



Security Council

Seventy-second year

8151st meeting

Friday, 22 December 2017, 1 p.m.

New York

Provisional

<i>President:</i>	Mr. Bessho	(Japan)
<i>Members:</i>	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Mr. Inchauste Jordán
	China	Mr. Wu Haitao
	Egypt	Mr. Aboulatta
	Ethiopia	Mr. Alemu
	France	Mr. Delattre
	Italy	Mr. Lambertini
	Kazakhstan	Mr. Umarov
	Russian Federation	Mr. Safronkov
	Senegal	Mr. Seck
	Sweden	Ms. Schoulgin Nyoni
	Ukraine	Mr. Yelchenko
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . .	Mr. Rycroft
	United States of America	Mrs. Haley
	Uruguay	Mr. Bermúdez Álvarez

Agenda

Non-proliferation/Democratic People's Republic of Korea

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The meeting was called to order at 1.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Non-proliferation/Democratic People's Republic of Korea

The President: In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of the Republic of Korea 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/2017/1092, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the United States of America.

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:

Bolivia (Plurinational State of), China, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Russian Federation, Senegal, Sweden, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Uruguay

The President: The draft resolution received 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 2397 (2017).

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

Mrs. Haley (United States of America): Before I begin, I want to take a moment to honour some very important people. As we gather together in the Security Council, many around the world are preparing to gather with their families to celebrate a season of peace and generosity. Amid this celebration, we remember the men and women of our military who are away from their families, fulfilling their solemn vow to defend our nation and its allies against those who would harm us. My prayer this Christmas is that our words and deeds today will contribute to our shared cause of peace and that they honour those who keep us safe.

And with that, I would like to specifically thank my Chinese colleagues for working with us on the

negotiations of resolution 2397 (2017). I want to thank all other members of the Council that quickly moved to make action and allow this to come forward.

Today, for the tenth time, the Council stands united against a North Korean regime that rejects the pursuit of peace. The Kim regime continues to defy the resolutions of the Council, the norms of civilized behaviour and the patience of the international community. Its arrogance and hostility to anything productive has set its country on a destructive path. Nine times before today, we have asked the North Korean regime to choose the path of peace. And it should do so, we would welcome it back into the community of nations. But Pyongyang has chosen the path of isolation. As we have in the past, we will continue to match the Kim regime's choice of aggressive actions with actions of international sanction. I commend the members of the Security Council for their unity and persistence in this sustained international defence of peace and security.

On November 29, Pyongyang launched an intercontinental ballistic missile. This was another attempt by the Kim regime to masquerade as a great Power, while its people starve and its soldiers defect. But for the international community, this is an unprecedented challenge from a defiant State. We have therefore leveled an unprecedented response.

Resolution 2397 (2017) ratchets up the pressure on North Korea even further, building on our previous resolution on this topic, resolution 2375 (2017), which included the strongest sanctions ever imposed on that country. Those sanctions fully banned textile exports from North Korea. They banned all joint ventures and all new work permits for overseas North Korean labourers. And, critical to the regime's ability to develop its nuclear and missile programmes, the previous resolution cut off 55 per cent of refined petroleum products going to North Korea.

Today, we cut deeper. After North Korea's September nuclear test, the Council capped refined petroleum exports into North Korea. Today's resolution achieves an 89 per cent total reduction of the Kim regime's ability to import gasoline, diesel and other refined products. And should the North Korean regime conduct another nuclear or ballistic missile test, the resolution commits the Security Council to take even further action. It sends the unambiguous message to Pyongyang that further defiance will invite further punishment and isolation.

Resolution 2375 (2017), adopted in September, banned all new permits for North Koreans who work abroad and send the majority of their earnings to Pyongyang. That is a source of over \$500 million each year to the Kim regime. Today's resolution goes further; it requires that countries expel all North Korean workers within 24 months. Previous resolutions banned 90 per cent of North Korea's exports. This resolution bans all remaining categories of major North Korean exports — a loss of nearly \$250 million in revenue to the regime. Previous resolutions cracked down on the smuggling of banned items, such as oil and coal. But sanctions evasion has continued, so this resolution closes the loopholes in the system and requires countries to seize and impound ships caught smuggling illicit goods. The list goes on.

The unity that the Council has shown in leveling these unprecedented sanctions is a reflection of the international outrage at the Kim regime's actions. But we are not the only ones who are appalled by the North Korean regime. We are not the only ones sacrificing for a solution — not even close. At our most recent meeting on North Korea (see S/PV.8137), I called on all nations to sever diplomatic and trade relations with North Korea. I reiterate that call today. I would ask any nation that continues to support the Kim regime to consider the nature of that regime, and to consider this crisis through the eyes of the North Korean people.

I would ask them to imagine being a North Korean soldier, so desperate and so ravaged by hunger and disease that he would take five bullets from his fellow soldiers in order to escape across the Demilitarized Zone; to imagine being a 12-year-old in North Korea and being forced to attend public executions as a reminder of what would happen if he stepped out of line; to imagine being a mother, so desperate for a better life for her child that she would risk rape, torture and imprisonment if she were caught trying to leave the country; and then to imagine getting caught, being forced to abort her baby without anesthesia, and then trying again and again to escape. These are real stories of real people. These things happened. They should motivate us to do more.

I am grateful to my colleagues for the serious measures we have enacted on behalf of the North Korean people. And I ask them keep those people in their thoughts and prayers this holiday season as we continue to fight against this, the most tragic example of evil in the modern world.

Mr. Rycroft (United Kingdom): Last week, we sat in this Chamber and heard about the many ways that North Korea has violated multiple United Nations resolutions and the will of the Security Council (see S/PV.8137): the illegal nuclear programme; multiple launches of ballistic missiles; the appalling human right violations. We condemned, in the strongest possible terms, these reckless acts by North Korea and we called on the regime to stop immediately all activity in defiance of the Council. We also offered Kim Jong Un a clear choice — different path that leads to prosperity and security. However, last Friday, the Permanent Representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea defiantly made clear that North Korea has no intention of changing its path. It has no intention of abandoning their nuclear programme.

Instead, unbelievably, it claims that it will be a responsible nuclear Power. It shows no sense of responsibility to its neighbours — over whom it fires their ballistic missiles — and it shows no sense of responsibility to the people it forces into modern slavery. As North Korea's missile capabilities advance, so do the contempt and disregard it shows for the Council. It has repeatedly and wilfully rebuffed our unanimous will. It continues to act in brazen violation of its legal obligations, and it seeks to undermine our systems and our collective values.

Last week, we all confirmed that we must use all the diplomatic and economic tools at our disposal to deliver the uncompromising message that this path is unacceptable. Today, we are doing just that. Through the adoption of resolution 2397 (2017), we are showing the regime that our will is strong and that these provocative actions have severe consequences.

Today, we have banned the import of nearly 90 per cent of refined petroleum products into North Korea. These products are used by the regime to resource its illegal nuclear and ballistic missile programmes. By cutting off this supply, we will restrict its ability to develop and deploy these weapons. We have also banned North Korean exports of food products, machinery and industrial and electrical equipment. We have taken another important step towards ending the exploitation of North Korean workers sent overseas with the sole aim of generating earnings for the regime.

We have taken these steps to restrict the income that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea uses to fund its prohibited nuclear and ballistic missile

programmes. I congratulate the United States on this diplomatic achievement and we join it in leaving no stone unturned in pursuit of a diplomatic solution. We call on all States to implement this and previous resolutions fully. It is only by all of us doing this that they will have the intended impact.

These measures are not designed to hurt the North Korean people. We are not targeting the ordinary citizens of North Korea. There are humanitarian exemptions and protections in place to protect the people who already suffer so much at the hands of the Government. It is the regime that bears full responsibility for the measures we have enacted today. Any consequences the people suffer are because of the regime's reckless choices — its choice to develop its nuclear programme over providing for its people.

We must stand united and be clear that we are adopting these measures today to force Kim Jong Un to see that he has the choice of two paths. The current path does not advance the prosperity and security of North Korea; instead, it poses a very real threat to the entire international community. We therefore call on North Korea once again to change course. Let us all call on that regime once again to prioritize the well-being of its people over its illegal pursuit of nuclear weapons. Let us call on it once again to engage meaningfully with the international community.

The United Kingdom will continue to work with the members of the Council, our allies and our partners to increase diplomatic pressure. The resolution just adopted gives us an opportunity to do just that. We must all enforce these new measures and work together, using all the diplomatic and economic tools at our disposal to deliver this clear, uncompromising message to the Kim regime.

Mr. Umarov (Kazakhstan): We very much regret that North Korea continues to tirelessly develop its nuclear programme, which is in grave violation of numerous Security Council resolutions. Proceeding from its principled position on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, Kazakhstan has supported the new resolution 2397 (2017) on sanctions. We hope that it will send a very clear and definite message to Pyongyang that the world community does not approve of North Korea's nuclear policy.

Joining the international community, we wish to lead the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to a very clear understanding of the cause-and-effect relationship

of its actions and of what is happening, namely, that these actions are the outcome of its utter disregard of its obligations under Council resolutions. We have learned from Under-Secretary-General Feltman's recent visit that Pyongyang receives the decisions of the Security Council in a different way — as new perilous circumstances that have been inflicted on it, rather than as consequences of its nuclear track, which is totally unacceptable to the world community.

This is happening partly due to the lack of mutual understanding and dialogue, which are often most difficult and demanding to pursue but will nevertheless lead to optimal positive gains for all. Seeking the path of peace is the only way to save us from making irreparable mistakes, prevent major catastrophes, lead to a common goodwill and fulfil the world's wish to move towards a peaceful future. In that regard, we call on all parties to settle down to a course of peaceful solutions, mediation and interaction in which the sanctions are just an interim phase of the long-awaited way to peace and stability on the Korean peninsula.

Mr. Aboulatta (Egypt) (*spoke in Arabic*): Egypt continues to condemn in the strongest terms the activities of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea related to nuclear weapons and the launch of ballistic missiles, which are a violation of relevant Security Council resolutions and undermine regional and international peace and security.

Egypt voted in favour of resolution 2397 (2017) today, based on its commitment to maintaining the credibility of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and of the Security Council. Egypt is committed to seeing that all bodies of the United Nations, international organizations and the international community act decisively in the face of any threat to the non-proliferation system, without selectivity or double standards.

It is well known to everyone that Egypt attaches great importance to the respect by all parties of binding international consensus that the NPT is a key pillar of the international security system. It is important for the Security Council to address any threat to this system and any action that may undermine the achievement of its universality, in a consistent manner, without discrimination or distinction. Egypt is aware of the nature of the repeated threats by North Korea, its violations of Security Council resolutions and the threat it poses to regional stability in North-East Asia and

regional security in neighbouring countries, including Japan and South Korea, with which Egypt maintains friendly relations.

In the light of all this, Egypt calls on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea once again to cease all actions and activities that violate Security Council resolutions and any provocation that could heighten tensions and instability, which undermine regional and international peace and security. We call on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to rejoin the NPT as a non-nuclear State and to adopt a comprehensive safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Egypt stresses once again that the Security Council and all bodies of the United Nations must assume their responsibilities in this respect by striving to reach a comprehensive settlement of the very concerning conditions and situation in the Korean peninsula. Such a settlement should include total nuclear disarmament and achieving sustainable peace between the two Koreas, pursuant to the provisions of the relevant Security Council resolutions, including the revival of negotiations and the establishment of the necessary conditions in which to hold them so that we can break the vicious cycle of North Korea's repeated violations of Security Council resolutions, which compel the Council to impose further sanctions and leave no clear political horizon for resolving the problem. The current situation leaves no room for anything other than further deterioration into what could become an international crisis.

In this respect, Egypt believes that continued attempts to promote dialogue and diplomacy with North Korea are important in order to maintain prospects for relaunching dialogue and negotiations in order to reach a settlement of this alarming crisis, which undermines the security of all. The international community should not lose hope of finding a peaceful settlement based on the conditions and provisions of Security Council resolutions on nuclear disarmament and achieving sustainable peace on the Korean peninsula.

Mr. Seck (Senegal) (*spoke in French*): The Senegalese delegation welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 2397 (2017), which reinforces the range of existing sanctions, specifically with respect to prohibitions on coal, crude oil exports, condensates, refined oils and natural liquefied gas from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The

stated aim of the resolution is to strip that country of financial resources intended for its illegal nuclear weapons programme.

In the wake of the intercontinental ballistic missile test in November, the international community as a whole, and the Security Council in particular, had an obligation to respond by applying increased pressure on the Pyongyang authorities. Today's unanimous vote therefore sends a strong message from the Security Council and is a logical reaction to the methodical pursuit by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of its military nuclear programme.

Although it has already been mentioned, it bears repeating that said programme is a deliberate violation of the relevant Security Council resolutions and gravely undermines the international non-proliferation regimes. Furthermore, the programme constitutes a direct threat to air security and the safety of millions of people residing, working or travelling in those densely populated and busy areas. The North Korean launches and tests are not subject to either prior notification or authorization. Because it seeks to ensure the welfare of the people of North Korea, the Security Council has sought to provide for humanitarian exemptions to preclude any negative humanitarian repercussions of the measures imposed that could afflict the North Korean population.

The Senegalese delegation reaffirms that this range of highly targeted measures imposed to respond to the challenges posed by the North Korean ballistic-missile programme, must be part and parcel of a comprehensive political strategy to resolutely engage stakeholders in meaningful, good-faith dialogue, with the support of the international community. Senegal therefore solemnly reaffirms its call to resume the Six-Party Talks so as to arrive at the verifiable and irreversible denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, and the peaceful coexistence of the countries in the region.

I should like to conclude by reaffirming our call for unity among Security Council members and the international community in order to tackle this critical phase of the situation on the Korean peninsula. The Olympic Winter Games, which are set to commence in several weeks in the Republic of Korea, could provide a good opportunity to move in that direction.

Mr. Delattre (France) (*spoke in French*): France welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 2397 (2017), which marks a significant step in strengthening

sanctions against the North Korean regime. We thank the United States, China and each of the Council members for their resolute commitment. I would like to thank my American colleague Mrs. Nikki Haley in particular. Her commitment contributed greatly to this result.

Today's vote is commensurate with the gravity of the issue and the magnitude of the threat to peace and security today. This year, North Korea accelerated its irresponsible, even methodical, race towards the development of an operational nuclear arsenal, at the cost of sacrificing its own population. Its many destabilizing actions have fuelled a serious rise in tensions in the region, from intercontinental ballistic missile launches to the nuclear test carried out in September, not to mention the two flights over Japanese territory. Beyond that — and let us make no mistake about it — the North Korean threat is a threat to everyone's safety, because every country is now affected by the range of North Korean missiles.

The Council was able to respond in a unified manner to each of North Korea's actions, effectively and firmly. Our response to this direct threat to regional and international peace and security, which is also a blatant attack against the nuclear non-proliferation regime, speaks to our credibility. That is why the day after the ballistic missile launch on 28 November, France advocated the strengthening of sanctions. That is what we have done today with today's adoption of resolution 2397 (2017), which allows us to send an unambiguous double message about unity and determination.

The resolution complements the arsenal of measures reinforced by resolutions 2371 (2017) and 2375 (2017), adopted this summer. It sanctions the actors at the heart of the operation of the regime. It also sharply increases the constraints on the resources of the North Korean regime, particularly North Korean workers, as well as those placed on oil exports to North Korea. We are strengthening the tools at our disposal to prevent the circumvention of sanctions, particularly in the maritime field. Finally, the Council is committed to adopting new, appropriate and targeted measures on oil should North Korea conduct a new nuclear test or pursue the path of developing intercontinental ballistic capabilities.

By way of the provisions I have just recalled, resolution 2397 (2017) targets the regime, its actors and its resources in order to change North Korean strategy and policy. The resolution is therefore part of the

maximum pressure that we wish to exert on the regime with a view to returning it to the negotiating table. Indeed, the necessary firmness that we are expressing today serves the only political strategy that can put an end to the North Korean crisis.

France is of course in favour of resumed dialogue, and the sooner the better. However, we are still impatiently awaiting concrete signs from the North Korean regime of its own willingness to engage in such dialogue. France is of the view that applying maximum pressure on the North Korean regime is our best means of enabling the dialogue that itself is the condition for a political settlement. To put it simply and clearly, the firm resolve that we have shown unanimously today is our best antidote to the risks of war and our best chance for paving the way for dialogue and, therefore, for the political solution we are seeking.

Mr. Alemu (Ethiopia): We welcome the unanimous adoption of resolution 2397 (2017) in response to the ballistic missile launch by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on 28 November, in violation of relevant Security Council resolutions.

As has been repeatedly stated here in the Council, only a peaceful and diplomatic path exists to resolving the crisis in the Korean peninsula because we all know that the other alternative is unthinkable. Therefore, the Security Council has no other option but to put greater pressure on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, acting under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to suspend all its nuclear and ballistic missile activities and return to the negotiating table.

No doubt, the various additional new restrictive measures introduced by resolution 2397 (2017) will further tighten the sanctions regime on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which is already one of the toughest regimes ever imposed by the Council. We appreciate the consensus achieved on the resolution, and we commend the United States and China on their efforts in that regard. We look forward to the resumption of the Six-Party Talks, which are prominently highlighted in the resolution we have just adopted.

As we have stated time and again, the unity of the Council in handling the issue of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is absolutely indispensable. Here too, there is no better option because it is a basis for avoiding the unthinkable. That is why the call for unity in the Council is not vacuous. We are pleased that this has again been demonstrated today,

with the adoption of resolution 2397 (2017), thereby sending an unmistakable message to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to immediately abandon all nuclear weapons and existing nuclear programmes in a complete, verifiable and irreversible manner. The full and effective implementation of that and previous resolutions adopted by the Council on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea remains very critical to achieving the objective of curbing the advancement of the nuclear and ballistic missile-related programmes of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, while, at the same time, making it clear to the country that it has no other option but to return to the negotiating table.

We therefore take this opportunity to reaffirm Ethiopia's commitment to continue fulfilling its obligations in that regard. It is our hope that the unity within the Council will continue to be maintained. There is no other sane option.

Mr. Lambertini (Italy): Italy welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 2397 (2017). I would like to congratulate Ambassador Nikki Haley and the delegation of the United States on their outstanding action and determination on this issue. We share with them, together with the other members of the Security Council, in particular China and Japan, the sense of urgency regarding the importance of addressing the dangerous illegal activities of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, by applying further economic and diplomatic pressure.

Today's resolution, which is the fourth adopted this year, introduces further meaningful restrictive measures with regard to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, following the country's intercontinental ballistic missile launch on 28 November. North Korea's continued defiant and reckless actions constitute the gravest threat to the international community. We voted in favour of resolution 2397 (2017) because such provocative acts deserve a strong and unified response in defending our collective security and the integrity of the non-proliferation regime, as well as the authority of the Council. Once again, we strongly condemn the illegal activities of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and call on the regime to put an immediate end to the development of its missile and nuclear programmes in a complete, verifiable and irreversible manner, thereby making credible progress on its obligations to denuclearize.

The measures adopted today provide a complex response commensurate with the threat we face. By applying further restrictions on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea exports and foreign workers, we limit the ability of the regime to earn foreign currency and thus financing its illegal weapons and missiles programmes. Likewise, the timing of restrictions, along with the announcement of information-sharing among the States Members of the United Nations, reduces the scope for illegal attempts by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to circumvent sanctions. We welcome the fact that the text renews our commitment to avoiding unintended humanitarian consequences for the local population. It is of paramount importance that such effects be avoided. We should never lose sight of the fact that the citizens of North Korea are first and foremost the victims of the regime's self-isolation policies.

We reaffirm our concerns about the humanitarian situation in the country and our support for the assistance provided by United Nations agencies in order to alleviate the suffering of the North Korean people. Resolution 2397 (2017) expresses our commitment to a peaceful, diplomatic and political solution, and welcomes efforts to achieve true dialogue. Italy is committed to that goal, while recognizing that the way to open a window of opportunity towards meaningful negotiations is to apply maximum economic and diplomatic pressure, in order to bring about veritable change in the regime's current policy.

Lastly, as the outgoing Chair of the Committee pursuant to resolution 1718 (2006), we again call upon all States Members of the United Nations to implement all relevant Democratic People's Republic of Korea sanctions resolutions in a full and comprehensive manner.

Mr. Bermúdez Álvarez (Uruguay) (*spoke in Spanish*): For the sixth time in its two years as a member of the Security Council, Uruguay has voted in favour of a resolution with regard to the provocative acts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. That underscores the gravity of the threat posed to international peace and security.

As my delegation has already stated, the sanctions imposed on North Korea should be the means to lead the Government of the country to the negotiating table. Sanctions must be implemented in a complete and effective manner by all States Members of the United

Nations, and should have no adverse effects on the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Uruguay's support of resolution 2397 (2017) is based on the belief that the implementation of the sanctions imposed on North Korea will cause no direct harm to the civilian population, whose humanitarian situation is already dire and requires the immediate attention of the international community. We reiterate that we must work to engage in sustainable dialogue that leads to concrete results as soon as possible. There is no military solution to the situation in North Korea.

Despite all the calls made by the international community to start dialogue, it is not possible at present to open negotiations, which are key to resolving the complex situation. The solution for the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula must be peaceful. It must be reached through diplomatic negotiations that lead to a political commitment among the parties, which must be emphasized, without delay, before it is too late and we end up regretting the consequences of a large-scale disaster. The needs and legitimate concerns of all parties concerned in the matter must therefore be met.

Ms. Schoulgin Nyoni (Sweden): The actions of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are violations of international law. Such actions are also contrary to the existing global norm against nuclear testing, stipulated in the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty and global non-proliferation norms.

The Security Council has responded to the actions of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in numerous resolutions. Resolution 2375 (2017), adopted in September, toughened the targeted sanctions against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which constitute the most rigorous sanctions regime ever imposed on the country. Today, in response to the North Korean launch of an intercontinental ballistic missile on 28 November, which Sweden strongly condemns, the Council has strengthened those measures further. Resolution 2397 (2017), which we have just adopted, reaffirms that the world does not accept the nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programmes of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and that the Council continues to stand united in its resolve to address the urgent threat to international peace and security.

In parallel to effectively implementing the sanctions regime, including through full cooperation with the Panel of Experts on the Democratic People's

Republic of Korea, further work to reduce tensions and to advance the prospects for a comprehensive settlement needs to be undertaken. Sanctions alone will not resolve the situation. Today, the Council has reiterated its commitment to a peaceful, diplomatic and political resolution. Creative efforts that pave the way for such a solution must be urgently pursued. Sweden is contributing to those efforts.

We welcome Under-Secretary-General Feltman's recent visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, as well as the Secretary-General's readiness to provide his good offices to that end. Furthermore, it is of the utmost importance that none of the measures adopted in today's resolution or in previous resolutions should prevent or impede the ongoing efforts of the United Nations and other humanitarian actors to reach those in need.

The Council has the responsibility to uphold international peace and security. For that reason, the situation on the Korean peninsula has rightly occupied our time for much of this year. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has carried out numerous provocations, and the Council has been unified in its response by imposing unprecedented sanctions.

As we have reiterated at every meeting, there is no military solution to the situation on the Korean peninsula. As we approach the end of the year, we have seen, for example with Mr. Feltman's visit, the faint glimmer of an opportunity for diplomacy and dialogue. In 2018, we must grasp it. In the words of the Secretary-General, we need to spread and to deepen the spirit of hope and possibility. We need to ensure that, in the search for a comprehensive settlement, every avenue for peace is explored and exhausted. For the sake of the North Korean people and for the world, we cannot afford to fail.

Mr. Yelchenko (Ukraine): Ukraine welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 2397 (2017), which designates additional individuals and entities for inclusion on the relevant control lists, as well as strengthening prohibitions and restrictions, in response to the continuous provocations by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Indeed, to date, Pyongyang's policy continues to be very persistent and clear in ignoring international law and the numerous calls to halt its illegal activity. Besides nuclear tests and missile launches, there is also an intricate system of sanctions evasion in place.

Today's resolution not only strengthens the already existing sanctions regime by imposing additional sectoral and targeted measures. It also clearly proves that the Council remains united and decisive in its response to the growing nuclear threat on the Korean peninsula. On the other hand, the resolution confirms the Council's openness to dialogue on a peaceful and diplomatic solution to the situation in the region and its intention to avoid affecting the North Korean population. We believe that our message today must be heard by the North Korean leadership.

I also wish to reiterate the key importance of the full and comprehensive implementation of all Security Council resolutions related to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea by all Member States. Joint actions are needed to change Pyongyang's reckless behaviour. A united and uncompromising stance at the global level is crucial to prevent the risk of further provocations and to preserve the nuclear non-proliferation regime as a whole.

Finally, let me underline that Ukraine voted in favour of the resolution in the belief that any responsible member of the international community must spare no effort in restoring respect for international law and in finding solutions to counter the greatest threat to global peace and security.

Mr. Inchauste Jordán (Plurinational State of Bolivia) (*spoke in Spanish*): Bolivia voted in favour of resolution 2397 (2017) because of its pacifist beliefs. We do not believe in war as a means of solving the global problems facing the international community. We therefore call for any military solution to be ruled out. Bolivia also voted in favour of the resolution because we believe that the unity and consensus of the Security Council on this issue is fundamental to a peaceful solution and because we welcome the fact that the resolution includes the support of and request for the resumption of the six-party talks.

However, we regret that there was not more time to discuss the text. We therefore express our concern about the possible repercussions and humanitarian consequences that the sanctions may have on the civilian population. We are also concerned about the repercussions for workers outside the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, who are expected to be deported, as well as the possible non-observance of the human rights of migrant workers.

Bolivia once again condemns the implementation of unilateral sanctions, since they constitute a flagrant violation of international law by being illegal measures that extend the jurisdiction and national legislation of one State over another, violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. We also believe that sanctions should not be an end in themselves. In the current situation, they should serve to bring the parties involved to the negotiating table.

In that regard, we reiterate our support for the Russian-Chinese proposal and its respective road map, which includes the Chinese initiative of simultaneous suspensions, which we believe to be currently the only concrete proposal to resolve the conflict and that will allow for a simultaneous cessation of both the launching of ballistic missiles and nuclear tests and the execution of unilateral or joint military exercises on the Korean peninsula. We therefore call on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to abandon its nuclear programme and ballistic missiles in a complete, verifiable and irreversible way and to comply with the provisions of the Security Council resolutions.

To conclude, it is important to emphasize that we are at a stage where we must initiate a dialogue without conditions in order to build mutual trust. That is essential to reduce the risk of miscalculations or misunderstandings and to reduce tensions in the region. We therefore underscore the need to keep open the possible channels of communication established since Under-Secretary General Jeffrey Feltman's visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In addition, the good offices of the Secretary-General may be key to facilitating a dialogue that leads to a peaceful solution of the conflict.

Mr. Wu Haitao (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): Resolution 2397 (2017), adopted by the Security Council today, reflects the unanimous position of the international community in opposing the development of nuclear and ballistic missile capabilities by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and in maintaining the international nuclear non-proliferation regime. China urges the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to seriously heed the demands of the international community, abide by and implement the Security Council resolutions and refrain from conducting any further nuclear and missile tests.

At the same time, the resolution underscores that the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula need to be

resolved peacefully by political and diplomatic means. It also stipulates that the measures it contains are not intended to have an adverse impact on economic activities and cooperation, food aid or humanitarian assistance. China hopes that all the parties will implement the resolution fully and comprehensively.

At present, the situation on the Korean peninsula is one of constant tension. While the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has continued to conduct nuclear tests and missile launches, in defiance of the universal opposition by the international community, the other parties concerned have continued to expand military exercises and scale up their shows of force. The escalation of tension on the Korean peninsula, which has reached the point of risking spiralling out of control, is not in the interests of any party.

The nuclear issue of the Korean peninsula has lasted for more than two decades. Reviewing the evolution of the nuclear issue of the Korean peninsula, we can see that dialogue and negotiations have led to progress in the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and the improvement of relations among the parties concerned, while tough posturing and confrontation have impeded denuclearization and resulted in deteriorating relations among the parties concerned. It is imperative to learn from past good practices and mistakes.

The nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula should be solved peacefully and comprehensively. Security is at the heart of the nuclear issue on the peninsula while the fundamental solution rests on addressing the security concerns of all parties, including the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. There is no military option for settling the nuclear issue on the peninsula. Resorting to force will only lead to disaster. Sanctions are only a means to an end. One should not expect to settle the issue through unilateral sanctions or pressure. History has proven that dialogue and negotiations are the fundamental way in which to de-escalate tension and promote denuclearization on the peninsula.

To that end, it is imperative to end immediately all rhetoric and action that are detrimental to achieving denuclearization, peace and stability on the peninsula. In order to de-escalate the situation as soon as possible, it is important to strictly follow the letter and spirit of the relevant Security Council resolutions to arrive at an acceptable settlement. All parties should shoulder their respective responsibilities and effectively assume their obligations. It is imperative to follow the overarching

direction leading towards a peaceful settlement and resume dialogue and negotiations at an early date. Any unilateral sanctions imposed outside the purview of the Security Council would only undermine the Council's unity and jeopardize the legitimate rights and interests of other countries, and should therefore be rejected.

China has always advocated for denuclearization of the peninsula, its peace and stability, and finding a solution through dialogue and consultations. We are opposed to turmoil and war on the peninsula. China has made enormous efforts to reach settlements through dialogue and negotiations, and has paid a higher price than all other parties in implementing the relevant Security Council resolutions.

In view of the situation on the peninsula, China has proposed the suspension-for-suspension initiative, which would entail the suspension by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of its nuclear and missile activities along with the suspension by the United States and Republic of Korea of large-scale military exercises. We have also proposed the dual-track approach of promoting parallel progress in denuclearization efforts and the establishment of a peace mechanism on the peninsula. Russia has also put forward the idea of a phased approach for that purpose. Based on those proposals, China and Russia have issued a joint statement setting out a road map for resolving the issue. The joint proposal of China and Russia is aimed at peacefully settling the issue and the maintenance of peace and stability on the peninsula. Accordingly, we hope that the proposal will elicit responses and support from the concerned parties.

If the situation on the peninsula is allowed to remain stuck in the current vicious cycle, the road will continue to narrow. A peaceful settlement will be reached only when the parties meet each other halfway, in dialogue and consultations. The parties concerned should fulfil their historical responsibilities and relaunch dialogue and negotiations as soon as possible so as to settle the issue appropriately and at an early date. China is ready to join with the international community, persuade the parties to return to the proper track of peaceful settlement, and play a positive and constructive role in achieving denuclearization, lasting peace and stability on the peninsula.

Mr. Safronkov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): The Russian Federation understands the critical importance of halting Pyongyang's nuclear and

missile programmes, which are unacceptable to us. The launch of ballistic missiles without warning from North Korean territory poses tremendous risks to maritime and air transit in the region and a serious threat to the lives of ordinary civilians. Such activity must stop immediately. Notwithstanding, Russia calls on that all parties remain open to genuine political dialogue.

We once again reject the methodology underlying the adoption of resolution 2397 (2017) on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea introduced by the United States. Many hours are spent in the United Nations and the Security Council in discussions, and hundreds of documents are drafted in consideration of the importance of crafting realistic and implementable decisions that reflect the political concerns and mutual responsibilities of the parties. When we addressed the specific country situation in this case, such standards were overlooked. Consequently, the agreement reached comprises with artificial timetables while the wording was amended only minutes before the voting.

The adoption of resolution 2397 (2017) was made possible solely thanks to the fact that our concerns were reflected and taken into consideration, although unfortunately this occurred only at the very last minute and at enormous effort. We stress that sanctions-based measures do not apply to the activities of diplomatic missions in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the projects they undertake with the regime, restrictions on Korean civilian aircraft, or the provision of the relevant spare parts. Turning to the last-minute insertion in paragraph 8 concerning the 24-month period for the repatriation of North Korean workers, that is the minimum acceptable time frame necessary to address the logistical aspects of the issue.

Unfortunately, our call on stakeholders to avoid further escalation of tensions and to revise the policy of mutual intimidation was not heeded. We proposed reasonable and realistic alternatives to the ultimatum-based logic of sanctions. That has implications for the implementation not only of the sanctions provisions of resolution 2397 (2017), but also of those calling for a peaceful, diplomatic and political settlement to the situation through dialogue and talks, as well as those provisions of all Security Council resolutions on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, without exception. Such disregard constitutes a breach of the consensus-based agreements reached on the Council. Unity is of course important, but unity is important

with regard not only to favouring sanctions, but also with to supporting a political settlement.

We stress once again that the normalization of the situation on the Korean peninsula requires an approach that demands both the cessation of nuclear missile tests by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and an end to the build-up of military infrastructure and the downsizing of manoeuvres. We must urgently create an atmosphere of trust among States in the region. It is important that both parties abandon obsolete formulas for addressing the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula that have proven to be ineffective, and to resolve the situation through creative approaches. Isolation and pressure must be supplanted by dialogue and talks.

We call on the stakeholders once again to promptly undertake practical measures aimed at de-escalating tensions. Russia stands ready to promote such efforts and is already doing so. We are in a position to closely engage with all partners so as to expeditiously address the host of issues on the Korean peninsula through the only possible avenues, namely, mutually respectful dialogue in a political and diplomatic format. That is the specific goal of the Russian-Chinese road map for resolving the issue, which remains a practical proposal at our disposal.

We note the approach of the Secretary-General for arriving at a political settlement to the problems on the Korean peninsula. We advocate the development of dialogue between the United Nations and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Momentum to that end was achieved by the political mission led by Under-Secretary-General Feltman to Pyongyang. It must be based upon a robust humanitarian track to assist the 25 million people who are truly in need of assistance. Urgent measures must be taken to engage in political dialogue so as to avoid catastrophic scenarios that could trigger horrific repercussions. The military option is not viable. We are all duty-bound to provide opportunities for diplomacy.

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

Japan welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 2397 (2017). We would like to express our great appreciation to the leadership of the United States, which made this possible. We also thank all other members of the Council for their support.

At the ministerial meeting held on 15 December, over which Foreign Minister Kono presided (see S/PV.8137), the Security Council made it clear to the world that the international community would never accept a nuclear-armed North Korea. Today, by adopting resolution 2397 (2017), the Security Council sends a clear signal to North Korea that the continuation of its nuclear and missile development can never be tolerated, including the third ballistic missile launch — the longest to date, with a range of an intercontinental ballistic missile — on 29 November.

Resolution 2397 (2017) will further strengthen the sanctions measures against North Korea, which were already at an unprecedented level. The new impactful measures include the reduction of the refined petroleum cap by 89 per cent since January this year, commitment to future oil reductions in case of North Korea's further provocations, repatriation of all North Korean workers within 24 months and additional restrictions of export and import with North Korea.

Today's resolution exemplifies the serious, collective will of the international community that we will continue to put maximum pressure on North Korea until it shows seriousness and takes concrete actions toward the goal of denuclearization. In this regard, operative paragraph 28 of the resolution clearly states that the Council

“shall keep the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's actions under continuous review and is prepared to strengthen, modify, suspend or lift the measures as may be needed in light of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's compliance”.

Operative paragraph 28 also clearly states that

“if the Democratic People's Republic of Korea conducts a further nuclear test or a launch of a ballistic missile system capable of reaching intercontinental ranges or contributing to the development of a ballistic missile system capable of such ranges, then the Security Council will take action to restrict further the export to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of petroleum”.

Let me reiterate again that North Korea can make a choice towards a peaceful, diplomatic solution. If North Korea wants peace and security, it needs to demonstrate its sincere commitment and concrete measures for the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, comply fully with the relevant Security Council resolutions and Joint

Statement of the six-Party Talks, and come back to the table for meaningful dialogue.

In order to make North Korea realize the determination of the international community to achieve the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, all members of the United Nations must renew their commitment to fully implementing the existing Security Council resolutions, including resolutions 2371 (2017) and 2375 (2017), and the resolution just adopted today. Japan looks forward to continuing to work closely with relevant partners and all other Member States to reach a comprehensive solution to the problems related to North Korea.

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

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

Mr. Chull (Republic of Korea): Let me begin by thanking you, Sir, for convening today's meeting to follow up on our discussion of three weeks ago in response to North Korea's launch of a ballistic missile on 29 November. I also very much appreciate your invitation to this important meeting.

Exactly one week ago in this very Chamber (see S/PV.8137), delegations and representatives from 16 countries, including my own, reiterated our condemnation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's provocative behaviour as one of the most serious threats to international peace and security and a flagrant violation of relevant Security Council resolutions. We also reaffirmed our unwavering commitment to the denuclearization of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The stark contrast that we witnessed last Friday between the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Council revealed once again how isolated the regime is and how unconvincing its claims have been. We as the international community must continue to stand united and demonstrate our resolute determination to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that a nuclear North Korea will never be recognized and, that if it continues down this path, there will continue to be consequences.

In this context, the Republic of Korea welcomes and fully supports the adoption of resolution 2397 (2017), which introduces robust measures that build on and tighten the existing sanctions against the Democratic

People's Republic of Korea. I would like to thank each and every member of the Council, including the United States, for their hard work to unanimously adopt the resolution. I should like to take this opportunity to emphasize loud and clear the importance of seamless and complete implementation. The Republic of Korea remains committed to supporting any other Member State in its efforts to fully and effectively implement all relevant resolutions, including the resolution adopted today.

I wish to draw the Council's attention to a view widely shared by the participants at last week's Security Council ministerial meeting. Sanctions are not an end in themselves but an effective means to bring North Korea back on track towards a peaceful, diplomatic and political solution. However narrow and bumpy it may seem, the road towards peaceful denuclearization through dialogue is still open and available. The Government of the Republic of Korea urges the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to participate in the PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games and to stop its destabilizing provocations in the lead up to the Olympics of peace.

I sincerely hope that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will take this message seriously and seize the opportunity to create a conducive atmosphere for sincere dialogue towards denuclearization. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea should abandon the delusional idea of pursuing security through the development of illegal nuclear weapons and ballistic

missiles. Instead, it should engage in constructive dialogue and redirect its efforts to deliver prosperity and a better livelihood to its people. The choice is up to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The President: There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers.

Before adjourning the meeting, as this is the last scheduled meeting of the Council for the month of December, I would like to express the sincere appreciation of the delegation of Japan to the members of the Council, especially the Permanent Representatives and their respective staff, and to the Secretariat for all the support they have given us.

It has been a busy month indeed, and one in which we rallied to consensus on several important issues within our purview. We could not have done it alone and without the hard work, support and positive contributions of every delegation and the representatives of the Secretariat, as well as of all relevant conference service officers, interpreters and security staff.

As we end our presidency, I know that I speak on behalf of the Council in wishing the delegation of Kazakhstan good luck in the month of January. I would like, on behalf of the Council, to express the sincere appreciation to the six outgoing members, namely, Egypt, Italy, Japan, Senegal, Ukraine and Uruguay. I commend their hard work and contributions during their terms on the Security Council.

The meeting rose at 2.30 p.m.