



# Security Council

Seventy-seventh year

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Wednesday, 16 November 2022, 3 p.m.

New York

*Provisional*

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*President:* Mr. Agyeman. . . . . (Ghana)

*Members:*

Albania . . . . .	Mr. Hoxha
Brazil . . . . .	Mr. Costa Filho
China . . . . .	Mr. Zhang Jun
France . . . . .	Mr. De Rivière
Gabon . . . . .	Mrs. Ngyema Ndong
India . . . . .	Mrs. Kamboj
Ireland . . . . .	Mr. Mythen
Kenya . . . . .	Mr. Kiboino
Mexico . . . . .	Mr. De la Fuente Ramírez
Norway . . . . .	Ms. Juul
Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Nebenzia
United Arab Emirates . . . . .	Mrs. Nusseibeh
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . .	Dame Barbara Woodward
United States of America . . . . .	Mrs. Thomas-Greenfield

## Agenda

Maintenance of peace and security of Ukraine

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

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **Maintenance of peace and security of Ukraine**

**The President:** In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Estonia, Poland, Slovakia and Ukraine to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Ms. Rosemary DiCarlo, Under-Secretary-General for Political and Peacebuilding Affairs, to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I also invite His Excellency Mr. Olof Skoog, Head of the Delegation of the European Union to the United Nations, to participate in this meeting.

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

I give the floor to Ms. DiCarlo.

**Ms. DiCarlo:** In the past few days, Ukrainians have been subjected to some of the most intense bombardments of the nine-month-old war. Russian missiles and drones have rained down on Kyiv, Mykolayiv, Chernihiv, Cherkasy, Zhytomyr, Sumy, Kharkiv, Lviv, Poltava and elsewhere, destroying or damaging homes and severely disrupting critical services. The impact of such attacks can only worsen during the coming winter months.

As of 14 November, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) had recorded 16,631 civilian casualties, with 6,557 persons killed and 10,074 injured since the start of the full-scale invasion of Ukraine. The recent barrages will, alas, add to horrific toll the war has already taken. I must say it again: attacks targeting civilians and civilian infrastructure are prohibited under international humanitarian law.

The military dynamics on the ground continue to evolve. In the past week, the city of Kherson returned to the control of the Government of Ukraine. Heavy battles also continue in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. Indeed, there is no end in sight to the war. As long as it continues, the risks of potentially catastrophic

spillover remain all too real. Yesterday's incident in Poland near the Ukrainian border was a frightening reminder of the absolute need to prevent any further escalation. I would like to join the Secretary-General in extending my condolences to the families of the two Polish citizens killed in the incident.

The ongoing bombardment of Ukraine has already damaged an estimated 40 per cent of the country's power-generation capacity. Kyiv has been hit the hardest. Most parts of the capital are now without electricity for 12 hours a day. As the Ukrainian Government focuses on repairing damaged infrastructure, the United Nations has made it a priority to ensure that the most vulnerable groups receive winter supplies and services. More than 185,000 people have already received essential basic winter supplies. Humanitarian partners are setting up heating points near the front lines. Some 525 generators were provided or are being distributed to priority institutions, including hospitals, collective centres and clinics.

Humanitarian access has resumed in the areas back under the control of the Government of Ukraine, including in Kherson. However, it is still extremely difficult to reach people in need in areas of the east and south under the control of the Russian military and across the front line. Mine contamination, particularly in areas close to the front or where control has recently shifted, is putting more lives at risk, impeding the movement of civilians and hampering humanitarian efforts. I remind the parties that international humanitarian law requires them to facilitate the rapid and unimpeded passage of humanitarian relief for all civilians in need.

The allegations of atrocities and human rights violations in Ukraine during this war are extensive. Today I would like to highlight grave concerns about the rights, safety and security of the youngest Ukrainians. More than 400 children have been killed — and many more have been injured, have lost their family members or have been forced to leave their homes. According to Children of War, a Government portal, 279 children were considered missing as of 12 November. There are also disturbing reports of forced transfers of children, including of some under institutionalized care, to Russian-occupied territory or to the Russian Federation. OHCHR has documented several individual cases, including of unaccompanied children, that appear to amount to deportations to the Russian Federation, in violation of international humanitarian law.

OHCHR also continues to document other types of human rights violations, including 57 verified cases of conflict-related sexual violence. Forty-eight of those cases are attributable to Russian armed forces and affiliated groups; nine are attributable to Ukrainian armed forces and law enforcement authorities.

The Independent International Commission of Inquiry on Ukraine continues its work towards accountability for alleged violations and abuses of human rights and violations of international humanitarian law, with ongoing investigations within and outside Ukraine. The commissioners are planning another visit to Ukraine before the end of the year.

Another issue of concern is the conditions of prisoners of war. I welcome the continued prisoner exchanges between Russia and Ukraine, including most recently on 11 November. I encourage the sides to continue releasing prisoners of war. I call on the parties to ensure humane treatment of prisoners of war, in line with their obligations under international law, in particular the Third Geneva Convention. I also call on the Russian Federation to grant OHCHR and the International Committee of the Red Cross unimpeded access to detainees.

The extension of the Black Sea Grain Initiative remains vital in order to help avert a food crisis for millions of people. More than 10 million metric tons of foodstuffs have now been moved under the Initiative, reaching — or on their way to — some 40 countries. The impact of the Initiative extends far beyond immediate ports of arrival, helping to lower global prices for key food commodities around the world. The Secretary-General has continued his engagement with all parties in support of the renewal and full implementation of the Initiative. He has also emphasized his commitment to removing remaining obstacles to Russian food and fertilizer exports. Those products are not under international sanctions, but suffer indirect impacts. It is important and critical to get them back to world markets — the sooner, the better.

The risk of a nuclear incident in the context of the open hostilities in Ukraine remains an unacceptable danger, and I wish to echo the serious concerns expressed by numerous Member States in that regard. The Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) recently briefed the Council (see S/PV.9172) on the organization's latest efforts, including ongoing discussions regarding the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant, as well as assessments of activities

and materials at other sites in Ukraine. The IAEA has reported that, in the coming weeks, it will send nuclear safety and security missions to three more operating nuclear power plants, as well as to Chornobyl, at the request of the Ukrainian Government. I reiterate the imperative of avoiding any military activity that could risk compromising the safety and security of any nuclear facility.

Since before the invasion of 24 February, the United Nations and many others in the global community warned of the consequences of a wider war in Ukraine — for Ukrainians, first of all, but also for much of the world. Those fears have been amply borne out. One significant casualty of the war has been the international collective security system we have all pledged to uphold. The damage to the structures built in order to resolve or manage tensions and conflict is significant, making it, in turn, even more difficult to chart a path out of the hostilities in Ukraine.

There is only one way to stop the death, destruction and division. The war must end. And it must end in line with international law and the Charter of the United Nations, as called for by the General Assembly.

**The President:** I thank Ms. DiCarlo for her briefing.

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

**Mrs. Thomas-Greenfield** (United States of America): I would like to thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her valuable briefing today.

I want to start by noting the tragic explosion that killed two people in Poland near the Ukrainian border. We extend our deepest condolences to the loved ones of the Polish citizens who were killed. As President Biden told President Duda last night, we stand with Poland in this difficult moment, and have offered our full support for, and assistance with, Poland's investigation to determine exactly what happened. We have complete confidence in the Polish Government's investigation and appreciate the calm, careful and measured response.

While we still do not know all the facts, we do know one thing — this tragedy would never have happened but for Russia's needless invasion of Ukraine and its recent missile assaults against Ukraine's civilian infrastructure. The Charter of the United Nations is clear — Ukraine has every right to defend itself against this barrage, to defend its sovereignty and its territorial integrity.

The more-than-90 missiles that rained down on Kyiv and other targets in Ukraine have devastated civilian infrastructure. In fact, this may have been the widest-scale missile attack since the beginning of the war. Now millions of Ukrainians are without heat or electricity. We extend our solidarity to the Ukrainian people for the fallout of this attack, and our deepest condolences for the lives lost.

This is a deliberate tactic by Putin. He seems to have decided that, if he cannot seize Ukraine by force, he will try to freeze the country into submission. It is hard to overstate how horrific these attacks are. When I was in Ukraine last week, I saw first-hand the tremendous suffering these kinds of attacks and this war has wrought on the Ukrainian people, and on Europe more broadly. I know we have all seen the photos of cratered playgrounds, bombed-out hospitals and destroyed homes across Ukraine, but no photograph can capture the real lives affected and the real people suffering the immense human toll of Russia's war against a fellow Member State.

I felt that toll when I spoke with a mother in Kyiv who had to hold her daughter's lifeless bloody hand after a Russian attack on her apartment building. Her daughter, in her mother words, "just wanted to go to school".

I felt that toll when I met with a humanitarian aid worker who was detained and tortured by Russian forces. She was so traumatized that she could only share a portion of the horrors she experienced, unable to put the rest into words.

I felt that toll when I met a 10-year-old named Malina, who lived in a facility where displaced families were gathered to prepare for a bitterly cold winter, a facility that itself had once been hit and damaged by Russian missiles. I was there to announce more humanitarian funding from the United States in order to provide supplies and support, while Russia prepared to weaponize the winter. I made that announcement in the dark, during a blackout caused by Russian attacks. Afterward, I asked Malina what she would do when the war was over. I could tell that this was something that she had given some thought to. She said simply that she wanted to see her best friend, whom she had not seen since the start of the war. And I have to say that I wondered if she would someday see her friend again.

When I met with President Zelenskyy his message was simple. He seeks peace. He told me he seeks a

just peace based on the United Nations Charter and its principles, which is what everyone in the Council is here to uphold and defend. We cannot say the same for Russia. As Secretary Blinken told the Council, "[i]f Russia stops fighting, the war ends. If Ukraine stops fighting, Ukraine ends" (*S/PV.9135, p.11*). It is Ukrainian civilians who are in danger. It is Ukrainian civilians whose electricity grids were targeted and who are not sure how they will keep warm throughout the winter. It is Ukrainian civilians who are suffering.

There is one man sitting comfortably in Moscow who can put a stop to this brutal, horrific war right now, this second. But, until he does, we must address not only the scale of the humanitarian and human rights crisis unfolding in Ukraine, but also the continued spillover effects of this needless war. We should just look at the outsized harm done by Russia's exacerbation of the global food security crisis.

If Council members are looking for a practical way to lower tensions and help those in need, it would be by supporting and securing an extension of the Black Sea Grain Initiative. According to the United Nation records, nearly 500 ships, carrying more than 10 million metric tons of grain and other food items, have departed under the Initiative. That is enough to feed tens of millions of people. The Black Sea Grain Initiative has helped to stabilize food markets, with reports that prices have fallen to pre-war levels. Two thirds of the wheat exported under the Initiative went to the global South. But the deadline for renewing the deal is fast approaching.

When I was in Kyiv, I visited a granary and heard that farmers need the deal to be extended so that they would have the confidence to plant their wheat and continue serving as a breadbasket for the developing world. I could hear the desperation in their voices, and I promised them that I would take their message back to the Security Council.

Russia must extend that essential, life-saving arrangement. Russia must allow those ships to keep feeding the world. I call on our fellow Council members to make the same calls, with the same urgency, to keep the deal alive.

In the long run, the only way to ensure that food supplies are not further affected is for Russia to withdraw its troops, stop the atrocities and end the war. But, in the meantime, we are grateful for the efforts of Türkiye and the United Nations in sustaining and

expanding that life-saving Initiative. I sincerely hope that we can continue to strive, with Ukraine in the driver's seat, towards a just and lasting peace.

**Mr. Hoxha** (Albania): I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her comprehensive update.

We are having another meeting on Ukraine, and yet, after nine months of brutal war, we continue to deplore the loss of innocent life, countless unnecessary fatalities, widespread human misery, massive destruction, food insecurity and a world order shaken to its core.

In a normal life, nine months is the period that humans need to bring a baby to life. Russia has used it to create a disaster of terrible proportions, including by making normal life impossible for all, including babies born in Ukraine since 24 February. For what reason has it done that? It is for a dream that has turned into a nightmare and a miscalculation that has become an obsession.

What some feared, and others anticipated, happened yesterday. A missile landed in a farm in Poland, killing two people. It landed roughly at the same time as a barrage of Russian missiles struck western Ukraine. A full investigation is under way, and we look forward to its conclusions. But that does not change anything with regard to the core issue: as long as the war continues, we run the risk of a spillover, by accident or intentionally. The incident should be a stark reminder that those that engage in a path of unnecessary, reckless escalation will bear the consequences.

We and the world know that the consequences of the war are not limited only to Ukraine. Moldova has already complained about the effect of Russian missiles fired close to its borders, and parts of its territory are experiencing power outages as a result of Russia's missiles hitting Ukrainian cities and vital infrastructure.

We offer our condolences to the families of the victims and to the people of Poland and Ukraine. We reiterate our full and unwavering solidarity with Poland, just as with every other NATO member. Let us make it clear: this is not a war between Russia and NATO, nor is it a war between Russia and the West. It has never been that, despite the Kremlin's propaganda to justify its debacle. It is, and remains, a war of choice, a pure act of unprovoked aggression and an attempt to grab territory. The war must end, not expand. Russia started it; Russia must put an end to it, and that is long overdue.

Yesterday President Zelenskyy proposed a 10-point peace plan at the Group of 20 summit in Indonesia, again demonstrating leadership by making it clear that he was prepared for diplomacy to end the unjust and unjustified war. The plan includes a path to nuclear safety, food security, a special tribunal for war crimes and a final peace treaty with Russia.

Regrettably, but not surprisingly, the staggering response was another wave of missiles, Russia's biggest in a month, again targeting residential areas and power infrastructure in several regions of the country, aimed at destroying essential utilities, such as electricity, water and gas infrastructure across Ukraine. As the winter gets colder, more than 7 million Ukrainians are left without power and with the supply of electricity in a critical condition.

In yesterday's case, there was no error. It looks like more terror. Unable to prevail on the ground, Russia decided to weaponize everything, including now the weather, with the intention of freezing an entire nation into submission. But it seems that it fails to understand that Ukraine has nothing more to lose in the fight. The heroic resistance of brave Ukrainians has clearly made it impossible for Russia to win, unattainable for them to advance and incomprehensible for them to acclaim.

Russia decided to withdraw its troops from Kherson. It was not the first of such sudden reversals. They did the same from the surroundings of Kyiv earlier this year. No one, including in Russia, is buying the camouflaged language anymore. The so-called special operation cannot conceal the fiasco, and the retreat cannot hide the defeat. Only a few weeks ago, on 30 September, the Kremlin proclaimed Kherson to be Russian forever. Now, a few weeks later, that just became what it should be — never.

A wiser decision would be for Russia to come to its senses, cease all hostilities and unconditionally withdraw all its forces and military equipment from the entire territory of Ukraine. Let me once again reiterate that any annexation of territory by another State resulting from the threat or use of force is a violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, and it will not be accepted.

The Russian Federation continues to violate and blatantly ignore international law. Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo mentioned some key aspects of those violations. The use of missiles, drones and explosive weapons in populated areas is prohibited by

international law, including by binding resolutions of the Security Council of which Russia voted in favour.

Violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, enforced disappearances and arbitrary detention of civilians, the torture and ill-treatment of both civilians and prisoners and cases of conflict-related sexual violence have been widespread and are now well documented. Those gross violations will not go unpunished. Victims and their family members seek justice and accountability.

Russia may continue to block the adoption of resolutions by the Security Council, but, as we have seen repeatedly and convincingly, including last Monday (see A/ES-11/PV.15), it will not manage to veto the decisions of the General Assembly and other initiatives to seek and ensure reparations and accountability.

We reiterate our strong support for the Black Sea Grain Initiative. We reiterate our call for its extension beyond 22 November to keep that vital food supply line open to the rest of the world. Its impact is known and felt worldwide, and any decision other than an extension would be a cynical punishment of those in dire need.

Let me conclude by recalling that the toll of the war is already frightening. With every passing day, the toll will be heavier for all, particularly Ukraine, but also everyone else, including Russia itself. In the course of the past nine months, nothing has gone according to plan in Ukraine for the simple reason that the Russian plan was wrong and the intention behind it reprehensible, and the reality has proved disastrous. It is time to change course, silence the guns, pack up, go home and talk peace, not war.

**Mr. De Rivi re** (France) (*spoke in French*): As the leaders of the Group of 20 met to defend peace, Russia once again demonstrated its lack of scruples by launching a new round of air strikes against Ukrainian cities, targeting civilian infrastructure. France condemns these strikes, which constitute flagrant violations of international law, in the strongest possible terms. It reaffirms its support for Ukraine. I also express France's solidarity with Poland and our condolences for the victims, which President Macron conveyed to the Polish Prime Minister last night.

Russia bears full responsibility for the war. Its massive strikes against Ukraine are threatening international stability and security and may lead to an unintended escalation. Ukraine is only exercising its strict right to defend itself.

With this aggression, Russia is deliberately violating the United Nations Charter, including the principle of territorial integrity of Ukraine. On 16 March, the International Court of Justice demanded the suspension of Russia's military operations. Nearly nine months after the start of the war, attacks against civilians and civilian infrastructure continue. Russia is now targeting power stations, hydroelectric plants and heating networks located far behind the front line, with the stated aim of breaking the resistance of a people fighting for their freedom.

Because it is retreating on the ground, Russia seeks to plunge Ukraine into cold and darkness as winter approaches. This strategy is already a failure: it does not weaken the resistance of the Ukrainian people. Rather, it strengthens their determination. The liberation of Kherson is a new illustration of that. The more Russia persists in prolonging this war, the more it worsens the energy, food and economic consequences of the war.

In this very Chamber, over the past few weeks, we have heard Russia make outrageous accusations that Ukraine is preparing a dirty bomb. The inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) that were conducted in Kyiv, Zhovti Vody and Dnipro at the request of the Ukrainian authorities did not find any undeclared activities or materials. We now have confirmation that these allegations were totally unfounded. France welcomes the speed with which the IAEA went to the site and congratulates Ukraine for its transparency.

Russia is not hesitating to exploit food insecurity and malnutrition. The fate of millions of people depends on the extension of the Istanbul agreements. After first suspending its participation in the Black Sea Grain Initiative for a few days, Russia is now seeking to monetize its agreement to renew it. This blackmail is intolerable. Everything must be done to ensure that Ukrainian grain exports continue unhindered.

We call on Russia not to obstruct the renewal of the 22 July agreements. France will continue to support the efforts of the Secretary-General and T rkiye in this regard. It will also continue to move forward with its European partners in the framework of the solidarity routes that have enabled the export of nearly 15 million tons of grain and other food products by land and waterways.

Let me remind you, Mr. President, that the European Union, the United States and the United

Kingdom published guidelines on 14 November aimed at facilitating exports of Russian food products and fertilizers. France has announced a contribution of €7.5 million to finance the delivery by the World Food Programme of fertilizers to Africa.

Russia will not be able to exonerate itself from its responsibility for the crimes committed in Ukraine. I welcome the adoption by the General Assembly of a resolution recommending the creation of a register of damages suffered by all Ukrainian victims (General Assembly resolution ES-11/5).

France salutes the courage and resistance of the Ukrainian people. We will continue to stand by them. On 13 December, France and Ukraine will jointly organize a conference in support of Ukraine. It will aim to respond to the present emergency and increase the supply of international aid, whether in the form of basic equipment or the reconstruction of critical infrastructure, in particular energy infrastructure.

France reiterates its unwavering support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine in the face of Russia's aggression. We remain determined to continue our support for Ukraine's efforts to defend its territory for as long as necessary.

**Dame Barbara Woodward** (United Kingdom): I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing.

I would like to start by offering our sympathies and condolences to the Polish people and to the families of those injured and killed in yesterday's incident. While we await the outcome of the investigation, we should be clear that this is a tragedy that indisputably stems from Russia's illegal and unjustified invasion and its inhumane assault on civilians across Ukraine. Yesterday, as President Zelenskyy was setting out his 10-point plan for peace in Ukraine for the Group of 20, Ukrainian civilians were facing the largest barrage of Russian missile and drone strikes since the first week of the war. We extend our condolences to the Ukrainian people and the families of those injured in these attacks.

Russia's systematic attacks on Ukraine's critical national infrastructure have left millions without electricity, heating, water, medicine and food, as temperatures start to drop below zero. And more than that, today we have heard again detailed reports from the United Nations of civilian deaths, sexual violence and the forced deportation of children. Russia is knowingly trying to gain military advantage by creating desperation. Attacks of this kind may violate

international humanitarian law and are, in any event, deeply inhumane.

On Monday, the General Assembly adopted a resolution on an international mechanism for reparations for damage, loss and injury arising from Russia's internationally wrongful acts against Ukraine (General Assembly resolution ES-11/5). This was an important first step towards justice for Ukraine.

We are in no doubt that Ukraine will prevail in the face of Russia's aggression. The liberation of Kherson shows the strength, courage and determination of the Ukrainian people to defend their right to sovereign equality and territorial integrity guaranteed under the United Nations Charter. The United Kingdom will continue to stand by the Ukrainian people.

But while the war is ongoing, we must continue also to manage its wider effects as best we can. That is why we strongly support the Black Sea Grain Initiative, which has been vital in helping to alleviate the serious risks of food insecurity in the world. We strongly support the United Nations in the efforts to renew it.

Fundamentally, this war is the result of unilateral action on the part of the Russian Federation. The path forward is therefore simple: Russia needs to cease hostilities, withdraw from within Ukraine's internationally recognized borders and commit to a path of dialogue.

**Mrs. Nusseibeh** (United Arab Emirates): First, the United Arab Emirates extends its heartfelt condolences to Poland for the deaths of the two civilians killed in yesterday's incident. The news of missiles hitting Polish territory and the increase in the number of strikes across Ukraine seemed to signal the frightening escalation that many of us have talked about here in this Chamber. It is a perfect demonstration of the fact that as the fighting continues, each day becomes a gamble in which there cannot be any winners.

The humanitarian situation in Ukraine is a source of profound concern. With the onset of winter, 40 per cent of the country's power system is reportedly damaged and 30 per cent of its power stations destroyed, potentially compounding the humanitarian crisis with a lack of heating. Around the world, Governments continue to warn of the war's consequences for the global food supply, most recently at the Group of 20 (G-20) summit in Indonesia. In addition to the export of grain, the supply of ammonia and fertilizer, which are crucial to ensuring adequate crop yields for next year's harvest,

is also a priority. As the Secretary-General has said, we cannot let this year's crisis of affordability become next year's crisis of availability. We join the call for renewing the Black Sea Grain Initiative and urge the stakeholders to reach a solution that ensures the extension of the agreements — a critical breakthrough for which we are grateful to the United Nations and Türkiye. Similarly, we commend the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and other humanitarian actors for their tireless efforts to provide Ukrainian civilians with essential supplies, including the recent convoys to southern Ukraine.

As the humanitarian assistance and efforts to renew the Grain Initiative continue, we must acknowledge that that is not enough. Only a sustainable and peaceful resolution of the war will put an end to the suffering it has caused. We are encouraged by the recent public statements discussing the contours of a possible peace agreement. The Council must play its part in supporting any efforts to hold talks, and we must focus on measures that can bring the sides together rather than push them further apart.

Last month marked the sixtieth anniversary of the Cuban missile crisis. Back then, pragmatic and creative diplomacy brought the world back from the brink. Public statements that counselled calm and restraint in response to the news from Poland and emphasized the need to establish the facts on the ground helped to avoid further escalation in the past 24 hours. But the overall episode was an unnerving warning of the risks inherent in the continuation of the war. That cannot be the new normal — too much is at stake, not least for Ukraine. I want to recall the statement that came out of the G-20. We must uphold international law and the multilateral system, defend the Charter of the United Nations and adhere to international humanitarian law. Beginning with urgently needed de-escalation, we must encourage confidence-building measures and open channels of communication to end the conflict and ensure that today's era is not one of war.

**Mr. De la Fuente Ramírez** (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): We thank Under-Secretary-General Rosemary DiCarlo for her briefing.

The missiles that landed in Poland yesterday, regardless of their origin and whether they were intentional or not, are cause for serious concern. We extend our condolences to the relatives of the victims of those tragic events. The incident reminds us that the risks of an expanding conflict are real and compels

us to redouble our efforts to find a prompt diplomatic solution that will put an end to the suffering of civilians throughout the region.

I would like to make four points. First, I want to highlight the humanitarian situation. The damage inflicted in the nine months of conflict is now being compounded by the destruction of electricity infrastructure and the onset of winter. The lack of electricity jeopardizes many other basic services, of which the water supply is only one. All of that puts the lives and health of millions of civilians at greater risk. Deteriorating living conditions will lead to a new wave of displacement at a time when the host communities are already stretched to their limit. The numbers speak for themselves. Some 7.8 million Ukrainians have had to leave their country while another 6 million are internally displaced. In that context, humanitarian aid becomes critical to the survival of the most vulnerable members of the population. We reiterate our call for unfettered access to all civilians, including in the occupied oblasts where martial law has been declared.

While this may be less obvious, the conflict has also had serious consequences for people's mental health. The more than 400 children who have died and another 279 missing provide a tragic picture of the pain that the war is causing. Mexico reiterates the importance of including psychosocial support services in humanitarian response strategies. The mental health consequences of the war will not end when the conflict ends. It will therefore be crucial to develop a long-term strategy to address that aspect of the conflict — one that is as painful as it is silent.

Secondly, I will touch on the issue of nuclear security. The situation around the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant remains a cause for concern. We reiterate the call for the establishment of a nuclear safety and security protection zone around the plant, as proposed by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Mexico acknowledges the work of the IAEA, in particular its verification work in three locations, based on one of the parties' doubts about activities taking place there. We note that the Agency found no evidence of undeclared nuclear activity or materials. We will closely follow the results of the visits to other nuclear power plants, including Chornobyl, in the coming weeks. While the situation at the Zaporizhzhya plant is undoubtedly critical, it is important to underline that during this conflict any nuclear facility

could potentially become a disaster area affecting the population and the environment.

Thirdly, I would like to mention the Black Sea Grain Initiative, which, as others have said, has been instrumental in helping to mitigate the food insecurity that is primarily affecting developing countries. It therefore must continue. The agreement must be implemented to facilitate access to global markets for Russian food products and fertilizer, including ammonium. We recognize the Secretary-General's efforts to remove many of the obstacles faced in exporting such products. The agreements have been a beacon of hope for those of us who believe in dialogue and diplomacy as paths to a solution to the conflict, in spite of rifts that at times appear almost insurmountable.

Lastly, it is essential to advance international investigations to ensure accountability. Those who have committed crimes in this conflict must be brought to justice. The international community owes at least that to the victims. We will therefore closely follow the work of the International Criminal Court.

I would like to conclude by reiterating that Mexico emphasizes the adoption of new approaches that prioritize mediation and dialogue to put an end to the war. Mexico reiterates its support for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine.

**Mr. Kiboino (Kenya):** I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing today, which made it clear that the war in Ukraine continues to cause extreme suffering to civilians far beyond what is acceptable under international law and international humanitarian law. We offer our condolences to all the families and communities that have lost loved ones to the war, including in the incident that occurred yesterday in Poland, and we pray for the speedy recovery of those injured and traumatized.

We are gravely concerned by the persistent targeting of civilians and objects indispensable to their survival, including residential homes, health facilities and shelters, as well as energy and water infrastructure.

The war, which follows a long-term political conflict, is a violation of Ukraine's territorial integrity and constitutes a breach of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The military alliances forming on either side are giving the war a regional and global footprint. The risk of its escalation to the use of weapons of mass destruction suggests the

ultimate impossibility of a clear military victory at a cost that is acceptable to humankind.

There is no long-term military solution. All that a continuation of the war will do is delay negotiations while even greater damage is done. Kenya therefore calls once again for an immediate cessation of hostilities.

Negotiations will not be easy, especially if they are to be fully in line with the Charter of the United Nations in protecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine — but they can succeed, as others have in Europe's volatile history. It will also be critical that those negotiations be accompanied or followed by a broader settlement that stabilizes what is now a profoundly compromised European security order.

The world needs peace in Ukraine and in Europe. The humanitarian costs for the people of Ukraine are joined by the costs for millions of people around the world. We continue to applaud the humanitarian-inspired and United Nations-facilitated Black Sea Grain Initiative and strongly urge its renewal on permanent terms. The flow of grains and fertilizers from Ukraine over the Black Sea, as well as from the Russian Federation over land corridors, must be assured. Unfortunately, there are still unilateral blockages of food and fertilizer products, despite frequent assurances to the contrary.

We therefore urge the Secretary-General to urgently undertake an assessment of official and unofficial blockages and to make that report available to the Security Council. The same should be done by humanitarian organizations, such as the World Food Programme. We also encourage regional organizations, such as the European Union and the African Union, to review and report on the experiences of their member States in ensuring unimpeded exports of Ukrainian and Russian food and fertilizers to world markets.

Our region, the Horn of Africa, is experiencing the worst drought in decades. We cannot afford to pay for exceedingly expensive fertilizers if we are to avoid a worse food insecurity situation in the coming year. We must move forward from political assurances of the open flow of those vital goods and transparently and rigorously assess and report the facts on the ground. Millions of lives depend on the Council going beyond rhetoric and guaranteeing practical effects.

The crisis presents an opportunity. Africa is the most food-insecure region in the world, yet it has the largest amount of under-used arable land with a population that is still mostly rural. Too many African

families spend a disproportionate part of their income on purchasing food. It is a major component of the political instability that sadly has led to the continent having the most conflict situations being handled by the Security Council.

We now have a historic opportunity to put in place financial risk mitigation, technology transfers and investments to transform agricultural productivity on the continent. While we commend the humanitarian efforts being made to offer relief, our target must be sufficient production. The efficacy of the continent's cooperation agreements with other regions and major Powers should be judged by the extent to which they lead to a surge in Africa's production of food and fertilizer so that it is never again as vulnerable as it is today.

The more protracted this war is, the more its malign effects will spread. As more citizens suffer in more countries, their political demands may lead to less worldwide solidarity with the suffering people of Ukraine. Every country calling for that solidarity must look into its own conduct when it comes to enabling the free flow of food and fertilizer products and act with compassion and empathy for those who need them around the world.

In conclusion, Kenya once again reiterates its respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Ukraine.

**Mrs. Kamboj** (India): Let me begin by thanking Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing and update on the situation in Ukraine.

India remains concerned about the situation in Ukraine, including the targeting of civilian infrastructure and the death of civilians. Since the beginning of the conflict, India has consistently called for an immediate cessation of hostilities and an end to the violence. We have called on both sides to return to the path of diplomacy and dialogue, and we have expressed our support for all diplomatic efforts to end the conflict. We therefore stand ready to support all efforts aimed at de-escalation. India's Prime Minister has said unequivocally that this cannot be an era of war.

We hope that the international community will continue to respond positively to the call for humanitarian assistance. India has so far dispatched 12 consignments of humanitarian aid to Ukraine and stands ready to do more.

I will also state that the impact of the Ukraine conflict has not been limited to just Europe. The global South especially faces serious economic consequences, and there are growing concerns about energy and food security due to the conflict, following the severe stress created by two years of the coronavirus disease pandemic.

As far as specific initiatives on issues such as food grains and fertilizer shipments are concerned, we very much hope that the United Nations-facilitated Black Sea Grain Initiative, with its fertilizer package deal, will be renewed in the coming days and will be implemented earnestly in all its aspects by all parties.

I wish to assure the Council that India's approach to the Ukraine conflict will continue to be people-centric. We are providing humanitarian assistance to Ukraine and economic support to some of our neighbours in the global South under economic distress.

In conclusion, I reiterate that the global order is anchored on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, international law and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States.

**Mrs. Ngyema Ndong** (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): I thank Ms. DiCarlo for her enlightening briefing.

The war in Ukraine will soon enter its ninth month, and there are no signs of de-escalation or a cessation of hostilities on the horizon. We welcome the resumption of exports under the Black Sea Grain Initiative following a brief suspension. The implementation of the agreement must be grounded in the firm commitment and good faith of all the parties. I would like to echo the Secretary-General's call for a renewal of this important agreement and its full and balanced implementation. The resumption of the Grain Initiative is a sign that even in times of war, the channels of dialogue and diplomacy remain open.

The war in Ukraine continues to have many humanitarian consequences, with massive displacements of people fleeing the fighting, numerous civilian casualties and incalculable costs in terms of property loss. Continued insecurity and the disruption of supply chains have driven many people into hunger and distress. The first victims are vulnerable people, especially women and children, who are often victims of sexual violence, human trafficking and various other violations of basic human rights. Once again, we call on the warring parties to uphold international humanitarian law and refrain from inflicting suffering

on civilians. Civilian infrastructure, including civilian nuclear sites, must not be subject to attacks and humanitarian aid must be allowed to flow unimpeded. My country reiterates its opposition to the use of any weapons of mass destruction. We call for dialogue and good-faith negotiations to achieve a ceasefire. Gabon supports and will continue to support all efforts aimed at finding a diplomatic solution that can ensure peaceful coexistence between all the parties.

**Mr. Mythen** (Ireland): I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing. I also want to open by expressing our condolences to the Polish people following the explosion in the small border town of Przewodów yesterday, which killed two people. We extend our deepest sympathies to the families of those killed or injured. We also fully support Poland's investigation of the incident, and we stand in full solidarity with Poland.

In recent weeks Russia has launched hundreds of drone and missile strikes in Ukraine with the apparent aim of terrorizing and demoralizing the civilian population. Yesterday Russia scaled up its strikes with further attacks on Kyiv and across Ukraine. While Russia seeks to escalate the war, tonight millions of people across Ukraine are grappling with the prospect of a dark and freezing winter without reliable access to water, heat, electricity or other basic services. The most vulnerable in Ukrainian society — the internally displaced, children and the elderly — face a particularly precarious future. Women, already disproportionately affected by the war, are once again put in unsafe and uncertain situations. That this may be the intended result of recent Russian attacks on Ukraine's cities and infrastructure is simply unconscionable. That includes efforts to remove Zaporizhzhya from the Ukrainian grid and attacks on other Ukrainian nuclear facilities. Such utter disregard for nuclear safety carries the strong risk of a nuclear incident with potentially terrible consequences for Ukraine, Russia and the wider region. We stress the importance of the seven pillars of nuclear safety and security and their applicability in armed conflict, as set out by the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency. We condemn those heinous attacks in the strongest possible terms. Attacks intentionally directed at civilians and civilian objects are war crimes, and those responsible for them must be held to account.

The people of Ukraine have shown remarkable resolve and determination in the face of brutal adversity.

Ireland stands with them today, as always. We are very concerned about the reports of heavy fighting in the east, where living conditions for the civilian population are increasingly dire and where Russian forces continue to attack, particularly around the city of Bakhmut and other towns in the region. In the south, we cautiously welcome the liberation of the city of Kherson and note the decision of the Russian leadership to withdraw to the eastern bank of the Dnipro River.

We recall that parties to the conflict must comply with international humanitarian law. That includes prohibitions against indiscriminate and disproportionate attacks and the obligation to take all feasible precautions in attack. There must also be full, safe and unhindered humanitarian access to civilians in need, including those who choose to remain or are unable to leave. Those who seek to leave or are forced to leave must be allowed to do so safely and for destinations of their own choosing. We note that thousands of civilians were reportedly evacuated by the Russian army before its withdrawal from Kherson, and hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians have been moved from Russian-occupied territories. We would like to remind the Council that the transfer or deportation of civilians by an occupying Power from occupied territory can constitute a war crime. Refugees, internally displaced and stateless persons are particularly at risk of exploitation, with attacks and abductions that lead to trafficking. Women and children face particular danger in that regard and must be protected from harm. Conflict-related sexual violence is never acceptable, and again may amount to war crimes.

The reverberations of the war continue to be felt far beyond Ukraine's borders, with unequal and disproportionate impacts on developing countries. The Black Sea Grain Initiative plays an important role in alleviating global food insecurity, and it should continue to do so in the months ahead. We are grateful for the efforts of the United Nations and Türkiye to facilitate Russia's resumed participation in the agreement. We urge all sides to maintain engagement in good faith and to continue that important initiative.

We have set out many of these concerns on many previous occasions at this table, and I fear we will do so again. But as my Minister for Foreign Affairs said earlier today, Ireland will make no apology for being on the side of international law, the Charter of the United Nations and Ukraine and its people. Russia should end its illegal war of aggression and stop killing innocent

civilians and shelling infrastructure with immediate effect. It is never too late for dialogue and diplomacy. We therefore renew our call on Russia to immediately cease hostilities, withdraw its forces and commit to resolving all outstanding issues peacefully and in line with the Charter.

**Mr. Costa Filho (Brazil):** I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing.

Brazil shares the concerns about the worsening humanitarian situation in Ukraine and the impact of the conflict on food security in other regions. Since the start of hostilities, we have advocated for the parties to engage in negotiations for a ceasefire and a peaceful solution to their differences.

The Black Sea Grain Initiative, which has already enabled exports of more than 10 million metric tons of grain, has been an important step. Brazil welcomes the decision of the Russian Federation to reconsider the suspension of its participation following the incidents of 29 October. While the conflict in Ukraine is not the only cause of the food insecurity we now face, the continuation of grain and fertilizer exports through Black Sea ports helps stabilize prices and prevent shortages. Fragilities in the global food supply, however, are the result of systemic actions over past decades that have hindered the development of the agricultural sector throughout the developing world, in particular in Africa. Among them, we must recognize the deleterious impact of massive agricultural subsidies and distorting tariff and non-tariff barriers that hold back agricultural production in developing countries. We renew our support for the mediation efforts of the Secretary-General and Türkiye. We encourage the parties to engage in the immediate extension of the Grain Initiative, which we see as a necessary decision and an important confidence-building measure.

The approach of winter finds Ukrainian cities in an alarming situation. The destruction of civil infrastructure, particularly in the energy sector, exposes millions of families to life-threatening conditions. Brazil strongly condemns the attacks on residential areas and civilian facilities, for which there is no justification. We urge all the parties to uphold their obligations under international humanitarian law and adopt practical measures to minimize civilian injuries and damage on the ground.

At this challenging time, the international community needs to stand together in providing

humanitarian assistance to Ukraine. Since March, contributions of food and medical supplies have been shipped from our country to Ukraine. In the coming weeks, Brazil will send 24 additional tons of rice donated by the private sector. The Government of Brazil has also simplified the requirements for entering the country in order to facilitate the reception of refugees. We are encouraged to see that wave of solidarity being observed in dozens of countries. We urge Governments and the private sector to engage in similar initiatives, which have never been so urgent since the beginning of the conflict.

Finally, we renew the call for the parties to return to the negotiating table without delay. We encourage other members to explore ways to foster dialogue. There is no more urgent task facing the United Nations than the search for an immediate ceasefire, without preconditions.

**Mr. Zhang Jun (China) (*spoke in Chinese*):** The Ukraine crisis is becoming increasingly protracted, expansive and complex, thereby putting further pressure on the already tense international situation and creating more uncertainty in the world, which is not in the interest of any party. No matter how difficult the challenges are, the international community must strive to seek consensus, find space for cooperation and play a constructive and responsible role in promoting the de-escalation of the situation in order to resume diplomatic negotiations as soon as possible and mitigate the spillover effects of the crisis. In the current context, China believes that the international community should take the following steps.

First, we should work together to support a peaceful resolution of the crisis. Conflicts and wars have no winners. Dialogue and negotiation will provide the only viable way out of the Ukraine crisis. As long as we begin negotiations, there is hope for peace. China notes that Russia has expressed its willingness to engage in dialogue on many occasions in recent days and hopes that the parties concerned can meet each other halfway, respond positively and engage in direct contact as soon as possible in order to create the conditions for the resumption of negotiations.

There are no simple solutions to complex issues. On the basis of accommodating each other's legitimate security concerns, the parties should discuss building a balanced, effective and sustainable European security architecture in order to directly address the security deficit that underlies the crisis and achieve peace

and stability on the European continent. We hope that the United States, NATO and Russia will carry out a comprehensive dialogue to that end. China will continue to play a constructive role in its own way.

With regard to media reports of missiles landing in a village on the eastern border of Poland, resulting in casualties, China calls on all the parties concerned to remain calm and exercise restraint in order to prevent misunderstandings and misjudgements and prevent a further escalation of the situation.

Secondly, we should work together to prevent nuclear risks. There should be no room for trial-and-error when it comes to nuclear safety, security and safeguards related to public health and environmental safety in Ukraine and its neighbouring regions. All the parties concerned should exercise restraint and prudence, strictly abide by nuclear safety conventions and other international law, ensure the safety of nuclear materials and facilities in Ukraine and do their utmost to avert any possible nuclear risk.

China supports the International Atomic Energy Agency in fulfilling its responsibilities according to its mandate and playing an active role in nuclear safety issues. China has always maintained that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. We took note of Russia's recent statement reiterating the joint declaration made on 3 January by the leaders of the five nuclear-weapon States on preventing nuclear war and avoiding arms races. The international community should work together to maintain global strategic stability, make every effort to prevent a confrontation between the major Powers, emphasize that nuclear weapons must never be used and that a nuclear war must never be fought and prevent a nuclear crisis on the Eurasian continent.

Thirdly, we should work together to improve the humanitarian situation. China is deeply concerned about the continuing deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Ukraine and deeply sympathizes with the people of Ukraine and the surrounding areas given the difficulties they are going through. We call on all the parties concerned to earnestly abide by international humanitarian law, make every effort to prevent attacks on civilians and civilian facilities, minimize civilian casualties and the impact on people's basic livelihoods and do everything possible to prevent larger-scale humanitarian crises.

This winter will be very difficult for the people affected in the countries concerned and the neighbouring regions. The international community and humanitarian agencies should continue to scale up humanitarian relief efforts to assist Ukraine in order to help relieve the humanitarian pressure, improve the humanitarian situation in Ukraine and its neighbouring regions and ensure that all refugees, displaced persons and other people in need can be properly resettled and safely survive the winter.

Fourthly, we should work together to mitigate the spillover effects of the crisis. The Black Sea Grain Initiative has contributed positively to alleviating the global food crisis. China welcomes the call for all the parties to adhere to humanitarian principles and focus on the overall situation by resuming the implementation of the Initiative. China calls on all the parties to maintain cooperation and dialogue in order to reach a proper solution for the extension of the Initiative. China supports the coordinating role that the Secretary-General and his team continue to play in resolving Russia's difficulties in exporting grains and fertilizers.

We call on the parties concerned to take robust measures to eliminate the negative impact of sanctions. It is urgent for the international community to manage the huge impact of the Ukraine crisis on global energy, food and financing, as well as its impacts in other areas. Sweeping and indiscriminate sanctions disrupt global industrial and supply chains, undermine the momentum of global economic recovery and damage the economic and financial stability of developing countries. Immediate action must be taken to rectify that approach.

The world today is undergoing profound changes unseen in a century. The Ukraine crisis and its spillover effects, which represent the starkest example of those changes, highlight the major challenges that face human development. What is wrong with the world, and what should we do about it? That is the question of our time that every country faces. At the Group of 20 leaders' summit, which just concluded, President Xi Jinping, demonstrating profound insight into the future of humankind from a historical and global perspective, put forward a series of initiatives and proposals that are critical for guiding actors in addressing the current global challenges.

China calls on all countries to foster a sense of community based on a shared future for humankind and to promote peaceful development and a win-win

approach to cooperation. All countries should opt for unity instead of division, cooperation instead of confrontation and inclusion instead of exclusion. All countries should continue to work together to overcome difficulties and create a better future. China firmly opposes drawing ideological lines, the Cold War mentality, group politics and bloc confrontation. We reject beggar-thy-neighbour practices, building small yards with high fences and creating closed and exclusive clubs. China also opposes any attempts to politicize economic and livelihood issues or using them as tools and weapons. China stands ready to work with the rest of the world and will continue working tirelessly to address global challenges and build a community based on a shared future for humankind.

**Ms. Juul** (Norway): I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her very useful briefing.

Yesterday the Russian army inflicted massive waves of missile strikes on Ukraine, with civilian casualties. And in Poland, we saw an explosion resulting in the tragic loss of Polish lives. We are in close contact with our allies and partners and support the ongoing investigation.

What we do know, however, is that this would not have happened were it not for Russia's illegal war on Ukraine. One only needs to look to Kherson to see further evidence of its brutal campaign against civilians. We see the atrocities and destruction in the wake of Russia's forced retreat. They did what they could to make the situation as difficult as possible for the civilian population, destroying water, heat and electricity supplies. And they continue those tactics across the country. With winter approaching, the number of casualties and displaced persons could accelerate. Children, the elderly and other people in highly vulnerable situations are particularly at risk.

We call for safe, rapid and unimpeded access for humanitarian organizations to all people in need, including prisoners of war. We commend the United Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations for staying and delivering a principled humanitarian response under very challenging circumstances. We also commend the courageous and committed Ukrainian responders. We also reiterate our demand that all civilians be protected. International humanitarian law and international human rights law must be fully respected and implemented. International law applies to all nations. It is not optional.

The suffering and atrocities committed by Russian armed forces have shocked the whole world. The consequences are felt globally. Russia's war of aggression is causing a refugee tragedy with a regional impact. It is destabilizing financial markets and supply chains and disrupting global energy security.

The world's most vulnerable people and countries depend on a steady supply of food from Ukraine and Russia to global markets. It is essential to keep a transportation line open for the export of grain, related foodstuffs and fertilizers, including ammonia. Considering the dire global consequences, we trust that the parties will stay committed to the Black Sea Grain Initiative and that those life-saving shipments will continue.

Russia's war of aggression demonstrates its disregard for the core principles of our Organization and the suffering of millions of people in the wake of this war. As members of the Security Council, it is our duty to set a different course. As the Secretary-General has emphasized, we have the values and principles necessary to chart that course. They are already enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. When the time comes, we will stand firmly with the Secretary-General in efforts to build and sustain peace in Ukraine.

We will work actively to ensure that the Council remains vigilant of the situation in Ukraine and able to address a host of other conflicts on its agenda. Let me end by repeating something we have said numerous times before, yet it cannot be said often enough — through its aggression and actions, the Russian Federation is acting with blatant disregard for international law. Russia must immediately heed the ruling of the International Court of Justice and the calls of the United Nations to suspend its military operations within Ukraine's internationally recognized borders and to stop the senseless bloodshed and global suffering.

**Mr. Nebenzia** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We are grateful to our Albanian and American colleagues for calling today's meeting. It is true that they requested it last week without even stating the topic of the meeting. As we now see, they demonstrated remarkable farsightedness. Had this meeting not been scheduled, we would have needed to convene it in order to discuss the attempts by Ukraine and Poland to provoke a direct clash between Russia and NATO.

The totally irresponsible statements made by the leaders of these two countries cannot be interpreted any other way. Take for example the statement by Mr. Zelenskyy:

“We must put the terrorist in his place. The longer Russia feels impunity, the greater the threats for anyone within the range of Russian missiles. A missile strike on NATO territory is a Russian missile strike on collective security. This is a very significant escalation. We must act.”

Then Zelenskyy expressed condolences to Poland in connection with the people killed as a result of the Russian missile attack, while stating that “Russia kills everyone it can reach”.

I would like to draw the attention of colleagues to the fact that these are statements made by a man who could not but have access to information that it was Ukrainian missiles launched by Ukraine air defence systems that crossed into Polish territory. That means that this is not just an intentional attempt at disinformation, but a conscious attempt to involve NATO, which is waging a proxy war with Russia in Ukraine, into a direct confrontation with our country.

The Russophobic Polish authorities went almost as far, as they stated unequivocally from the very start that they had suffered a Russian attack. The Foreign Ministry of Poland even summoned the Russian Ambassador in the middle of the night to register their resolute protest. That happened despite the fact that the photos posted on social media in the wake of the event leave no doubt that it was Ukrainian air defence missiles that crossed into Poland. That fact has now been confirmed even by NATO and globally in the West.

Had it not been for that evidence, all these facts would have been concealed from the public and Russia would have been proclaimed the guilty party. But it is hard to deny the obvious. That is just like the Ukrainian armed forces strike on Kramatorsk on 8 April, which Ukraine tried to pass off as a Russian crime, but photos by eyewitnesses prevented this deliberate and cruel provocation. Our former Western partners do not like to recall that incident, and the Kyiv regime has since introduced penalties for everyone who posts materials on social media showing the consequences of any military strikes. They do so to prevent Ukrainian citizens from inadvertently thwarting the provocations of their authorities.

Returning to this tragic incident. I cannot fail to mention that Ukrainian air defences have long had a bad reputation, at least since the time in October 2001, when a Russian civilian aircraft en route from Tel Aviv to Novosibirsk was shot down above the Black Sea during a military exercise. That accident claimed 78 lives. Many also recall the tragedy when Malaysia Airlines Flight MH-17 was shot down over Donbas. The so-called international investigators, Ukraine included, never even considered the possibility that it might have been responsible for that disaster. And in recent months, we have regularly seen footage of Ukrainian air defence missiles hitting residential buildings, which were used to conceal those systems. These are clumsy attempts to pass off those incidents as consequences of Russian strikes carried out with high-precision weapons against military targets and critical infrastructure, while failing to mention that, in case of a direct hit by such high-precision weapons, there would have been nothing left of those homes.

We long ago stopped being surprised by the attempts to blame Russia for everything in all circumstances and contrary to all facts and common sense. So it is today too, where, despite clear evidence of Ukrainian-Polish provocation, many representatives of Western States indicated in their remarks that, even if the missiles had been launched by Ukraine, it was Russia's fault all the same for destroying critical infrastructure. The flawed nature of that logic is clearly evident in the irresponsible shelling of the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant, which, as everyone here is well aware, Ukraine is behind.

Some Council members reiterated their favourite cunning mantra: had it not been for Russia, we would not be where we are. I once again recall that we would not be where we are had there not been a deadly unconstitutional coup d'état in Kyiv in 2014, with the direct involvement of several Western States. From the very beginning, the leaders of that coup set out to distort history and suppress the Russian language, thereby provoking a violent internal civil conflict. We would not be discussing any of this now if they had not indulged the Kyiv regime in its unwillingness to implement the Minsk agreements and had not covered up its eight-year war against the people of Donbas. In that case, we would not have needed to start our special military operation to protect those people.

If States had not interfered and supplied Ukraine with weapons and ammunition, if they had encouraged

the Ukrainian leadership to seek peace on realistic terms, rather than indulging its delirious fantasies about the possibility of victory over Russia, for the sake of which the Zelenskyy regime is sending tens of thousands of soldiers into a senseless slaughter, and if they had not ignored the terrorist attacks against Russia by Ukrainian special forces, we would not have had to launch high-precision strikes against its infrastructure. But since they are acting in the way in which they are, and since the Kyiv regime takes credit for non-existent military achievements, we have to pursue the objectives of the special military operation by weakening Ukraine's military potential, which has been mostly maintained owing to the abundant flow of Western weapons.

We became accustomed to Ukraine being beyond any criticism. Any crimes committed by the Kyiv regime are by default ignored or attributed to Russia. We are already used to the detestable fakes about Russia and its armed forces. I will ask those States one question, which is of course rhetorical: have any of them ever commented on the reprisals and atrocities that the Kyiv regime inflicts on civilians in the territories under its control, on the names that it calls them and on the torture to which Kyiv subjects them? That is happening now in Kherson, and, prior to that, it happened in other cities and localities. All that is in the public domain. I will answer for them: no, because all that is beyond their horizon and their arbitrary conscience. When they criticize someone, they should look in the mirror. They should not forget how arrogantly they dismissed the proposals to discuss issues of European security, clinging on to NATO's so-called sacred right to expand without regard for the concerns of other countries.

Since we are all gathered here, let me recall the involvement of NATO countries in the Ukrainian conflict. They continue to flood Ukraine with weapons, sending whole teams of instructors and foreign mercenaries to operate them. At the same time, the United States military has become actively engaged in the planning and de facto coordination of armed action, to which even the Pentagon recently officially admitted.

We have no doubts about the use of Western military equipment, which is being used to target civilian facilities. In the past week alone, the central districts and residential areas of Donetsk, Yasynuvata, Stakhanov, Svatove and other locations, as well as even towns in Russia's Belgorod region, were subjected to repeated shelling, including with High Mobility

Artillery Rocket System multiple rocket launchers. Strikes continue against the Kakhovka hydroelectric power plant, the destruction of which would trigger a major humanitarian disaster.

We do not have any illusions as to why the West needs this. For it, Ukraine is also a testing site for various types of weapons. Ukrainian Minister of Defence Reznikov recently admitted that when he said that various Western weapons systems were competing in Ukraine.

We are very surprised at the attempts of our Western colleagues to take credit for exporting Russian fertilizers to developing States through the World Food Programme (WFP). The President of France, Emmanuel Macron, announced that the channel for deliveries had allegedly been established thanks to the efforts of France and the WFP. He used the pronoun "we". We heard similar claims from other Western delegations today. I would like to know who that "we" refers to. I recall that we are talking about fertilizers that Western States kept on their territories and that Russia itself offered to transfer to developing countries. The West, in particular the European Union (EU), not only failed to facilitate that, but actively opposed it. Now it hypocritically poses as a saviour of developing countries. Once again, the Russian fertilizers that are going to Africa were previously frozen in European ports because of the EU's sanctions policy. Russia itself offered to send them to countries in need free of charge. That is exactly what happens now through the WFP, and we are paying for those services.

It would be naive to think that all Western military and financial support to Ukraine is used as intended. We cited quite a lot of evidence as to how a significant proportion of those weapons ended up in the hands of terrorists and criminals, fuelling conflicts across the world, and how a huge amount of resources are simply plundered. It now seems that the suppliers of that so-called assistance are finally beginning to think about that.

On 7 November, a group of American experts was sent to Ukraine to verify the supply of weapons to Kyiv. It turned out that the United States was in control of only a tenth of it, that is, 22,000 items. The fate of the other weapons remains unclear.

At the same time, the bankruptcy of the largest American cryptocurrency exchange, FTX, and the literal disappearance of its billion-dollar assets have revealed

interesting facts about its contacts with the Ukrainian Government. Meanwhile, the founder and owner of FTX is one of the major donors to the United States Democratic Party, which plays a key role in allocating funds to Kyiv. We are not surprised by those schemes, which surely might seem surprising to American taxpayers.

The timid voices of reason, including from the West, are drowning in the aggressive uproar of those who seek to prolong the hostilities at all costs and defeat Russia with the help of Ukraine. For example, NATO Secretary-General Stoltenberg said that the Alliance considered unacceptable any contacts aimed at a settlement that took into account Russia's position and interests. In an article, the former United States Special Representative to Ukraine, Volker, made the normalization of relations between Russia and the West conditional on our military defeat, a change in our leadership and the reconsideration of our current borders.

Western countries are trying to shift responsibility for all their faults onto Russia, while using the platform of this world Organization for their own self-serving purposes. That was clearly visible on Monday, 14 November, during the debate at the special session of the General Assembly (see A/ES-11/PV.15 and A/ES-11/PV.16). Western sponsors of resolution ES-11/5, on so-called reparations, failed to explain, even in general terms, what kind of a reparations mechanism for Ukraine they intended to establish. Instead, they just made developing States support a legally flawed politicized text aimed at illegally legitimizing the expropriation of someone else's assets. But this time, even the Western intimidation, coercion and blackmail campaign clearly failed. The results of the voting, whereby more than half the Member States refused to support the West's latest anti-Russian narrative, are self-explanatory. For most countries, including those that were forced to vote in favour of the resolution, the double standards of our Western colleagues are obvious, as is their unwillingness to be accountable for their wrongdoings — slavery, colonialism, military invasions, blockades, sanctions and their desire to counter international law with a so-called rules-based order in which they themselves set the rules.

The developing world has once again become convinced that the Ukrainian crisis is only a bargaining chip in Western plans, a tool to punish the unwanted, subjugate subordinates and try to maintain

their vanishing global dominance in an evolving multipolar world.

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

I thank Under-Secretary-General Rosemary DiCarlo for her comprehensive briefing and assessment of the security and humanitarian situations in Ukraine.

At the outset, I reaffirm Ghana's complete commitment to the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine. We reiterate our support for all legitimate international efforts aimed at restoring Ukraine to a state of peace.

The question of global food security is critical. During the most recent meeting of the Council on Ukraine (see S/PV.9161), many delegations showed strong support for the continuity of the Black Sea Grain Initiative. We are pleased that the Russian Federation has since reconsidered the suspension of its participation in the Initiative, which has recorded more than 10 million metric tons of grain shipments across the world. The active leadership of the Secretary-General and the Government of Türkiye have been key to the effective operationalization of the Initiative, and we remain supportive of their efforts in this regard. As the 120-day Initiative draws to a close on 19 November, we count on the good-faith commitments of all stakeholders for the timely renewal of the grain deal.

The almost 100 million people who suffer from high levels of food insecurity is an unacceptable reality. We urge that their condition be at the forefront of discussions to ensure unhindered global food supplies. We also urge that pragmatic measures to address impediments to the export of Russian fertilizers and agroproducts be adopted. We must prevent the further worsening of food insecurity in the coming months.

On the deteriorating security and humanitarian situations, Ghana remains deeply concerned by the intensified missile and drone attacks in several cities of Ukraine, including, renewed attacks on Kyiv, Kharkiv and Lviv yesterday. The unrelenting assault on Ukraine's already-battered energy infrastructure just before the upcoming winter season threatens the livelihood of many civilians. Many homes, schools and medical facilities also have no heating or access to potable water. Typical of all conflict situations, the women, children and vulnerable persons, most of whom are either displaced or sheltering in bunkers, have become the worst victims of this war.

The attacks on civilians and civilian infrastructure reveal the worst form of our common humanity and may constitute serious violations of international law. It departs from the accepted norms and the customary principles of conventional warfare codified in the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocol relating to the protection of victims of international armed conflicts. Ghana therefore reiterates its call on the parties to bring their forces into accord with international law, including international humanitarian law and human rights law.

We are gravely alarmed by the emerging reports of possible war crimes in the city of Kherson and maintain the principled position that such claims, including human rights violations and conflict-related sexual violence, be submitted to thorough, transparent and independent investigations. Together with the international community, the Security Council must work collectively to avoid impunity in Ukraine and secure justice for all victims of the war.

We note with satisfaction the ongoing humanitarian efforts, including the distribution of cash, food and non-food items, medical outreach and water, sanitation and hygiene services. In commending the United Nations humanitarian agencies and partners for the life-saving support provided since the beginning of the war, we also stress the need for such efforts to be guided by the fundamental principles of humanity, neutrality, impartiality and independence.

While welcoming the elevated humanitarian efforts, we deem it necessary to point out that humanitarian assistance only offers temporary relief and is insufficient to protect civilians from harm. Humanitarian assistance cannot be a substitute for a comprehensive and lasting resolution of the conflict. We therefore reiterate our call on the Russian Federation to immediately and unconditionally cease its aggression against Ukraine consistent with the rules of international law and the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and to seek a resolution of its concerns through diplomacy and dialogue.

Yesterday's Polish missile incident and the experience of history remind us of the risk that the continuation of this unnecessary war poses in its further spread. The scenes from the city of Kherson are telling signs of how much the people desire an end to the war, an end to the strife and the beginning of a new chapter of peace, reconciliation and reconstruction. The Council must therefore support all efforts for peace.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I give the floor to the representative of Ukraine.

**Mr. Kyslytsya (Ukraine):** I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing. I am sure that it is difficult, if not painful, to deliver such a tragic account of the situation on the ground. I am also profoundly thankful to our friend and colleague, the Permanent Representative of the United States of America, Mrs. Linda Thomas-Greenfield, for sharing her personal experience on meeting some of the victims of Russian war crimes in Ukraine.

We believe that every member of the Council ought to visit Ukraine. Each one is welcome — each one except Russia, which must immediately leave Ukraine, stop the carnage and cease making a cannon-fodder production line of its own people.

I also recognize in this Chamber the representative of the terrorist Russian regime in the permanent seat of the Soviet Union. What a mockery of peace efforts it is that terrorists are still at the table on an equal footing with 14 members of the Security Council one day after the gravest attack on Ukraine's critical infrastructure. While temperatures in Ukraine start to drop below freezing, these terrorists aim to deprive Ukrainians of electricity, water and heating.

More than 90 missiles targeted energy facilities and other civilian infrastructure in at least 11 regions of Ukraine. As a result, approximately 10 million Ukrainians throughout the country have been affected by emergency blackouts.

Ukraine expresses its solidarity with the brotherly Polish people following yesterday's tragedy in the village of Przewodów, where two people were killed by missiles. We support a full and transparent investigation to establish all the facts of this tragic incident, and we are ready to cooperate with the Polish side to contribute to this investigation.

At the same time, it is clear that the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine, with regular missile terror as one of its core elements, remains the only root cause of violence and human suffering in Ukraine and beyond. As soon as Russia is unable to continue its war, security in the region will immediately be restored.

Ukraine is now defending itself from barbaric Russian attacks that aim to deprive millions of people of access to services to meet their basic needs, thereby

creating a humanitarian disaster that could create spillover effects far beyond my country. We are grateful for the support of our friends, in particular Poland, in countering these attacks and bringing peace and security back to our region.

Russia commits its abominable attacks against civilians because it is the only kind of revenge it can take for its regular military and diplomatic defeats. Last week, Ukraine restored its sovereignty over 4,500 square kilometres in the Kherson and Mykolaiv regions. The Russian forces were kicked out of the only regional centre they had been able to occupy since the invasion began. Members may have seen touching pictures of how the local people, who spent eight months under occupation and endured much suffering at the hands of the Russians, greeted their liberators on the streets of Kherson and other de-occupied settlements. Eight months ago, when the Russian occupying forces entered Kherson, the city's residents were also in the streets. While the atmosphere was totally different, there were some similarities to the joyful rallies this month. The Russian occupiers were also met with Ukrainian flags, the Ukrainian national anthem and the slogan "Kherson is Ukraine". It is a sad fact that many of those residents did not live to see the de-occupation. Fleeing from the right bank of the Dnipro River, the Russian army left behind traces of the same atrocities that it had committed in other regions. Investigators have already documented more than 400 Russian war crimes and have found the bodies of both civilians and military personnel.

There is nothing for Russian diplomacy to boast about either, except perhaps the sprinting skills that Putin's representative has been regularly developing by promptly fleeing the Chamber. I do appreciate the fact that he is here today. Russian diplomacy did not and could not find any credible argument in response to the General Assembly's adoption of resolution ES-11/5, for the "furtherance of remedy and reparation for aggression against Ukraine". We welcome that resolution, which is a clear message of hope for justice and an important first step towards accountability.

We have recently heard a number of statements from the Russians on the issue of negotiations and dialogue. One can hardly comment on the sincerity of those statements against the backdrop of the nine dozen missiles that fell on Ukrainian civilian infrastructure in one day. If there is no concrete action to restore peace, it means that Russia simply wants to deceive all of us

again. Russia wants to buy time, build up its forces and then launch another wave of aggression, terror and global destabilization. We must not allow it to recharge. It is time to stop the war before the situation finally spirals in a menacing direction and becomes unpredictable and uncontrolled. We should remember the steps that President Zelenskyy outlined in his address to the Summit of the Group of 20, or rather the Group of 19.

The first step that should be taken is ensuring radiation and nuclear safety. Russia must immediately withdraw all its militants from the territory of the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant. Control of the station should be immediately transferred to the International Atomic Energy Agency and Ukrainian personnel.

Second, there should also be a focus on food security. Thanks to the strong support of the United Nations, Türkiye and other partners, we have been able to improve food security globally. Since July, Ukraine has exported more than 10 million tons of foodstuffs by sea. In order to increase our exports by several million tons per month, we propose expanding the grain export initiative to other ports, in particular the ports of Mykolayiv and Olvia in the Mykolayiv region. Ukraine has also launched the Grain from Ukraine initiative to support the most vulnerable. The first ship under that initiative, carrying 27,000 tons of wheat, will leave for Ethiopia. Ethiopia has continued to vote against Ukraine in the United Nations, but we have nevertheless continued to ship our grain there. Ukraine can export 45 million tons of foodstuffs this year, and any country can join and contribute to ensuring that Ukrainian grain is supplied to those in need and that a significant part of it is directed to those who are suffering the most.

The third step concerns energy security. Russia's acts of terror against Ukrainian energy infrastructure also aim to prevent us from exporting our electricity to our neighbours. While Russia is interested in an energy crisis, we should all be interested in ending terror. I thank all our partners that have already helped Ukraine with the supply of air-defence and missile-defence systems. They work, but we need more to ensure full protection from Russian terrorists. We are ready to receive a mission of United Nations experts to examine Ukraine's critical energy infrastructure objects in order to assess the scale of the damage and what is needed to restore them, as well as to prevent their further destruction.

The fourth critical step is the release of all prisoners and deportees. Thousands of our people, both military personnel and civilians, are in Russian captivity and being subjected to brutal torture. Russia also continues to hold at least 11, 000 children who have been forcibly deported to Russia. The only viable solution is the release of prisoners on an all-for-all basis.

Fifth, the principles of the Charter of the United Nations must be fully respected. Ukraine is not prepared to compromise its sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders.

Sixth, Russian troops must withdraw from the territory of Ukraine and Ukraine's control over all sections of its State border with Russia must be restored. That will result in a real and complete cessation of hostilities.

Seventh, justice should immediately come next. When we liberate our lands, we are seeing one thing everywhere, which is that Russia leaves behind torture chambers and the mass graves of the people it has murdered. That was the case in Bucha and other cities in northern Ukraine after their occupation. That was also the case in the Kharkiv region, and we are seeing the same thing now in the Kherson region.

The eighth step is that we need to immediately protect the environment. Millions of hectares of forest have been burned by shelling. Almost 200,000 hectares of our land are contaminated with unexploded mines and shells. Dozens of coal mines are flooded. At the twenty-seventh session of the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, which was just held in Egypt, Ukraine therefore proposed to create a platform to assess the environmental damage of the war.

The ninth step is preventing escalation. Ukraine requires effective security assurances, which should be an integral element of the post-war security architecture in the Euro-Atlantic space. Those guarantees could be formalized in the Kyiv security compact, a draft of which has been already formulated by Ukraine.

The final step will be a confirmation of the end of the war. When all the anti-war measures are implemented and security and justice begin to be restored, a document confirming the end of the war should be signed by the parties.

It seems that since our meetings in October, Russia has levelled up with regard to its definition

of its enemies in the war. Last time, as members will remember, there were war mosquitoes and birds. As we recently learned, Russia is now trying "to stop the supreme ruler of hell, whatever name he uses — Satan, Lucifer or Iblis". In this fight, Russia's enemies are backed by Westerners who have "saliva running down their chins from degeneracy". Who do those quotations belong to? An inebriated person? A narrow-minded fan of Nazi ideas about superior nations and degenerate nations? They actually belong to the former Russian President Dmitriy Medvedev, now Putin's deputy in the Russian security council.

I wonder why the Russian delegation refrained from delivering that important update to the Council. Perhaps we should prepare for another urgent Council meeting as soon as Russia finds those who can brief the Council on how to exorcize demons. It would be a logical continuation of both Russia's attempts to discredit the Security Council and the process of internal moral degradation of the Kremlin.

Unfortunately, those morbid reflections have led to the deaths of tens of thousands of people in the bloodiest war in Europe since the Second World War. Russia must be stopped — and thanks to the courage of the Ukrainian army, the commitment of the Ukrainian people and international solidarity with Ukraine, Russia will be stopped.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Poland.

**Mr. Szczerski (Poland):** Allow me to start by providing the Security Council with some additional details about yesterday's tragic event in Poland. On 15 November at approximately 3.30 p.m., during yet another massive wave of missile strikes by Russian forces against critical civilian infrastructure throughout the whole of Ukraine, including in the immediate vicinity of the territory of Poland, two Polish citizens lost their lives in the Polish village of Przewodów, about 5 kilometres from the Polish-Ukrainian border. The apparent cause of their deaths was the explosion from a missile that fell on that location, which has no military character whatsoever.

I would like to express our deepest gratitude for the gestures of solidarity, including those heard today, that Poland continues to receive from all over the world with regard to that tragic event. No matter what may have been the particular course of events in Przewodów that fatal afternoon, those innocent

people would not have been killed if there had been no Russian war against Ukraine. Their only fault was the fact that they lived close to the Ukrainian border, near civilian infrastructure that Russia continues to attack as military targets.

Yesterday's sad event teaches us how close we actually live to a potential escalation and spillover of the Russian war of aggression, with far-reaching consequences that we can all foresee. Bearing that in mind, Poland decided to act with full restraint and responsibility. We immediately launched an extensive, multifaceted investigation aimed at explaining all the details of the incident. The earliest initial findings support the hypothesis that the event was not a deliberate attack, but of course we need to wait for the final conclusions once the investigation is over.

Poland is also conducting intensive consultations on the incident with its NATO allies and key partners. A decision was furthermore made to increase the combat readiness of selected units of the Polish Armed Forces, with particular emphasis on air space monitoring. We wish to assure the whole international community of the transparency of the ongoing investigation and of the guarantees of collective security that Poland will continue to provide to the region, both as an individual country and as part of NATO, which remains a defensive alliance. We understand our responsibilities, and that is why Poland will remain a stronghold of peace and security and stability in the region.

It is clear that Russia is to blame for menacing the world with a war of aggression and its spillover effects, including yesterday's tragic incident in Poland. The launch of yesterday's missile attacks against Ukraine — the fiercest since the beginning of the war — required significant military preparations. Despite its recent setbacks on the battlefield, Moscow clearly did not change its goals. It still wants to erase sovereign Ukraine from the map and cause innocent people to suffer. That evidently shows Russia's absolute lack of will to embark on a path leading to a resolution of the conflict it has created. Russia pretends to be ready for talks but in reality carries out barbaric attacks against the civilian population and energy infrastructure of Ukraine.

The current situation will not change our approach. Poland believes it is crucial to continue supporting Ukraine, as it has done since the very beginning of the war. We approach it in a multidimensional way,

by providing aid both in Ukraine and within our own territory. We will continue on that path.

The total estimated value of Polish aid given in 2022 to Ukrainian refugees by both individuals and local and State authorities amounts to more than \$5.5 billion dollars — about 1 per cent of Poland's gross domestic product (GDP). According to the estimates of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Poland will have spent a total of \$8.5 billion in 2022 — almost 1.5 per cent of its GDP — on humanitarian and military assistance, making it one of the major donors to Ukraine.

As we heard today, the most urgent humanitarian issue that we need to focus on currently is the approaching winter. Due to Russian bombings, over 3.5 million people have been left without a roof over their heads. The priority is to create shelter for those people. Russian forces continuously attack Ukrainian energy infrastructure in a deliberate attempt to aggravate the humanitarian crisis. Their goal is probably also to cause another wave of refugees, which is calculated to destabilize the situation in host countries, including Poland.

Russian imperialism needs to be treated for what it really is: a global threat with far-reaching consequences. That global threat needs to be neutralized before it plunges the whole world further into chaos. The war needs to end with a just peace. It needs to end on terms that are acceptable to Ukraine. The aggressor cannot benefit from its aggression. Instead, we need accountability for the war atrocities and damages it has inflicted. Therefore, Poland welcomes the resolution adopted by the General Assembly last week on the creation of a register as a mechanism to document damages (General Assembly resolution ES-11/5). We see that as a first step in the right direction.

In conclusion, we once again call on all States that stand on the side of international law to take all necessary steps to persuade Russia to stop its aggression and withdraw from Ukrainian territory. That is the only way to prevent further death, injury and devastation. It is the only way to stop escalation of the large-scale humanitarian and human rights crisis that continues to take the lives of innocent civilians.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Estonia.

**Mr. Tammsaar** (Estonia): I speak on behalf of the three Baltic States, namely, Latvia, Lithuania and my own country, Estonia.

We thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her most valuable briefing.

Allow me to start by commending the immense bravery of the Ukrainian defence forces, who after months of Russian occupation took back control of Kherson on Friday. There is no doubt that, sooner or later, Ukraine will liberate all the occupied territories within its internationally recognized borders. Those territories are Ukrainian, and Ukraine has every right to defend them in full accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. We are steadfast in supporting Ukraine's efforts for as long as it takes and will continue providing strong political, military and financial support to Ukraine.

Russian missiles hitting critical infrastructure and residential buildings in Kyiv and a number of other Ukrainian cities yesterday once again proves that Russia is not interested in peace. During the heaviest wave of missile strikes against Ukraine since February, two Polish citizens lost their lives in an explosion that took place in the east of Poland. Allow me to extend my deepest condolences to the families of those who tragically lost their lives due to that barbaric attack.

Notwithstanding the ongoing investigations, it is clear that Russia alone bears responsibility for the explosion as it continues its illegal war against Ukraine.

We commend the swift actions of United Nations humanitarian agencies, led by Humanitarian Coordinator Ms. Denise Brown, to bring humanitarian aid to Kherson on Monday for the first time since the Russian forces took control of the city. As in other liberated areas, the Russian army left behind a trail of atrocity crimes in Kherson. The city was left without water, heat, electricity and communications. We urge Russia to give humanitarian organizations access to areas currently under Russian occupation so that the necessary emergency assistance can reach all in need in Ukraine. The winter is fast approaching in Ukraine, with temperatures expected to fall well below freezing point. By using missiles and Iranian-supplied drones, Russia's deliberate strikes on Ukraine's energy facilities have by now left 7 million people without electricity. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are continuing to provide humanitarian aid to Ukraine to address the needs worsened by the winter and by Russia's attacks

on Ukraine's infrastructure, along with demining assistance. We also urge Russia to give United Nations representatives and the International Committee of the Red Cross access to the places of detention of civilians and military prisoners of war and to ensure access for the United Nations Fact-Finding Mission to Olenivka. The deportation of Ukrainian children to Russia is a war crime. Children belong with their families and loved ones and must be safely and immediately returned to their homes.

Russia's unprovoked and brutal war of aggression against Ukraine has triggered issues of deep global concern. Through its blockade of Ukrainian seaports and destruction of necessary infrastructure, Russia has caused a global food crisis and essentially weaponized food and hunger as a means of hybrid warfare. The Black Sea Grain Initiative, alongside the European Union-led solidarity lanes, has therefore been instrumental in stabilizing the global food market and providing food to millions of people in Africa, Asia and Europe. Russia's statements claiming that Ukrainian grain is reaching only European countries and that its own grain and fertilizer shipments are prohibited by Western sanctions are fake, as we have heard United Nations officials attest to in the Security Council. We praise the Secretary-General and Türkiye for all their efforts to renew the grain deal and urge Russia to agree to its renewal beyond 19 November and to implement it in good faith.

We strongly condemn Russia's irresponsible nuclear rhetoric and its cynical accusations claiming that Ukraine is creating a dirty bomb, accusations that have been clearly and unequivocally refuted by the International Atomic Energy Agency. We urge Russia to immediately withdraw all its troops and military equipment from the premises of the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant, which Russia is illegally controlling, and to stop its nuclear blackmail.

Finally, it is critical to ensure that all the evidence of crimes and violations of human rights and international humanitarian law committed in Ukraine continues to be collected in a manner that will hold up in independent, impartial judicial institutions. We are determined to ensure that all who are responsible for war or other atrocity crimes are held to account. But as has been said, the people who bear the greatest responsibility are those who decided to wage an illegal war on Ukraine. The aggressor cannot go unpunished, or others will follow its lead. We therefore call for establishing a special

tribunal to close the current jurisdictional loophole and bring Russia's top political and military leadership to justice for launching an aggression against Ukraine.

**The President:** I now give the floor to Mr. Skoog.

**Mr. Skoog:** I thank you, Mr. President, for convening us and for the opportunity to address the Council this afternoon. I also thank Ms. Rosemary DiCarlo for a very comprehensive briefing.

I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union (EU) and its member States.

I would like to highlight the following three points on, first, the importance of upholding international humanitarian law; secondly, accountability for crimes committed in Ukraine; and thirdly, the global consequences of Russia's war of aggression.

First, with regard to international humanitarian law, in the past few weeks Russia has stepped up its targeted strikes against Ukraine's civilians and civilian infrastructure. Yesterday saw the largest and gravest missile attack since the start of the invasion. We express our condolences to the families of the victims in both Ukraine and Poland. By deliberately disrupting energy and water supplies, Russia is trying to paralyse Ukraine and sow despair within the population as winter approaches. Such unacceptable actions targeting civilians and civilian infrastructure by Russia are unlawful and constitute war crimes. The International Monetary Fund estimates that Ukraine may need \$4 billion a month just to keep the lights on and the taps running. We cannot leave the Ukrainian people in that situation. The EU is therefore undertaking urgent rehabilitation measures to prepare for winter and repair the energy infrastructure bombed by Russia, as well as working on a package to ensure Ukraine's macroeconomic stability, maintain its essential public services and rebuild critical infrastructure. I also want to reiterate the importance of ensuring full humanitarian access, including to areas not currently under the Ukrainian Government's control.

My second point concerns accountability. The images from the liberation of Kherson bring both joy and dread — joy, as the population welcomed its liberators after eight months of brutal occupation, and dread, as stories and evidence of cruelty and war crimes surface, as they did in Bucha, Izyum and elsewhere. It is of paramount importance to continue documenting all evidence of war crimes committed throughout Ukraine. We rely on the International Criminal Court

and the Ukrainian authorities to bring the perpetrators to account. We acknowledge Ukraine's efforts to secure accountability, including for the crime of aggression. We are accordingly examining the feasibility of various options in order to see how to ensure full accountability in the best possible way.

The General Assembly's adoption on Monday of resolution ES-11/5, recommending the creation of a register of damages and recognizing the need for reparations for damage is another important step in ensuring accountability. All the victims of Russia's aggression deserve justice and reparation. The EU will continue to support Ukraine in the framework of the International Court of Justice proceedings. We also highlight the important work of the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on Ukraine established by the Human Rights Council in that regard.

Thirdly, with regard to the global consequences, Russia's weaponization of food in its war against Ukraine has rendered it solely responsible for the escalating global food security crisis. The EU is at the forefront of global efforts to address food insecurity, which is affecting millions of vulnerable people, especially in developing countries. We reiterate our strong support to all efforts to extend the United Nations-brokered Black Sea Grain Initiative and scale up operations for the delivery of much-needed grain and other foodstuffs. We commend the work of the Secretary-General and the Joint Coordination Centre in Istanbul in that regard. According to United Nations data, two thirds of the wheat exported from Ukraine through the Black Sea Grain Initiative has gone to developing countries. In addition to exports by sea, 15 million tons of agricultural goods have been exported from Ukraine to global markets overland through the EU-Ukraine solidarity lanes. In order to address capacity constraints and further facilitate export from Ukraine, the EU has mobilized an additional €250 million.

In parallel, the EU is stepping up global food assistance. Earlier this week, a new humanitarian aid package of €210 million for 15 countries was announced, bringing the EU's overall food security support to €8 billion between 2021 and 2024. We call on others to follow suit and step up their humanitarian assistance to the most vulnerable, too. I want to express in that regard my appreciation for the solidarity and admirable humanitarian gestures that have been announced by several Council members, including some from very far away.

President Zelenskyy stated earlier this week that his country is ready for peace. The EU supports all genuine and meaningful efforts to that end undertaken in full respect for international law, including respect for Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity. We note, however, that Russia has not shown any indications that it is engaging in serious and sincere diplomatic efforts. On the contrary, it has stepped up its missile attacks on civilian infrastructure. The EU will continue to stand by Ukraine for as long as it takes, and we continue to urge Russia to immediately cease all hostilities and unconditionally withdraw all its forces and military equipment from the entire territory of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders. The war would end tomorrow if Russia withdraws, as requested by the General Assembly.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Slovakia.

**Mr. Chatrnúch** (Slovakia): Slovakia aligns itself with the statement delivered on behalf of the European Union.

Nearly nine months have passed since the beginning of Russia's unprovoked and unjustified military aggression against Ukraine, in violation of all fundamental values and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law. Despite the many calls of the international community, the Russian Federation remains silent and continues to justify its so-called special military operation under a false pretext based on spreading disinformation and propaganda, which we strongly condemn.

How can the Russian Federation continue to persuade us that its action is justifiable under international law? In recent months in this very Chamber we heard the representative of Russia mention that Ukrainian civilians have been happy to see the Russian army allegedly liberating them from Kyiv's influence. But recent pictures and videos of civilians greeting the brave Ukrainian soldiers fighting for the future of their

country with open arms in the newly liberated city of Kherson prove the exact opposite and only confirm that the Russian Federation has tried to persuade us about its kingdom-of-crooked-mirrors perception.

Slovakia remains gravely concerned about the humanitarian situation in Ukraine, which unfortunately is fast deteriorating. We remain appalled by the huge numbers of killings of innocent civilians and attacks on critical infrastructure, as well as the huge scale of sexual- and gender-based violence committed by Russian soldiers and occupants.

We deplore in the strongest terms yesterday's Russian missile attacks across Ukraine, which plunged 7 million homes into darkness.

How can we expect the Russian Federation to adhere to international law and international humanitarian law, which includes protecting innocent civilians in times of war, when it does not guarantee the fundamental rights of its own citizens? We were horrified by a video of an execution by sledgehammer of a former Russian prison inmate. Such an act is nothing other than an arbitrary killing, with multiple violations of human rights, including the right to life. And it is proof that human rights are nothing but a concept to the Russian Federation — one that it deliberately ignores.

We would also like to reiterate our concerns about the serious effects of the Russian invasion on global food security. It has resulted in millions of people around the world being pushed into extreme poverty, hunger and lack of access to food. As the Black Sea Grain Initiative is about to expire, we strongly support its extension.

Last but not least, Slovakia urges the Russian Federation to listen finally to the voice of the United Nations and implement all relevant resolutions, including General Assembly resolution ES-11/5, adopted on Monday.

*The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.*