving, it should cling to that resolution as to a lifebuoy and follow the path to peace that it charts. It is time for the Russian hordes to withdraw from the occupied territories of Ukraine without any further delay and not in cars stolen from the local Ukrainian population. Hundreds of thousands of illegal Russian migrants should get out of Crimea and go back to Russia, where they came from. The Russist criminal bunker geezer still has two options: either to surrender or to repeat what happened in another bunker on 30 April 1945.

(spoke in Russian)

I must address the representatives of the criminal Putin regime with the words of their Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, a certain Ryabkov. The time has come for you to fulfil the instruction of your boss, who in January last year, in his particularly low-life style, had the gall to say something that it is high time for you to do yourself: "pack your bags and go, back across the 1991 borders".

(spoke in English)

Get your junk and sling your hook. Get back across the 1991 borders. Take to your heels before we drop you to your knees.

The meeting rose at 4.30 p.m.

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