



# General Assembly

Eleventh Emergency Special session

**5**<sup>th</sup> plenary meeting  
Wednesday, 2 March 2022, 10 a.m.  
New York

Official Records

*President:* Mr. Shahid . . . . . (Maldives)

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

diplomacy and dialogue over confrontation and hostile postures in Ukraine and the region.

## Agenda item 5 (continued)

### Letter dated 28 February 2014 from the Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2014/136)

**Mr. Matea** (Solomon Islands): I am taking the floor to speak on this important agenda item in my national capacity. Solomon Islands is following the developments in Ukraine with great concern and is deeply worried about the worsening situation. As a peace-loving nation, we want to reiterate our principled position in support of peaceful co-existence, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and refraining from the use or threat of use of force against the territorial integrity of any State. We deeply deplore the intervention in Ukraine by its neighbour the Russian Federation and call for an immediate de-escalation of the situation. We urge all to exercise maximum restraint, abandon any provocations and restore our faith in our rules-based international order as we preserve and respect Ukraine's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Solomon Islands calls on all the parties to settle their international disputes by peaceful means. We welcome the talks currently taking place between Ukraine and the Russian Federation and urge all the parties to listen more and work to better understand each other. We trust that this dialogue will bring a glimmer of hope for a sustainable peaceful outcome. We fully support the efforts of the Secretary-General and call for a united global approach in support of the talks, embracing

Solomon Islands further calls on all countries to preserve the purposes, principles and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations with open hands of friendship, not a clenched fist. We in the present must look to the past as we chart our way forward. We must never forget that the United Nation was created out of the ashes of a world war. My people in the Solomon Islands have lived through the consequences a world war can bring. Never again should the world endure another. Never again must humankind suffer its brutal consequences.

We are already inundated with global challenges, including the coronavirus disease pandemic, climate change and rising sea levels. As a small, vulnerable State, Solomon Islands is deeply concerned about the fact that the situation in Ukraine is diverting much-needed attention from our global development agenda as we continue to work to combat climate change, improve the quality of life of all and deliver on the Sustainable Development Goals and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

Solomon Islands stands in solidarity with all who have lost loved ones and is deeply concerned about the worsening humanitarian situation. We commend the initiatives taken by Ukraine's neighbours to protect the lives of the vulnerable population. We need one another more during this difficult period. Let us use the available multilateral tools to seek permanent peace, for the stakes are just too high if we fail. Solomon Islands will vote in support of draft resolution A/ES-11/L.1.

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**Mr. Kyaw Moe Tun** (Myanmar): At the outset, we welcome the convening of this emergency special session. We thank you, Mr. President, and the Secretary-General in that regard. It is timely and enables all countries, big and small, to make our voices heard on the serious situation that Ukraine is facing and our concerns about the state of affairs in our universal Organization, the United Nations.

Myanmar has always adhered to and taken a firm position in support of the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of all countries. Myanmar therefore condemns the invasion of Ukraine and the unprovoked attacks on the people of Ukraine, which are flagrant violations of the Charter of the United Nations and international law. We call for respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine. We have been following the situation on the ground with great concern. It is regrettable that the situation is further escalating as the Russian Federation intensifies its attacks. Many have been killed and hundreds of thousands have left their homes. People are suffering in the severe cold weather. We call for an immediate cessation of the hostilities and the attacks on Ukraine.

Myanmar understands and feels more than some the suffering that the people of Ukraine are encountering. The people of Myanmar are dealing with similar horrible suffering resulting from the inhumane acts, atrocities and crimes against humanity committed by our country's military. Owing to the military's excessive use of force, indiscriminate attacks on people and inhumane and brutal acts, much farmland and many houses, religious and health-care facilities and schools have been destroyed, driving and displacing hundreds of thousands from their homes. That is in addition to the large numbers who have been killed or injured. The displaced and other victims include members of vulnerable groups such as people with disabilities, the elderly, women, girls and children.

I want to commend those of Ukraine's neighbours that have opened their borders and extended a warm reception to Ukrainians and other nationals escaping from the terrifying attacks. We also thank all Member States supporting Ukraine in every possible way. I appeal to them to continue to do so and to do even more.

The Charter of the United Nations begins with the clear words

“We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”, followed by “to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest”.

It is time for all of us to stand with justice and with the principles of the Charter. Myanmar stands in solidarity with the people of Ukraine. Myanmar has sponsored draft resolution A/ES-11/L.1 and will vote yes. Justice, freedom and peace must prevail all over the world.

**Mr. Akram** (Pakistan): Pakistan is committed to the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations — the self-determination of peoples, refraining from the use or threat of use of force, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States and the pacific settlement of disputes. Equally, Pakistan upholds the principle of equal and indivisible security for all. Those principles must be consistently and universally respected.

Pakistan remains deeply concerned about the recent turn of events, which reflect a failure of diplomacy. Prime Minister Imran Khan previously deplored the latest developments in the situation between Russia and Ukraine and expressed Pakistan's hope that diplomacy could avert military conflict. We have since repeatedly stressed the need for de-escalation, renewed negotiations, sustained dialogue and continued diplomacy. Every effort must be made to avoid any further escalation of violence and loss of life as well as the military, political and economic tensions, which have the potential to pose an unprecedented threat to international peace and security and global economic stability. As Mr. Khan has consistently emphasized, it is developing countries that are hit the hardest economically by conflict anywhere in the world. We hope that the talks initiated between representatives of the Russian Federation and Ukraine will succeed in bringing about a cessation of hostilities and a normalization of the situation. A diplomatic solution based on the relevant multilateral agreements, international law and the provisions of the Charter is essential.

Pakistan also supports all efforts to provide humanitarian relief to civilians in the areas affected. We are very concerned about the safety and welfare of Pakistani citizens and students in Ukraine. A majority

of them have been evacuated, and those who remain will be evacuated as soon as possible. We appreciate the cooperation of the Ukrainian authorities as well as the Polish, Romanian and Hungarian Governments in that context.

**Mr. Doualeh** (Djibouti): At the outset, Djibouti welcomes the convening of this emergency special session of the General Assembly to address an urgent matter, the unprovoked aggression against Ukraine. It is a matter for deep regret that the Security Council failed to act in unison after the veto cast by Russia, effectively undermining that vital organ's ability to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. We often lament the Council's inability to respond decisively to emerging crises. The refusal expressed by a majority of Member States to be paralysed into inaction is a testament to their commitment to ensuring that the United Nations remains relevant in the face of vexing and complex security challenges.

Djibouti unequivocally condemns what in our view constitutes an egregious breach of international law and the most fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular the obligation of all States under Article 2 to refrain in their international relations from the use or threat of use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. If a country has legitimate security concerns, we urge it to prioritize the use of tools as expressly contemplated in Article 33 of the Charter, which obliges the parties to a dispute that is likely to endanger peace and security to seek solutions through other means — negotiation, mediation, arbitration or judicial settlement. We welcome the Secretary-General's offer of his good offices and reiterate the African Union's call for establishing an immediate ceasefire and opening political negotiations without delay under the auspices of the United Nations in order to preserve the world from the consequences of global conflict. No argument, no pretext can justify the use of force, all-out war and brutal violence unleashed on Ukraine and its people.

We are appalled by the continued attacks targeting civilians and civilian infrastructure and heartsick to see the gut-wrenching images of civilians fleeing the violence and seeking refuge in neighbouring countries. We echo the call by the Emergency Relief Coordinator and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for unimpeded humanitarian access so that aid can be delivered to those in need.

The Ukrainians may have decided to valiantly defend their country and not surrender. But if the war does not stop now, they may not survive. As the representative of Ukraine stated so powerfully at the start of this emergency special session, if Ukraine does not survive, international law will not survive (see A/ES-11/PV.1). The aggression against Ukraine is putting stress on the system of international law and international relations that the Charter put in place. Let us not allow decades of efforts to strengthen the rule of law and revitalize multilateralism to go down the drain. Djibouti will therefore vote yes in order to reaffirm its solidarity to the people of Ukraine. It will vote yes to uphold the United Nations Charter. It will vote yes to reject the use of armed force under any pretext in an aggression against a sovereign country. It will vote yes in support of the sanctity of borders.

*(spoke in French)*

We are reassured by the measures taken to address the discriminatory acts against Africans that have disturbed people across the continent. However, we are also alarmed at the persistent negative representations of Africans and the statements in the media made by so-called experts who draw distinctions between refugees fleeing conflicts in the Middle East and those fleeing the war in Ukraine. Conflicts are the same regardless of where they occur, and they often have the same devastating consequences. We are at a critical moment in the history of the United Nations. We must put an end to this conflict and do everything we can to prevent the outbreak of others. That is within our reach. We have the resources. Let us mobilize the political will to do so.

**Ms. Tshering** (Bhutan): We meet today in the eleventh emergency special session of the General Assembly to address the alarming situation in Ukraine, a fellow State Member of our United Nations. It is significant that a deadlock in the Security Council has made this the first time in 40 years that the provisions of the Uniting for Peace resolution (resolution 377 A (V)) have been invoked.

Bhutan has been closely observing with deep concern the rapidly escalating conflict on the ground. We join others in calling for respect for Ukraine's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders. Even the folds of our mighty mountains cannot shield us, perched atop the Himalayas, from the reverberations of events thousands of miles away. Today, core principles

of the Charter of the United Nations and the rules-based international order are at stake, endangering international peace and security far beyond the borders of Ukraine and Europe. Each and every one of us, big and small, rich and poor alike, has on admission to the United Nations pledged itself to the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter. Bhutan made that solemn pledge more than 50 years ago. They are principles that all Member States are beholden to, but for small States they serve as the guarantor of our existence. Bhutan is a small and peace-loving country, firmly sworn to peaceful coexistence and good neighbourly relations between States.

Bhutan adds its voice to the chorus within this Hall in defence of the Charter and the principles of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all countries. We can never accept the use or threat of use of force and acts of aggression against another sovereign State. We cannot condone the unilateral redrawing of international borders. Bhutan will therefore support the draft resolution that is now before the Assembly (A/ES-11/L.1) and thereby reaffirm the call for respect for international law and the core principles of the Charter.

In closing, Bhutan would like to express its regret about the reports of growing numbers of casualties and innocent lives lost as a result of the crisis in Ukraine. Our hearts and prayers go out to the families of those who have lost their lives in the escalating conflict and the hundreds of thousands of others who have been displaced and suffer in its wake.

**Mr. Vongnorkeo** (Lao People's Democratic Republic): As a peace-loving nation, the Lao People's Democratic Republic firmly upholds the principles of the Charter of the United Nation and its obligations under international law. To that end, we have continued to pursue a consistent policy of peace, independence, friendship and cooperation with all nations. As a country that has suffered from the scourge of war in the past, the Lao People's Democratic Republic is all too familiar with the endless negative consequences that the war will have for innocent people. We believe that what it entails is not in the interests of any party. The Lao People's Democratic Republic has been closely following the current complex and fragile situation developing in Ukraine. We commend the United Nations and the countries that have offered humanitarian assistance to the people affected.

We remain sceptical of unilateral sanctions. In fact, we should bear in mind that the sanctions imposed could have long-term effects on innocent people, including the global community at large, especially at a time when we are still living with the pandemic. We therefore call on all parties concerned to refrain from any action that could further fuel the escalation of tensions and to seek peaceful solutions and restore peace and security. In that regard, we support the ongoing efforts to find a peaceful settlement to this situation through diplomatic means, including the recent negotiations held at the border of Belarus. It is important that the legitimate security concerns of all the parties be taken into account.

In the past two days of this emergency special session we have heard divergent views and opinions. Nevertheless, one common call that has been loudly echoed in this Hall is the call for peace, which can be achieved only through diplomatic means. It is our fervent hope that through this diplomatic effort, the peace that constitutes the heart and soul of our Organization, the United Nations, can be restored.

**Mr. Ke** (Cambodia): Cambodia expresses its grave concern about the human suffering, the loss of life and the situation unfolding in Ukraine. We strongly believe that a lasting peace can be achieved only through peaceful dialogue and negotiation. All the parties should ensure the protection of all civilians and civilian infrastructure. Access to humanitarian assistance for the people in and around Ukraine must be ensured during this fragile time. Cambodia fully supports the efforts of the Secretary-General to address the humanitarian crisis and find a peaceful solution. On 26 February the Foreign Ministers of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations released a statement urging the parties concerned to seek a peaceful solution in accordance with international law and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Cambodia maintains the firm position that all of us must respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of our fellow Member States. With that, Cambodia has sponsored draft resolution A/ES-11/L.1 and will vote yes.

**Mr. Aliyev** (Azerbaijan): The situation in and around Ukraine is a source of extreme concern necessitating urgent action to de-escalate the tensions and find a peaceful solution in accordance with international law. Azerbaijan deeply regrets that the

ongoing crisis continues to cause significant casualties, in particular among the civilian population. We would like to express our deep condolences to the families of the wounded and of those who perished. We call for strict adherence to international humanitarian law. Civilian lives and civilian infrastructure must be protected and safeguarded at all times. The evolving humanitarian crisis on the ground requires speedy measures to alleviate the impact of the situation on civilians. Proceeding from that understanding, Azerbaijan has already provided humanitarian assistance on a bilateral basis in the form of medicines, medical equipment and other emergency essentials for the people of Ukraine.

The situation should be settled through peaceful diplomatic means in full compliance with the norms and principles of international law that guide inter-State relations, including respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of State borders. Strict compliance with the norms and principles of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation among States and the fulfilment in good faith of the obligations assumed by States are vital to the maintenance of international and regional peace and security. Azerbaijan reiterates its call for dialogue without delay to prevent the situation from escalating further, and underlines the necessity of direct negotiations between the parties.

**Mr. Rybakov** (Belarus) (*spoke in Russian*): The Republic of Belarus will vote against draft resolution A/ES-11/L.1. We all bear our share of the responsibility for what is happening in Ukraine. Eight years ago the Minsk agreements were signed and the Security Council adopted resolution 2202 (2015). However, neither the Security Council nor the General Assembly nor the international community as a whole was able to persuade or compel the Ukrainian authorities to fulfil their provisions. For all of those eight years and for all practical purposes, Ukraine has been in a state of civil war, because the Kyiv authorities did not want to sit down at the negotiation table with their compatriots from Donetsk and Luhansk and refused to consider their legitimate interests. For all of those eight years people in the Donetsk and Luhansk people's republics — largely civilians, including the elderly, women and children — have been dying.

Paragraph 8 of the draft resolution makes a hypocritical call to all the parties to abide by the Minsk agreements. I would very much like to ask the sponsors of this draft resolution where they have all been. Why

for all of those eight years were they unable to compel Kyiv to fulfil the provisions of those documents?

What has transpired is that the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Council of Europe and the entire international community have succumbed to ruthless pressure from the United States, Canada and the countries of the European Union — which of course believe themselves to be the gold standard of democracy — and so have been unable to find the strength and courage to respond adequately to the criminal actions of the Ukrainian authorities. When we are asked why we are recalling past events now, at a time when people are dying during an armed conflict, our answer is very simple. We still have not learned the lessons of the Second World War. The international community did not realize then that any germs of neo-Nazism in any country had to be swiftly exterminated. What is happening today in this Hall and outside its walls is yet another clear demonstration and affirmation of double standards on the part of the United States and its allies, whose crimes have created hundreds of thousands of victims in Yugoslavia, Iraq, Libya and Afghanistan.

We categorically deny any accusations that Belarus is involved in any unlawful use of force against Ukraine. Let me reveal a shocking secret. We are indeed involved. President Aleksandr Lukashenko has been personally making every possible effort to establish contacts between the Russian and Ukrainian sides. So our current involvement consists in organizing negotiations between the Russian Federation and Ukraine and doing everything necessary to ensure that they take place, and we sincerely wish the participants in the negotiations every success. A lot of countries have not said a word about those negotiations in their statements. We realize that they never utter our country's name in a positive or even a neutral way, but is it that they do not want to mention Belarus or is it that they do not want the negotiations to succeed?

In reacting to the events in Ukraine, various countries have as usual reached for their favourite instrument, sanctions. And it is they that will bear full responsibility for the fact that the imposition of sanctions — on Belarusian potash fertilizer, for example — will worsen economic and social problems and increase hunger both at home and in countries that are thousands of kilometres from Belarus. The sanctions that have been announced are not targeted. They are designed to strangle economies and lower people's

standards of living. The current sanctions — and some have described them as a declaration of economic war — represent the worst kind of economic and financial terrorism.

Some countries' representatives have been reporting that their borders are fully open for Ukrainians and foreign citizens of third countries to leave Ukraine. With respect to those supposedly open borders, I have to inform the Assembly that citizens of Belarus and Russia, in particular all men over the age of 18, are encountering serious difficulties as they try to leave Ukraine. The Ukrainian authorities are not letting them out, and Russians and Belarusians are essentially being held hostage. We also know of cases of racism, discrimination, beatings and pushbacks across the border by Polish guards against foreign citizens. On 26 February Polish border guards beat up and sent back to Ukraine a group of around 100 Indian students, who were then fortunately taken into a refugee camp in Romania. We in Belarus are also receiving many requests from both Belarusian citizens and from embassies of countries represented here in this Hall whose citizens would like to go through Belarus in order to go home. The border on our side is open. We are ready to receive Belarusians and to consider requests for entry from citizens of third countries. We urge the Ukrainians to heed our calls and open humanitarian corridors — or even just one humanitarian corridor — to enable individuals to cross the Belarusian-Ukrainian border into Belarus. We have already made an urgent request in that regard to the representatives of the United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross in Minsk.

We are seriously concerned about the rampant abuse and looting going on in Ukraine, including against foreigners. The uncontrolled distribution of weapons has already led to a sharp spike in violence and robberies victimizing ordinary people, such as long-distance truck drivers delivering international goods, some of whom have died. Why are delegations here saying nothing about it? Incidentally, we believe that the African Union leadership has in fact made statements on the issue.

Belarus lost a third of its population in the Second World War. We are very familiar with the cost of a human life. We mourn all who have died in the past eight years in the Donetsk and Luhansk people's republics and in Kyiv. We mourn those who were burned alive in Odesa. We mourn all who are dying today. Only negotiations

can end this bloodshed. Belarus has already done a great deal and will continue to do everything it can to settle the conflict. In any war, each side has its own truth. Every war has its own dynamic, and the longer it drags on, the more cruel it becomes, and that is what we are seeing today. We are all drowning in a flood of lies and disinformation being spread by information terrorists. I cannot call them anything else. The vast majority of them are sitting comfortably in armchairs in offices thousands of kilometres from the theatre of military operations.

In a few minutes we will all vote on this draft resolution. In actual fact it should consist of a single paragraph written in plain, ordinary language, not United Nations jargon. It should call for an immediate cessation of hostilities and for the holding of negotiations. I realize that everyone here has instructions from their capitals. I also know that there has been huge pressure on some delegations to vote in favour of the draft resolution and I have absolutely no illusions about what the result will be. Nevertheless, I do ask Member States to think it over once more and to vote according to their conscience, although I understand that voting one's conscience at the United Nations can result in the loss of one's job.

**Mrs. Thomas-Greenfield** (United States of America): To all who dedicate themselves to the noble mission of this Organization, today we call on Russia to stop its unprovoked, unjustified and unconscionable war and to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine. We call on another neighbour of Ukraine, Belarus, which we have just heard from, to stop supporting the war and allowing its territory to be used to facilitate this aggression. Today we stand together to hold Russia accountable for its violations of international law and to address the horrific human rights and humanitarian crisis unfolding before our eyes.

This is an extraordinary moment. For the first time in 40 years, the Security Council has convened an emergency special session of the General Assembly. I repeat — 40 years. Most of the men and women fighting in Ukraine were not even born the last time the United Nations came together in this way to unite for peace, and I would venture to say that many of the people in this room were not born then either. However, a few of the oldest Ukrainians and Russians might recall a moment like this — a moment when one aggressive European nation invaded another, without provocation,

to claim the territory of its neighbour; a moment when a European dictator declared that he would return his empire to its former glory; and an invasion that caused a war so horrific that it spurred this Organization into existence. Now, at more than any other point in recent history, the United Nations is being challenged. If the United Nations has any purpose, it is to prevent war, to condemn war, to stop war. That is our job here today. It is the job that we representatives were sent here to do — not just by our capitals, but by all of humankind.

A lot has happened very quickly to bring us to this unique moment. Barely a week ago, in the dead of night, President Putin launched a full-scale invasion of our fellow Member State at the very moment that the Security Council was holding an urgent meeting attempting to foster diplomacy and de-escalation (S/PV.8974). As the Security Council discussed peace, Putin declared war. Ukraine has defended itself with great courage and vigour. As President Biden said in his State of the Union address last night, President Putin “met a wall of strength he never imagined. He met the Ukrainian people.” But the brazen and indiscriminate nature of Russia’s attack has had devastating, horrific consequences for the entire country. Russia has bombed residential apartment buildings. It has bombed sacred burial grounds. It has shelled kindergartens and orphanages and hospitals. Russia has spurred mass hunger and caused huge numbers to flee their homes — the latest United Nations estimates are marching towards a million people. We thank the countries that have opened their borders, hearts and homes to those fleeing Ukraine. I also want to echo the call of the United Nations Refugee Agency urging everyone to help and welcome all those fleeing conflict, without regard to race or nationality. Refugees are refugees.

For those who remain, Russia is destroying critical infrastructure — vital services that provide millions of people across Ukraine with drinking water to stay alive and gas to keep people from freezing to death. Now it appears that Russia is preparing to increase the brutality of its campaign against Ukraine. We have seen videos of Russian forces moving exceptionally lethal weaponry, which has no place on the battlefield, into Ukraine. It includes cluster munitions and vacuum bombs, which are banned under the Geneva Conventions of 1949. We have all seen the 40-mile-long lethal convoy charging towards Kyiv. President Putin continues to escalate the situation, putting Russia’s nuclear forces on high alert

and threatening to invade Finland and Sweden. At every step of the war, Russia has betrayed the United Nations. Its actions go against everything this body stands for.

People across the world have already come together in exactly the way the Assembly must do today. Protests and vigils against Russia’s war and in solidarity with Ukraine, marked with blue and yellow, have sprung up across the globe. They are protests for peace. From Bangkok to Budapest, Berlin to Buenos Aires, Sydney to Seoul, Calgary to Cape Town, and even in Moscow and Minsk, people everywhere are standing up to call on President Putin to stop this attack. The Russian people themselves are asking how many lives Putin will sacrifice for his cynical ambitions, and they are appalled at the answer. I thank the Russian protesters for their bravery. To the Russian soldiers sent to the front lines of an unjust, unnecessary war, I say that they have been lied to by their leaders. I urge them not to commit war crimes and to do everything they can to put down their weapons and leave Ukraine.

The truth is that this war was the choice of one man and one man alone — President Putin. It was his choice to force hundreds of thousands of people to stuff their lives into backpacks and flee the country; to send newborn babies into makeshift bomb shelters; to make children with cancer huddle in hospital basements, interrupting their treatment — essentially sentencing them to death. Those were President Putin’s choices. Now it is time for us to make ours.

The United States is choosing to stand with the Ukrainian people. In coordination with our allies and partners, we are choosing to impose severe consequences on Russia. We are choosing to hold Russia accountable for its actions, and we will soon vote on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.1, which does just that. We believe it is a simple vote. Members should vote yes if they believe that Member States — including their own — have a right to sovereignty and territorial integrity. They should vote yes if they believe Russia should be held to account for its actions. They should vote yes if they believe in upholding the United Nations Charter and everything this institution stands for.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the observer of the Holy See.

**Archbishop Caccia** (Holy See): I thank you, Mr. President, for calling this emergency special session, because in the past few days we have been shaken by something tragic — war. The Holy See joins

the many Member States and the millions across the globe who call for the immediate cessation of hostilities in Ukraine and a return to diplomacy and dialogue. This Organization was founded to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war so that they might live together in peace with one another as good neighbours. It is the duty of all States to seek to resolve disputes through negotiation, mediation or by other peaceful means, even when a war has started.

Last Sunday, Pope Francis expressed his closeness to all who are now suffering as a result of the conflict, stressing that

“[i]t is urgent to open humanitarian corridors, and those fleeing must be welcomed. We are heartbroken by what is happening in Ukraine. Let us not forget the wars in other parts of the world. I repeat: put down your weapons. Those who love peace reject war as an instrument of aggression against the freedom of other peoples and as a means for the settlement of international disputes.”

The Holy See would also like to express its appreciation in this forum to the States that are offering humanitarian assistance to those in need, both in Ukraine and in the neighbouring countries where many Ukrainians have sought safety.

Pope Francis has called on believers and non-believers alike to observe today, 2 March, as a day to feel the suffering of the Ukrainian people, to be aware that we are all brothers and sisters and to implore God for an end to this war. The Holy See believes firmly that there is always time for goodwill. There is still room for negotiations. There is still a place for the exercise of wisdom that can prevent the dominance of parties and special interests, safeguard the legitimate aspirations of all and spare the world the folly and horrors of war. May this emergency special session advance efforts that help attain that end.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the observer of the Sovereign Order of Malta.

**Mr. Beresford-Hill** (Sovereign Order of Malta): The Sovereign Order of Malta, a sovereign entity that provides global humanitarian aid with a special mission to serve the sick and the poor, has been observing with great sadness and regret the ongoing conflict, which has affected the lives of so many citizens of Ukraine and which is currently creating an unprecedented flow of refugees seeking peace and security beyond their

nation’s borders. In the past eight years of conflict the Order’s embassy to Ukraine has provided considerable support, advice and material help to Ukrainian citizens and to non-Ukrainian residents of Ukraine who are in need.

The current crisis is seeing multiple cities and towns attacked and bombed, forcing families to leave their homes and seek shelter elsewhere. Our representatives and ambassadors in the region have reported that while some refugees have sufficient means to travel and find refuge on their own or enjoy dual citizenship in nearby nations, the majority do not have the resources to provide for themselves without support. United Nations agencies predict that a potential refugee exodus of more than 6 million people may well be the outcome of this situation. Meanwhile, many elderly people and those who are sick or disabled in some way are unable to escape the bombing and the stress that accompanies civil unrest. Obviously we are as concerned about them as we are about those who have managed to leave. Our staff and volunteers in major population centres in Ukraine have continued to provide as much assistance as is feasible, given the ongoing security and safety problems.

This past weekend we held a summit of our regional ambassadors and aid providers under the auspices of our international relief agency, Malteser International. We were able to review both the growing extent of the refugee crisis as well as the initiatives we are taking to support their increasing numbers, consisting primarily of mothers and children and a small number of senior citizens. As of this morning, it is estimated that almost 700,000 individuals have made the journey across the borders of Poland, Slovakia, Romania, Hungary and Moldova. Each day that the conflict continues, the flow of anguished families will grow.

We have seen some nations go out of their way to welcome those people and help them through their trauma. Our Order of Malta staff along the border with Ukraine total more than 5,000 personnel, with tens of thousands of volunteers doing everything from serving hot food and drink, caring for the victims of injury and accident, providing counselling and emotional support and helping to secure short-term accommodation. Volunteers from locations away from the border, many of them from other countries, representing churches and community groups, have driven their cars and vans to provide transportation to new arrivals to ensure that they are given every opportunity to find a place to stay.



We are coordinating our activities with international aid agencies such as the International Red Cross and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and are engaged in an international fundraising programme to ensure that adequate resources continue to be available to support and maintain those in need. We are encouraged that the Human Rights Council in Geneva will be holding a debate on human rights in Ukraine today. Representatives from our Government will be participating in that important discussion.

We appeal to nations of goodwill to appreciate the trauma experienced by all refugees. In particular, we appeal to countries that are receiving refugees to extend the same welcome they are offering Ukrainians to members of other national and ethnic groups who have been caught in this conflict and are seeking security. Offers of help and support should transcend ethnic, racial and cultural lines and not be tainted by discriminatory acts or attitudes. This conflict in Europe drives home the realization that the issues of internally displaced persons and the needs of refugees forced from their homes affect the whole world — Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Latin America and now Europe.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the observer of the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.

**Ms. Sourek:** The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) strongly condemns the unprovoked war of aggression waged by the Russian Federation, with the involvement of Belarus, against Ukraine, a sovereign nation and a democracy. It is in breach of the international law, international agreements and rules-based international order that underpin our shared objective of global peace and the existence of organizations such as International IDEA.

The invasion order by President Vladimir Putin of the Russian Federation is a blatant violation of the Charter of the United Nations. As firm believers in the right of people to exercise their fundamental rights and freedoms, we want to express our full support to and solidarity with the people of Ukraine. They are innocent victims of this aggression. We salute the brave partners and democracy activists with whom International IDEA has been engaging in the past few years as Ukraine has made huge progress towards becoming a stable and thriving democracy. We call on the international community to spring into action to protect them and

mitigate the humanitarian consequences of the invasion. We should not fail to note that the military operation was launched while the Security Council was meeting to discuss the crisis (S/PV.8974). We reiterate our firm belief that international crises should be addressed through multilateral diplomacy and resolved based on the principles of the Charter.

It is particularly unfortunate that this naked rejection of those principles has happened during a pandemic that has rendered evident the need for increased global cooperation to make the world governable and achieve justice for all. We are now witnessing what an unchecked ruler who for decades has trampled on the fundamental rights and freedoms of his own citizens can do to undermine peace and democracy beyond his own borders. Ukraine is a country that has successfully reached democratic standards over the past two decades, from respecting media freedom to free and fair elections, local democracy and fighting corruption. It is no wonder that President Putin is scared of such democratic vibrancy on his doorstep. This is a pivotal moment for democrats all over the world to stand united in support of Ukraine. It is also a moment to reinforce action to counter and prevent the rise of authoritarian regimes elsewhere, which cannot survive without kleptocracy and systematic violations of human rights and freedoms.

We call on Russia to immediately withdraw its military forces and fully respect Ukraine's sovereignty. Revanchist interpretations of history and attempts to change borders based on ethno-nationalist fantasies do not offer a luminous path for humankind but a road towards darkness and endless cycles of violence. They certainly do not provide hope to the young and unborn generations that will bear the brunt of the climate crisis or to the billions of vulnerable people around the world who have yet to realize the promise of a life free from fear and want and the promise of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Those are the real challenges of our age.

We encourage Secretary-General António Guterres to make use of his good offices to advance ceasefire negotiations, humanitarian access to the areas affected by the war and the protection of civilians, particularly those who are most vulnerable. We urge Member States to adopt and enforce sanctions against the Russian Federation until it withdraws its forces and Ukraine's territorial integrity is fully restored. We urge Member States to do whatever it takes in accordance with the

principles of the Charter to stop this war and prevent any further escalation of the conflict. International IDEA will do its part, in collaboration with the United Nations, our member States and other democratic Governments and organizations, to protect in Ukraine and elsewhere the principle that every country has a right to freely determine its own fate on the basis of the will of its people, freely expressed. Democracies, institutions and processes are the best means to protect that right. Today we must stand up for those principles. Today we must stand up for Ukraine, which embodies those principles and is defending them, earning our great respect.

**The President:** We have heard the last speaker in the debate on this item. The General Assembly has thus concluded this stage of its consideration of agenda item 5.

#### **Agenda item 5 (continued)**

#### **Letter dated 28 February 2014 from the Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2014/136)**

##### **Draft resolution A/ES-11/L.1**

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Ukraine to introduce draft resolution A/ES-11/L.1.

**Mr. Kyslytsya (Ukraine):** We are living through a defining moment for our generation. Ours is the generation that our predecessors supposed would be saved from the scourge of war. That is why they created the United Nations. And yet today it falls to us to save future generations. Let me read the following text.

“Our position is that whatever grievances a nation may have, however objectionable it finds the status quo, aggressive warfare is an illegal means for settling those grievances or for altering those conditions. It may be that the [Germany of the 1920s and 1930s] faced desperate problems, problems that would have warranted the boldest measures short of war. All other methods — persuasion, propaganda, economic competition, diplomacy — were open to an aggrieved country, but aggressive warfare was outlawed. These defendants did make aggressive war, a war in violation of treaties. They did attack and invade their neighbours in order to effectuate a foreign policy which they knew could not be

accomplished by measures short of war. And that is as far as we accuse or propose to inquire.”

Justice Robert Jackson, Chief Counsel, said those words in his opening address to the International Military Tribunal on 21 November 1945 in the Palace of Justice at Nuremberg. Today, those words are addressed to Mr. Putin, Mr. Shoigu, Mr. Lavrov, Mr. Volodin, Ms. Matviyenko and perhaps dozens more, but they are certainly not addressed to those Russian citizens who have tried to preserve their dignity.

For almost a week Ukraine has been fighting, fighting under the bombs and missiles, fighting in the face of armadas, hardware and countless crowds of enemies. They have ventured onto Ukrainian soil not only to kill some of us, not only to change our course and priorities, but to deprive Ukraine of the very right to exist. As their propagandists claimed, they have come to resolve the Ukrainian issue. Let us stop and think whether those words remind us of something. Yes, more than 80 years ago another dictator tried to finally resolve the issue of another people. He failed when the world responded in a resolute and united manner. It happened immediately, and yet the delay cost tens of millions of lives. Are we ready to pay such a price now? Or is it now time to demonstrate our unity of purpose and deed?

We appreciate all the manifestations of that unity and solidarity with Ukraine. I would like to express our gratitude to all the Member States that are supporting Ukrainians in their battle for freedom. I would also like to thank the Member States that have accepted Ukrainian refugees, mostly women and children. More than half a million have already fled Russia’s missiles and shells. I will not recite all the facts concerning the new war crimes and crimes against humanity that the Russian troops have committed since my previous statement two days ago (see A/ES-11/PV.1). The list is so long that we would run out of time. The crimes are so barbaric that it is difficult to comprehend. In the face of the Ukrainian population’s total resistance, Putin’s regime has proceeded to make widespread use in residential areas of indiscriminate weapons such as multiple rocket launchers and aerial bombs. Ukrainians have been killed by Russian ballistic missiles and thermobaric weapons. Just yesterday, Kyiv, Kharkiv, Zhytomyr, Mariupol, Melitopol and many other cities and towns sustained heavy shelling that killed dozens of innocents, including children.

Ukraine deeply regrets that a student from India has been killed in shelling by the Russian armed forces in Kharkiv. We offer our deepest sympathies to India and the victim's relatives. A Chinese citizen was also injured in another Ukrainian city because of Russia's deadly attacks. Ukrainian and foreign citizens have become hostages in the Russian armed aggression against Ukraine. In Kyiv, Russian murderers hit the city's television tower, killing five passers-by. One of the missiles fell on the Babyn Yar Holocaust Memorial, a sacred place of commemoration of the trauma of Ukrainian Jews and representatives of other ethnic groups killed by Nazis during the Second World War. How ironic is it that victims of Nazis are being killed for a second time by modern followers of Nazism?

As President Zelenskyy asked, what was the point of repeating the slogan "never again" for 80 years? It is already clear that Russia's goal is not merely occupation; it is genocide. On 7 and 8 March, the International Court of Justice will hold public hearings on a case concerning allegations of genocide under the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, *Ukraine v. Russian Federation*. The Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC) has also decided to proceed with opening a formal investigation into the situation in Ukraine. The unprovoked escalation of Russia's aggression against Ukraine gives reason to believe that crimes that fall within the jurisdiction of the ICC continue to be committed on Ukrainian territory. Along with the situation in Crimea and Donbas, recent events suggest that the aggressor's troops are continuing to commit war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Observing the bloodshed in Ukraine, one might be inclined to say, "This is not my war". That would be a mistake. The evil will never stop. It will require more and more space to conquer. If tolerated, it will advance further and further. Draft resolution A/ES-11/L.1 is one of the building blocks of a wall to stop it, to stop it in Ukraine and not let it go further. That wall will protect all of us, in particular younger generations.

By voting today, Member States also reaffirm their countries' commitment to the Charter of the United Nations. After the vote, I invite representatives to stop by the Indonesian Lounge and sign this little blue book. It may be small, but it is of global magnitude. Every vote in favour of the draft resolution and the signature of every country that voted in favour will be a historical reaffirmation of the Charter. It is very easy to sign the

Charter in time of peace. It is a duty to sign, reaffirm and implement the Charter in time of war. So I ask all to stop by the Indonesian Lounge and, if they voted in favour, to put their countries' names in the book. I will then hand it over to the Secretary-General so that he can keep it in front of him in his office. That way he can draw inspiration every moment from the overwhelming majority of nations that still trust in the United Nations and its Charter.

There is a very frail old gentleman who was born in a territory that was part of the Kingdom of Hungary and who will celebrate his 102nd birthday nine days from now. His name is Benjamin Ferencz. Benjamin Ferencz was an investigator of war crimes and a chief prosecutor at one of the 12 Nuremberg trials. He later became an advocate for the international rule of law and the establishment of the International Criminal Court. With the producer's permission, I will play a few seconds of his words. I want the Assembly to listen very carefully.

*An audio recording was played in the General Assembly Hall.*

I ask everyone here to please show respect — respect for the Charter, respect for the Secretary-General, respect for that gentleman who will be celebrating his 102nd birthday. I call on all responsible Member States to support draft resolution A/ES-11/L.1.

**The President:** We shall now proceed to consider draft resolution A/ES-11/L.1, entitled "Aggression against Ukraine".

Before giving the floor to those wishing to speak in explanation of position, I would like to remind delegations that explanations are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

**Mr. Nebenzia** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Russia requests that draft resolution A/ES-11/L.1 be put to a vote. We urge the Assembly not to support it. However, we know the unprecedented pressure that our Western partners are putting on a huge number of countries, pushing them to vote the way it suits them. One cannot even call it pressure. There have been open, cynical threats, and we know it. The draft resolution will not help to end the military operations. On the contrary, it could embolden Kyiv's radicals and nationalists to continue to determine their country's policy at any price while holding the civilian population hostage. And that is in the literal sense of the

word “hostage”, not the figurative one. That is exactly what is happening in a number of major Ukrainian cities, where people are being used as human shields. Today we learned that the Ukrainian armed forces are not allowing the peaceful residents of Mariupol to leave the city. They are keeping them, and that includes women and children, in a Mariupol school, and are forcibly turning back all the civilians who are trying to leave the city along humanitarian corridors. We have also been informed about planned provocations by nationalist battalions, which they have been preparing in collaboration with civilians with the aim of accusing the Russian military of carrying them out after the fact.

In contravention of the norms of international humanitarian law, military equipment, rocket launchers and artillery are being moved into residential areas. Today we will provide examples of such activity to the United Nations leadership, who right up to this moment have continued to assert that there is no evidence for it despite the videos made by ordinary Ukrainians that are freely available on the Internet. The responsibility for that lies fully with the Ukrainian authorities, as it does for the reckless and criminal distribution of weapons to anyone who wants them, including people who have been let out of prison. That has already led to robbery, murder and looting on a massive scale.

Member States who refuse to back today’s draft resolution are casting a vote in support of a peaceful Ukraine, free from radicalism and neo-Nazism, living in peace with its neighbours and refusing to be governed from outside. Those were the aims of our special military operation, which the sponsors of the draft resolution are trying to portray as aggression. Today we heard the Ukrainian representative speak of Nazism, but he was shamefully silent about the rampant neo-Nazism in Ukraine itself, the outrageous neo-Nazi and nationalist radical organizations, the torchlit processions and the glorification of Hitler’s accomplices.

Those who have followed the evolution of the Ukrainian crisis understand its genesis very well. What we are doing today is first of all trying to end the Maidan regime’s eight-year war with the people of Donbas. For the past several years we have done everything we can to prevent this scenario. In the words of the Secretary-General, we have left no stone unturned and knocked on every door, but we have gone unheard. They are still bombing the citizens of Donbas, and they do not intend to stop at 14,000 dead, the vast majority of them in the Luhansk and Donetsk people’s republics. The aims of

our special operation, declared on a basis of Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, are being carried out and will be achieved. However, we are not firing on civilian facilities or civilians, and no one should believe the enormous numbers of fakes that have proliferated about this on the Internet. Those fakes were baked like pies in the Ukrainian special forces’ centre for disinformation and psychological warfare, which was destroyed yesterday.

A scenario for peace in Ukraine could happen sooner if the radicals cared about saving civilian lives there rather than hiding behind them. There is no call for that in the draft resolution. Nor does it mention the illegal February 2014 coup in Kyiv when the country’s legitimately elected President was overthrown with the connivance of Germany, France and Poland and the support of the United States. It says nothing about the fact that the new nationalist authorities immediately limited the right of citizens to use the Russian language. That gave a green light to a long series of violations of the basic rights of people living in eastern Ukraine — and not just in the east — including the most valuable right of all, the right to life. There are many here who do not want to hear about the tragedy in Ukraine that began with the 2014 coup, about the people who were burned alive in Odesa and the dissenters who were persecuted and murdered. The most blatant example of all was the war that Kyiv unleashed on Donbas. There is nothing in the draft resolution about the fact that for the past eight years the United States and Europe have been pumping weapons into Ukraine to help the Maidan regime kill civilians in Donbas, as well as justifying the complete disregard of Kyiv authorities loyal to them of the Minsk agreements and their sabotage of Security Council resolution 2202 (2015).

Finally, the draft resolution is an obvious attempt by those who over the past decades have carried out countless aggressions, military operations in violation of international law, and coups, including the Maidan coup in Ukraine, to present themselves as champions of international law.

**Mr. Stevanović** (Serbia): Serbia sincerely regrets the events unfolding in Eastern Europe. Russia and Ukraine have always been friendly to Serbia and we see Russians and Ukrainians as our brother peoples. We consider every life lost in Ukraine a true tragedy. We are committed to respecting the territorial integrity and political independence of States, which, as a basic principle of international law, enshrined in the

Charter of the United Nations and the Helsinki Final Act, guarantees all States the right to inviolable borders. Just as Serbia is committed to preserving its own sovereignty and territorial integrity, it advocates respect for those principles for other sovereign nations.

Regardless of the fact that we do not agree with all of its wording, Serbia will vote in favour of draft resolution A/ES-11/L.1. I feel obliged to point to the thirteenth preambular paragraph of the draft resolution and remind the General Assembly that the first attack on a sovereign State on European soil after the Second World War took place not so long ago, in 1999, when 19 countries attacked what was then the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, targeting primarily the territory of Serbia. At the time, our Organization did not react appropriately to that flagrant violation of the Charter. Despite the fact that Serbia still suffers from the consequences of that gross violation by others of the fundamental principles of international law, we are not giving up on those principles, even today.

The Republic of Serbia will continue to promote a resolution of the conflict and expect the parties concerned to invest additional effort in reaching a diplomatic solution and creating the conditions for peace through dialogue. We will provide every possible form of humanitarian aid to Ukrainian citizens who are in danger and remain committed to peace and consistent respect for international law.

**Mr. Sabbagh** (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): Draft resolution A/ES-11/L.1, which is before us today, clearly represents a biased approach based on political propaganda, and is a tool of pressure and political blackmail. The authors of the draft resolution wanted to include in it aggressive language directed against the Russian Federation, with the aim of targeting the legitimate positions that Russia has taken based on its security concerns and its right to protect its territory and people from genuine threats to national security. Not only that, but the draft resolution extends to Belarus as well.

The draft resolution represents flagrant political hypocrisy. Had the United States and its Western allies been serious about de-escalating tensions in the region, they would have fulfilled the promises they made to Russia three decades ago not to expand NATO eastwards and turn Ukraine into a direct and genuine threat to the Russian Federation. They would have pressured the Kyiv authorities to abide by the Minsk agreements and

cease their grave violations against civilians in Donbas. And yet those States have rushed to arm Ukraine with heavy weapons and missiles and encouraged volunteers from among their citizens to fight in Ukraine. That clearly indicates their desire to provoke and escalate rather than calm and contain.

The vote on this draft resolution is happening at a time when misleading information is proliferating on a massive scale, involving significant campaigns aimed at distorting the facts and spreading misinformation. It is designed not to find a genuine solution to the crisis but rather to demonize the Russian Federation and tarnish its image. The draft text is full of gaps, far from objective and ignores the real reasons as to why this crisis has erupted.

The people expressing their eagerness to defend the Charter of the United Nations today should have shown the same enthusiasm in combating Israel's continuing occupation of Arab territories and the Turkish forces' aggression against the sovereign Syrian territories, not to mention the United States forces that have been violating Syria's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Syrian Arab Republic rejects the West's hegemonic policies and interference in the internal affairs of Member States as it ignites and prolongs crises, spreading chaos, promoting selectivity and double standards and imposing unilateral coercive measures. We must therefore reject the draft resolution and vote against it.

**Ms. King** (Saint Vincent and the Grenadines): It is clear from the debate that has taken place over the past two days that the membership of the United Nations is united in its call to end the war in Ukraine and return to diplomacy. We would like to explain our vote before the voting on the draft resolution (A/ES-11/L.1) before us today.

Saint Vincent and the Grenadines will vote in favour of the draft resolution, in accordance with our steadfast commitment to upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which form the core of multilateralism and gave birth to our Organization 76 years ago. It bears repeating that those principles underscore respect for the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of States and enjoin Member States to refrain from the threat or use of force in the conduct of their international relations. Our support for the draft resolution is rooted in our conviction that strict adherence to international law,

including international humanitarian law and human rights law, and to the principles of peace, dialogue and compromise, with a view to preserving humankind, is not optional.

For a small island developing State, full compliance with the bedrock principles of international law is an existential issue. I am taking the floor to repeat our call for those principles to be applied consistently and upheld as universal truths rather than selective, uneven and unpredictable tools for anyone to use to further great power anywhere. Both historically and in recent times we have witnessed naked hypocrisy, double standards and cynical misapplications of international law, which we have condemned. Today we strongly urge the General Assembly to apply impartially the fundamental principles of the Charter, irrespective of the size, economic and military power of the parties involved.

In the midst of our current global challenges, such as the climate crisis and the coronavirus disease pandemic, we simply cannot afford another conflict. War does not manage grievances. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines therefore calls for an immediate ceasefire in order to avert further bloodshed and human suffering and a global catastrophe, and for the parties to engage in peaceful dialogue and find a solution to this war post-haste. Today we must unite for peace. I wish profound peace to all.

**The President:** We have heard the last speaker in explanation of vote before the vote.

Before proceeding to take a decision on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.1, I wish to address the question of the majority required for the adoption of the draft resolution. In the light of paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 18 of the Charter of the United Nations, is there any objection to taking action on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.1 by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting?

I see no objection. I will therefore take it that a two-thirds majority of members is required for the adoption of draft resolution A/ES-11/L.1.

The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.1, entitled "Aggression against Ukraine".

I give the floor to the representative of the Secretariat.

**Mr. Abelian** (Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly and Conference Management): I should like to announce that since the submission of the draft resolution, and in addition to the delegations listed in document A/ES-11/L.1, the following countries have become sponsors of the draft resolution: Barbados and Cambodia.

**The President:** A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:*

Afghanistan, Albania, Andorra, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Canada, Cabo Verde, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Estonia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kiribati, Kuwait, Latvia, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Marshall Islands, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Micronesia (Federated States of), Republic of Moldova, Monaco, Montenegro, Myanmar, Nauru, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, North Macedonia, Norway, Oman, Palau, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and Grenadines, Samoa, San Marino, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Serbia, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Suriname, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Timor-Leste, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Tuvalu, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Yemen, Zambia

*Against:*

Belarus, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Eritrea, Russian Federation, Syrian Arab Republic

*Abstaining:*

Algeria, Angola, Armenia, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Central African Republic, China, Congo, Cuba, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Mongolia, Mozambique, Namibia, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Senegal, South Africa, South Sudan, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tajikistan, United Republic of Tanzania, Uganda, Vietnam, Zimbabwe

*Draft resolution A/ES-11/L.1 was adopted by 141 votes to 5, with 35 abstentions (resolution ES-11/1).*

**The President:** Before giving the floor for explanations of vote after the vote, I would like to remind delegations that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

**Mr. Ladeb** (Tunisia) (*spoke in Arabic*): Tunisia voted in favour of resolution ES-11/1 in support of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, on which our foreign policy is based. We would like to emphasize that our country is committed to ending the crisis by peaceful means, which represent the only and the ideal way of preventing the escalation and further deterioration of situations and the exacerbation of humanitarian crises and tragedies. The world has witnessed enough war and disasters and their devastating repercussions for people's lives and for peace and security. Our experiences of both the distant and the recent past have taught us that military options cannot resolve crises, but that dialogue and negotiations can settle all disputes and find compromise solutions to them.

The current crisis in Ukraine comes at a time when the world has been laying the groundwork for recovery from the coronavirus disease pandemic and for the start of a new stage based on cooperation, solidarity and active engagement in promoting multilateral action and achieving the goals of *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982). We believe that the world cannot bear any more crises of such magnitude and danger. Tunisia, which is hopeful about the participation of the parties concerned in the dialogue and negotiation process, renews its call to the international community for concerted and intensified efforts to encourage the parties to continue their negotiations aimed at a cessation of hostilities, the

protection of lives and the creation of the conditions for a lasting solution to the crisis.

Given that international peace and security are indivisible, Tunisia calls for similarly addressing all other relevant just causes, so that every country's people can regain their legitimate rights in accordance with the international terms of reference and build a more just, peaceful and stable world.

**Mr. Kayinamura** (Rwanda): I am taking the floor to explain Rwanda's vote on resolution ES-11/1, which we just adopted. Rwanda voted in favour of the resolution based on our firm support of the necessity for respecting the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of every country. We supported the resolution in order to reaffirm our commitment to the Charter of the United Nations.

The military escalation should cease immediately and the parties should seek a peaceful settlement of the crisis. The Russian Federation and Ukraine hold the key to resolving this conflict. External intervention will only worsen the situation. We fully support the international efforts to de-escalate the war, including those of the Secretary-General aimed at resolving the crisis. We urge all the parties concerned to exercise calm and seek a solution to the conflict through dialogue in order to ensure that civilians do not continue to pay the heaviest price. A lasting solution can be achieved only through dialogue between both parties, taking into account the concerns on both sides. There is no guarantee that the ongoing war will bring peace. Rather, it is likely to result in subsequent crises and human suffering.

Rwanda is deeply concerned about the extent of the humanitarian devastation and the challenges to peace and security that the conflict has caused. We are also concerned about the reports of Africans being racially segregated and denied safe exit out of Ukraine and admission into neighbouring countries. We call on all involved to permit people's unhindered evacuation, without discrimination based on their colour or origin.

The founding principles of the Charter include living peacefully with one another and upholding the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States while also taking account of their security concerns. The diplomatic options represent the best solutions for achieving sustainable peace. We call for open dialogue and negotiations in good faith. Finally, Rwanda calls for a sincere commitment to the Charter and the international order. The ongoing crisis poses a severe

threat to international peace and security. We encourage the parties concerned to give peace a chance. We want to underline that a lasting solution to the current crisis lies primarily in the hands of both Ukraine and the Russian Federation. Dialogue is the only option for resolving the current crisis.

**Mr. Zhang Jun** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): The situation in Ukraine continues to evolve dramatically. What is unfolding now is indeed heart-wrenching. China's basic position on the issue of Ukraine is consistent and unequivocal. We believe that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries should be respected, and that international disputes should be resolved peacefully in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

The top priority right now is to ease the situation on the ground as much as possible and prevent it from escalating or possibly spiralling out of control. Russia and Ukraine have already held a first round of negotiations. China welcomes the fact that both sides, despite their differences, have shown a willingness to pursue the talks. In the face of this highly complex and sensitive situation, China once again calls on the international community to continue its efforts in the overall direction of a political settlement and to create an atmosphere and conditions that are conducive to direct talks and negotiations between the parties concerned.

Any action by the United Nations and the relevant parties should give priority to regional peace and stability and the universal security of all the parties, and should play a positive role in de-escalation and finding diplomatic solutions. Regrettably, resolution ES-11/1, which was just put to a vote at this emergency special session, was not subject to full consultations within the whole membership and does not take into full consideration the history and complexity of the current crisis. It does not highlight the importance of the principle of indivisible security or the urgency of promoting a political settlement and stepping up diplomatic efforts. That is not in line with China's consistent position, and we therefore had no choice but to abstain in the voting.

A lasting settlement to the Ukraine crisis requires abandoning a Cold War mentality and the logic that one country's security should come at others' expense. It requires abandoning an approach that guarantees regional security by expanding military blocs. It is

important to give full attention and respect to every country's legitimate security concerns and to undertake negotiations on that basis to put in place a balanced, effective and sustainable European security mechanism. Blindly exerting pressure, imposing sanctions and creating divisions and confrontation will only further complicate the situation and quickly lead to a spillover of the negative effects of the crisis, affecting even more countries. We call on the international community to take a responsible approach and encourage the relevant parties to return immediately to the political settlement track and seek a comprehensive solution to the Ukraine issue through dialogue and consultation. China is ready to continue playing a constructive role in that regard.

**Mr. Kanu** (Sierra Leone): My delegation is taking the floor to explain Sierra Leone's position on agenda item 5 and its vote on resolution ES-11/1.

The Government of Sierra Leone is gravely concerned about the regrettable and serious situation that has unfolded in Ukraine, with regional and international ramifications for peace and security. We are also deeply concerned about the growing refugee and humanitarian crisis in and around Ukraine, especially where the safety and welfare of Sierra Leonean students in Ukraine are concerned. While we appreciate the efforts to provide the safety and refuge that are needed, it is important to ensure that all fleeing the conflict are treated equally and with dignity, without discrimination based on race or status. A blanket denial is not the answer, nor does it represent the values that we seek to protect.

Sierra Leone voted in favour of the resolution based on its fundamental belief in the principles and sanctity of the Charter of the United Nations and the purposes of our Organization. In voting today, we did not selectively apply our fundamental belief in the principles of sovereign equality and the territorial integrity and political independence of all Member States or of non-interference and the peaceful settlement of disputes. Our vote today does not absolve the United Nations of its action or inaction, particularly with regard to addressing questions of peace and security in Africa.

We believe that the United Nations must be consistent in the application of the Charter in pursuit of its purposes, and that resorting to the threat or use of force or violating the territorial integrity of any Member State in a manner that is inconsistent with the



Charter must be rejected. Accordingly, Sierra Leone calls for full respect for the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders. We also call for an immediate cessation of hostilities. In that regard, we welcome the beginning of ceasefire talks and urge that they continue in a meaningful way. Finally, we also urge for good-faith diplomatic efforts to resolve the conflict.

**Mr. Chindawongse** (Thailand): After careful consideration, Thailand voted in favour of resolution ES-11/1 because of the overriding importance that we attach to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and those of international law, particularly respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and the non-use of force against them. Our support for the resolution also underlines our deep concern about the plight of the civilians affected and the humanitarian consequences of the hostilities and violence in the area. In that regard, we call on all the parties to fully comply with their obligations under international humanitarian law. We are also concerned about the conflict's potential longer-term consequences for the rules-based international order and renew our calls for peace and for all parties to enhance dialogue through various means in order to truly achieve a peaceful settlement to the situation.

**Mr. Costa Filho** (Brazil): We recognize the exceptional circumstances we are all facing and share the conviction that the General Assembly cannot remain silent. Resolution ES-11/1, which we adopted this morning, conveys a message to which Brazil and other members have added their voices. The Assembly's adoption of the resolution demonstrates the international community's unwavering commitment to upholding the core principles on which the United Nations was built.

We appreciate the attention that various paragraphs of the text give to the critical need to monitor and alleviate the humanitarian situation on the ground. We also welcome the fact that the text urges the parties to the conflict to fully respect international humanitarian law, guarantee the safety of civilians and humanitarian and medical personnel and facilitate unhindered access to humanitarian assistance for those in need. However, the resolution as adopted does not go far enough in underscoring that a cessation of hostilities is only a first step to achieving peace. Sustainable peace needs additional steps. In that regard, it is regrettable that the supportive role that the United Nations can and

should be playing has fallen by the wayside, owing to an eagerness to point fingers.

While the resolution does indeed convey the international community's call for peace, peace requires more than silencing the guns and withdrawing the troops. It requires comprehensive work to address the security concerns of the parties, and its only precondition should be an immediate ceasefire. This resolution should not be seen as permitting the indiscriminate application of sanctions and the deployment of arms. Such initiatives are not conducive to a proper resumption of constructive diplomatic dialogue and run the risk of further escalating tensions, with unpredictable consequences for the region and beyond. We also have concerns about the fifteenth preambular paragraph. At a time that is fraught with danger, it is not constructive for this particular resolution to comment on the military measures adopted by any specific nuclear Power, whether the Russian Federation or NATO members.

Once effective negotiations do get started, all the parties must show genuine flexibility and a spirit of compromise. Lasting solutions can be achieved only at the negotiating table through committed dialogue. Brazil continues to urge all actors to de-escalate and renew their efforts in favour of a negotiated, diplomatic agreement between Ukraine and Russia that contributes to re-establishing the security and stability of the region. We stand ready to work resolutely for peace in the discussions of the Assembly, the Security Council and other forums.

**Mrs. Nusseibeh** (United Arab Emirates): This emergency special session comes at a time when the conflict in Ukraine has reached a dangerous inflection point. The clear message conveyed by today's resounding vote is that the international community is alarmed by the developments on the ground. The humanitarian situation is worsening by the day. We have seen reports of rapidly rising civilian casualties and massive displacement, the extent of which Europe has not experienced in decades. The United Arab Emirates is deeply concerned about those developments. However, our collective responsibility must be to exhaust every effort and use every diplomatic channel to prevent further deterioration of the humanitarian situation. That is our belief and we remain more firmly committed to it than ever. Yesterday, the United Arab Emirates pledged \$5 million in response to the United Nations humanitarian flash appeal, and we know that more must be done in the days, weeks and months ahead.

The credibility of our Organization, which was born out of the ashes of the Second World War, rests on its universal representation and its effectiveness in applying the principles that we all uphold. However, as this conflict has revealed, it has only grown harder to summon the clear and full voice of the United Nations, because it is not equally applied. Despite the deepening divisions, now is the time to take a step back, identify diplomatic off-ramps and engage constructively to end this conflict. It is also a time to summon our reserves of wisdom and experience to guide the way forward.

Global solidarity means doing more than focusing on conflicts in some parts of the world while ignoring others. We need to shift our mindset from conflict management to conflict resolution — our collective security depends on it. Let this crisis be our wake-up call. The future of the Organization may depend on it. We all need to galvanize United Nations efforts to promote dialogue, work to end the hostilities and address the humanitarian situation for those most desperately in need. The United Arab Emirates recognizes the importance of meeting this moment with renewed diplomacy and leadership and of putting the needs of the people on the ground at the centre of our efforts. It is also more crucial than ever to keep the avenues for dialogue open and pursue them together.

We recognize the General Assembly's adoption today of resolution ES-11/1 as a necessary signal of the direction that we need to take. Resigning ourselves to a cycle of perpetual violence and sanctions that only adds to the suffering of civilians diminishes us all. We voted in favour of the resolution in order to join other Member States in an appeal for peace — a just peace that endures because it recognizes the legitimate concerns of all parties and abides by the principles of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

However, as others have said, this resolution is not enough to achieve a sustainable peace. Resolving this conflict requires dialogue and effective diplomacy. The text reflects Member States' determination to respond to the conflict today in Ukraine. That is the call ringing out clearly from this meeting. Now we must turn to finding ways to bring about a peaceful resolution with full respect for and commitment to real and engaged diplomacy.

**Mr. Tirumurti** (India): India has been deeply concerned about the rapidly deteriorating situation

in Ukraine and the ensuing humanitarian crisis. Tragically, an Indian national was killed yesterday in Kharkiv as a result of the ongoing hostilities. We express our deepest condolences to his family and to those of each and every innocent civilian who has died in this conflict. We demand safe and uninterrupted passage — especially from Kharkiv and other cities in the conflict zones — for all Indian nationals, including students, who are still stranded in Ukraine. Many Member States share our concern. We have reiterated that demand to both the Russian Federation and Ukraine and it remains our top priority.

The basic duty of every Government is to ensure the well-being and safety of its citizens. We have therefore arranged special flights to bring Indians home from conflict zones. Senior ministers from the Government of India have been deployed to Ukraine's neighbours as special envoys to facilitate the evacuation. We thank all those neighbours of Ukraine that have opened their borders and extended their facilities to our embassies at this time. India has already dispatched humanitarian assistance to Ukraine, including medicines, medical equipment and other relief material, and we will be sending more in the coming days. India supports the international community's call for an immediate ceasefire and for safe humanitarian access to conflict zones.

We continue to believe firmly that differences can be resolved only through dialogue and diplomacy. Prime Minister Modi has conveyed that unequivocally in his discussions with world leaders, including those of the Russian Federation and Ukraine. He has underscored the urgent need to facilitate humanitarian access and the movement of stranded civilians. In that regard, we sincerely hope that the second round of talks between Russian Federation and Ukraine will lead to a positive outcome. India urges all Member States to demonstrate their commitment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, international law and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States. Keeping in view the evolving situation in its entirety, India decided to abstain in the voting on resolution ES-11/1.

**Mr. Alrowaiei** (Bahrain) (*spoke in Arabic*): My country voted in favour of resolution ES-11/1 based on our firm belief in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, in particular the principles of good neighbourliness, the resolution of disputes by peaceful means and respect for the

sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States. The Kingdom of Bahrain underscores its support for all efforts aimed at halting military operations, making use of dialogue and using diplomatic means.

**Mr. Giorgio** (Eritrea): My delegation is taking the floor to deliver an explanation of vote after the vote on resolution ES-11/1.

Eritrea firmly believes that respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, is a sacrosanct principle that should be respected by everyone at all times in order to achieve sustainable world peace. Eritrea's vote on the resolution demonstrates its uncompromising stand in support of peace. We are against the internationalization of issues, incessant rhetoric and the imposition of unilateral sanctions, which regrettably further polarize international relations and escalate situations, with enormous implications for civilians. Instead, we have consistently called for every region to be given the space and support it needs to address its political problems.

The situation between Russia and Ukraine raises serious concerns and has political, economic and security ramifications for Europe and the rest of the world. It should be resolved immediately by giving diplomacy more of a chance. We hope that the ongoing talks on the border of Belarus between the two sides will lead to a quick and acceptable agreement to stop the war and pave the way for peace in the region. Eritrea opposes all forms of unilateral sanctions and deems them illegal and counterproductive. For two decades Eritrea has been subjected to these kinds of measures, including new sets of unilateral measures, and we therefore understand that sanctions do not resolve peace and security problems. On the contrary, they only hurt innocent people and undermine the road to peace.

I would be remiss if I did not address the disturbing reports about African citizens living in Ukraine who are facing difficulties in crossing its borders. We call on all countries to facilitate safe passage to people who are fleeing for their safety, regardless of their racial identity.

Let me conclude by reiterating that Eritrea would like to see the avenues for diplomacy remain open. We are confident in the parties' ability to resolve their differences and reach an outcome that addresses the interests and concerns of all. We

hope that the international community will provide constructive support to the parties in their search for sustainable peace.

**Mr. Takht Ravanchi** (Islamic Republic of Iran): The Islamic Republic of Iran is following the ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine with grave concern. We reiterate our principled position that disputes should be settled by peaceful means in accordance with international law and underline the need for all parties to fully respect the deeply enshrined principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, including international humanitarian law. We emphasize that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States must be fully respected and the safety and security of all civilians guaranteed.

In order to find long-term and sustainable solutions to crises such as this one, it is necessary to address their root causes. We note that the current complexities in the fragile region of Eastern Europe have been exacerbated by the provocative actions and decisions of the United States and NATO. Russia's security concerns must be respected. Inflicting war and destruction on civilians and civilian infrastructure, regardless of where it occurs, is unacceptable. The Islamic Republic of Iran calls for an immediate cessation of hostilities and de-escalation of tensions in this conflict. We emphasize that dialogue is essential for addressing issues of concern on all sides and can produce long-term results.

The United Nations must always refrain from applying double standards, especially when it is considering issues related to the maintenance of international peace and security. It is unfortunate that at times the United Nations, in particular the Security Council, has ignored that principle, which has undermined its credibility. A case in point is the Security Council's handling of the conflict in Yemen.

We believe that the text of resolution ES-11/1 lacks impartiality and realistic mechanisms for resolving the crisis through peaceful means. Furthermore, not all Member States were given the opportunity to engage in negotiations on the text of the resolution. It should be emphasized that the General Assembly is not in a position to determine the existence of an act of aggression, because in both Article 39 of the Charter and resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974, the Security Council is the organ that is called to do so. Moreover, convening an emergency special session on the basis of resolution 377 A (V) should not be

considered the end of the dialogue. My Government continues to call for a comprehensive, peaceful and sustained resolution to the conflict, including an immediate ceasefire and start to the dialogue, as well as the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the people in need. For all of those reasons, my delegation abstained in the voting on the resolution.

**Mr. Mahmoud** (Egypt) (*spoke in Arabic*): Egypt would like to emphasize the following points regarding resolution ES-11/1, which was just adopted, and which we voted for based on our firm belief in international law and the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

First, the primary goal of all of us and the international community as a whole should continue to be finding an immediate political solution in order to end this crisis through dialogue, peaceful means and active diplomacy, and to ensure the political environment essential to achieving that goal.

Secondly, we reiterate that we should not ignore the importance of addressing the root causes of the current crisis in order to defuse it and achieve security and stability.

Thirdly, Egypt rejects the approach of employing economic sanctions outside the framework of multilateral international mechanisms, because previous experience in past decades has shown that such sanctions have dire humanitarian consequences and result in greater suffering for civilians.

Fourthly, all the parties should fulfil their responsibilities and ensure that humanitarian assistance reaches all in need, without discrimination, and that third-country nationals are permitted free passage across borders, given that there have been reports of discriminatory treatment in that regard.

Fifthly, Egypt warns once again about the potential economic and social consequences of the current crisis for the global economy, which is still suffering from the repercussions of the pandemic. The increasing disruptions of supply chains and international air traffic are the clearest examples of that.

Sixthly, if international multilateral mechanisms for confronting successive international challenges and crises are to be effective and credible, they must address all such problems based on the same standards, in line with the purposes and principles of the Charter, rather

than settling for the status quo, which has perpetuated human suffering for decades.

**Mr. Larbaoui** (Algeria): I would like to deliver an explanation of Algeria's vote on resolution ES-11/1.

(*spoke in Arabic*)

At a time when my country, Algeria, is following with deep concern the dangerous and escalating developments in Ukraine, my delegation would like to reaffirm that Algeria is firmly committed to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which should remain the basis of international law and the cornerstone of international relations, especially with regard to respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, in accordance with international legitimacy and the right of peoples to self-determination.

Based on Algeria's principled positions regarding the promotion and preservation of the multilateral system, and in line with our commitment to developing friendly relations among States on a basis of peaceful coexistence, the peaceful settlement of disputes and mutual respect for international obligations and security guarantees, Algeria feels compelled to join all the diplomatic efforts and calls aimed at easing the current tensions and encouraging dialogue in order to promote peaceful coexistence among States and maintain international peace and security.

**Mr. Gastorn** (United Republic of Tanzania): The United Republic of Tanzania decided to abstain in the voting on resolution ES-11/1 as a matter of principle and in defence of the Charter of the United Nations. Our decision was fundamentally the result of our inability to make amendments or reservations to some provisions of the resolution, which in our view needed adjustments. The United Republic of Tanzania believes that diplomacy is the best way to end this conflict. To that end, we appeal to all parties to the dispute to uphold human rights and their obligations under international law and international humanitarian law in order to de-escalate the conflict and give peace a chance.

**Ms. Joyini** (South Africa): We thank you, Mr. President, for giving us the opportunity to take the floor to elaborate on South Africa's decision to abstain in the voting on resolution ES-11/1.

Let me reiterate the position that we expressed (see A/ES-11/PV.3) in the discussions of the past few days during the emergency special session, first by

highlighting that South Africa remains deeply concerned about the escalation of the conflict in Ukraine and its regional and international socioeconomic implications. We strongly urge all sides to uphold international law, including humanitarian law and human rights law, as well as the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, including those relating to State sovereignty and territorial integrity. This is an armed conflict involving two members of the United Nations, and the Organization has a foundational responsibility to prevent it. The United Nations must therefore take decisions and actions that will lead to a constructive outcome conducive to establishing a sustainable peace between the parties.

The resolution that the General Assembly has adopted today does not create an environment conducive to diplomacy, dialogue and mediation. While we agree with and support the efforts of Member States to bring the situation in Ukraine to the attention of the international community, South Africa feels that greater attention should have been paid to bringing the sides closer to dialogue. South Africa believes that the text in its current form could drive a deeper wedge between the parties rather than contributing to resolving the conflict. The resolution should have welcomed the start of talks between the parties. Additionally, the role of the Security Council and the good offices of the Secretary-General could have been given more prominence. It is understood that one of the root causes of the conflict is related to the security concerns of the parties. That should have been addressed in the resolution.

Even though this emergency special session of the General Assembly is being held after the Security Council's failure to address the matter, we believe that the Council should still be urged to play the role mandated to it by the Charter of maintaining international peace and security. South Africa believes that the United Nations, especially in the context of emergency special sessions, whose nature and significance speak to the gravity of the issues brought before the international community, should be used as a platform to build bridges, address divergent views and provide recommendations and support for the parties to engage in a spirit of compromise while de-escalating tensions, committing to a cessation of hostilities and building trust and confidence. Unfortunately, the text of the resolution did not do that.

South Africa would also have preferred an open and transparent process for negotiating today's resolution.

That would have enabled all of us, as equal members of the Assembly, to present our views and ideally reach a level of understanding before the text was submitted. As Member States of the Organization, committed to global peace and development, we must continue to work together to promote peace. Gestures that merely create the impression of promoting peace without meaningful action will not assist in that endeavour.

**Ms. Mudallali** (Lebanon): Lebanon voted in favour of resolution ES-11/1 because, as a founding member of the United Nations, we believe in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, especially the prohibition of the use or threat of use of force in international relations and the importance of non-intervention and the peaceful settlement of disputes. Those are not merely slogans for Lebanon. We have lived through invasions, occupation and intervention in our internal affairs and have experienced devastation, loss and pain whose consequences we are enduring to this day. That is why we did not take our decision today lightly. We know what happens in wars, but we also know that wars happen not only when people fail to prevent them, but especially when the voices of war drown out the cries for peace. As a peace-loving nation, Lebanon enjoys a good relationship and friendships with all the parties to the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. In that spirit, we call on everyone to return to a logic of peace.

Yesterday, a European colleague told me that he had never lived through a war. I was happy for him. In my country I have lived through at least two invasions and a civil war, as well as multiple assassinations and explosions. That is why I do not want anyone to experience what I have lived through. It is time for diplomacy, dialogue and a peaceful resolution to this conflict. I hope that all of my colleagues here in this Hall will invest the same energy and commitment that they expended in realizing this vote and its outcome into working for a peaceful resolution that takes into consideration the concerns and interests of both sides so that the world can step away from the abyss of war. The Preamble to the Charter tells us to "unite our strength to maintain international peace and security". We need that unity for peace now. The United Nations is well positioned to step up and step in to make that peace a reality. Now we need to stop the escalation in words and deeds and help both sides take the path of peace, not only for their sake but for the sake of our world.

We in the Middle East are very concerned about this war, both because of its impact on Europe and because we know from experience that what happens in Europe does not stay in Europe. We know that the two World Wars left deep scars on our part of the world and obliterated countries and hopes, and we are still living through their aftermath today. I hope that we all learn the lessons of the past wars and that from this moment, we will start working only for peace — not merely peace in our time, but peace in all time, as a former President of the United States once said. I agree with Albert Camus, who, after being awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1957, said that

“Each generation doubtless feels called upon to reform the world. Mine knows that it will not reform it, but its task is perhaps even greater. It consists in preventing the world from destroying itself.”

The Charter tasks us with that same responsibility, as it instructs us to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

**Ms. Mohd Izzuddin** (Malaysia): As a member of the family of nations, Malaysia is committed to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and the ideals it espouses. We reiterate the inviolability of the fundamental principles of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of countries and the peaceful settlement of disputes in the maintenance of both international peace and security and global prosperity. All parties must uphold those fundamental and sacrosanct principles of the Charter and international law that guide the conduct of friendly relations between nations and ensure peaceful coexistence. While many would agree that resolution ES-11/1 is far from perfect, and my delegation continues to have concerns about some of its language, Malaysia voted in favour of it as a matter of principle and based on our strong belief in the principles I mentioned.

Malaysia values its strong and close relations with Ukraine and Russia. We believe that given the complex geopolitical context, the differences and legitimate security concerns of both parties must be addressed through dialogue and peaceful means in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the rule of law. In that context, we welcome the direct talks between Russia and Ukraine in Belarus and urge both sides to continue on a path of peace in order to prevent further destruction and loss of life. What has stood out vividly to us during the animated discussions of this emergency

special session is the overwhelming desire for the current conflict to be resolved peacefully. The General Assembly has spoken clearly and fervently in that regard today. It is now more important than ever to see the Security Council fulfil its primary responsibility as the custodian of international peace and security. Malaysia calls on the Council to spare no effort in resolving this conflict. The future of humankind is on a precipice. Humankind must prevail, and peace is the only answer.

**Mr. Rai** (Nepal): My delegation is distressed by the ongoing violence and conflict in Ukraine. Conflict anywhere inflicts stress everywhere. Nepal is a peace-loving country. Our soil is consecrated as the birthplace of Lord Buddha, an apostle of peace. For us, the values of peace, harmony and peaceful coexistence are our way of life and are therefore supremely precious. The principles of world peace and respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as non-aggression, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, are the fundamentals of our foreign policy. The use of force against Ukraine runs contrary to those values and principles. Nepal opposes that violation of international law and the principles of the Charter.

There is no alternative to diplomacy and dialogue or to building and sustaining peace. Nepal welcomes the second round of talks between Russia and Ukraine. We urge both sides to continue the dialogue in full sincerity and integrity in order to resolve this conflict peacefully and find a lasting political solution that can ensure enduring peace for themselves and for Europe. Based on Nepal's principled position on the inviolability of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of any State, in accordance with international law, the rules-based international order and the Charter, my delegation voted in favour of resolution ES-11/1.

**Mr. Bahr Aluloom** (Iraq) (*spoke in Arabic*): We are taking the floor in explanation of our vote on resolution ES-11/1, on which Iraq abstained.

Iraq regrets the deterioration of the situation and the tension between the Russian Federation and Ukraine. We call on all parties to resolve this crisis by opting for dialogue and diplomacy, and to return to the negotiation table to resolve their problems, with a view to maintaining international peace and security rather than exposing States to economic and security crises as a result of the conflict.

Iraq is gravely concerned about the possibility of terrorists exploiting this crisis, as well as about the divisions it can create in the international community. It could hinder the collective international efforts to combat terrorism and violent extremism. Iraq's stance on the issue is based on our own historical experiences and suffering resulting from the continued wars that have been waged on generations of our peoples and because Iraq does not support war as a solution to crisis, as a matter of principle. We stress that all conflicts should be settled by peaceful means in order to safeguard the lives of civilians. Iraq calls on all the parties to uphold the Charter of the United Nations and international law and emphasizes the need to ensure the security and safety of diplomatic missions and citizens on the ground.

**Mr. Hmoud** (Jordan) (*spoke in Arabic*): Jordan voted in favour of resolution ES-11/1, just adopted by the General Assembly, in order to emphasize the importance of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States and because we believe that force should not be used in international relations, because it violates the provisions of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

Jordan hopes that efforts will be made to defuse the conflict and reach a peaceful solution to the crisis, and that all the parties will sit down together at the negotiation table in order to achieve that peaceful solution. We also hope to see an increase in international efforts, both political and diplomatic, in order to help them end the crisis, as well as to avert the grave consequences for the region and the world that could result from this conflict. We stress the need for all the parties — I repeat, all the parties — to uphold the provisions of international humanitarian law, human rights law and international refugee law, without discrimination.

Lastly, Jordan would like to reiterate the importance of respecting the provisions of international law and the Charter with regard to refraining from acts of aggression and the use of force against other States and peoples, as well as respect for the right to self-determination, based on a single standard, regardless of the region concerned and without discrimination in the application of international principles and standards. We hope that will lead to effective dialogue within the Organization on implementing that approach, evaluating the current approach and realizing our goals.

**The President:** We have heard the last speaker in explanation of vote after the voting. We will now hear statements after the adoption of the resolution.

I give the floor to the representative of the European Union, in its capacity as observer.

**Mr. Skoog** (European Union): Last week, the Security Council was prevented from acting in response to Russia's unprovoked and unjustified military aggression against Ukraine because of one isolated vote, that of the Russian Federation. Immediately after that, we initiated work to ensure that this body, where the countries of the world can all speak up, could live up to its responsibility. The European Union worked hand in hand with Ukraine and countries from all parts of the world to prepare resolution ES-11/1, which has just been adopted. We would like to thank all the countries that have supported it. The decision is clear. The world has spoken. The Russian Government must immediately stop its aggression, withdraw its troops and abide by the rules of the Charter of the United Nations, which apply to all of us equally.

In the past few days the brutality of Russia's invasion, with the complicity of Belarus, has reached unimaginable levels. Ukrainian cities have been attacked indiscriminately in complete disregard of international law, causing death and destruction among civilians. This is not just about Ukraine. This is not just about Europe. It is about defending an international order based on rules that we have all signed up to and the sovereign equality of all States, large and small. It is about whether we choose dialogue and diplomacy over tanks and missiles. Today's historic vote clearly shows Russia's isolation from the rest of the international community. By voting overwhelmingly in favour of the resolution, we have chosen to defend peace where Russia has chosen brutal aggression. We have chosen to defend our Organization and its Charter, where Russia has violated the fundamentals of both. Russia stands increasingly alone. The European Union and the world stand with the Ukrainian people.

**Mr. Hermann** (Denmark): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the eight Nordic-Baltic countries: Estonia, Finland, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Sweden and my own country, Denmark.

We have come together from all corners of the world, to send a resounding yes to upholding international law and the Charter of United Nations, to the principle of the sovereign equality of all Member States and to the

need to respect the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of all Member States. In the words of a colleague who spoke yesterday, we have sent a resounding message to Ukraine and all Ukrainians that they are not alone and that we will stand with them today, tomorrow and until peace prevails and Ukraine's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity are fully restored and respected.

We have also sent a clear message to Russia and to Belarus. We are telling them to stop the aggression now — full stop — and that what they are doing is unacceptable. It is wrong. The unprovoked aggression against Ukraine is a violation of the core principles to which Russia committed when it laid the foundations of this very Organization, this community of nations. Russia's invasion of Ukraine deserves our strongest condemnation, and it will be held accountable. Every legal avenue available must and will be used to hold the aggressor to account. It must stop the war immediately and withdraw its troops to Russia. It must return to a path of peace and of genuine dialogue. It is not too late to stop or reverse course. It is not too late for Russia to return to this community, where we believe — with all our faults and imperfections — in the principle of the sovereign equality of all.

We are deeply concerned about the grave humanitarian crisis that is unfolding. We demand that all the parties fully comply with their obligations under international humanitarian law and international human rights law, protect civilians and critical civilian infrastructure and ensure safe, rapid and unhindered humanitarian access and passage. Humanitarian and medical personnel and hospitals and other medical facilities must be protected.

Thousands of civilians have been killed, and even more have been injured. Close to a million innocent civilians have been forced to flee across borders, and even more have been internally displaced inside Ukraine. They are in need of help and assistance without delay, hindrance or pre-conditions. We would like to take this opportunity to commend Ukraine's neighbours and express our deepest respect, appreciation and admiration for the generous assistance and protection that they have shown to all fleeing the conflict — men, women and children from all corners of the world. We once again echo the words of a protester who wrote on her sign, "If Russia stops fighting, there will be no more war. If Ukrainians stop fighting, there will be no more Ukraine".

**Mr. Sinirlioğlu (Turkey):** We thank the President for convening this historic emergency special session of the General Assembly, which was called because once again the Security Council failed to fulfil its primary responsibility. It was convened because a permanent member of that very organ, entrusted by the entire membership with preserving peace and security, committed an unjustified, illegal and illegitimate act of aggression against a founding member of the United Nations, and because of the use of its veto power by the member of the Council that is itself perpetrating the aggression.

We are compelled to reiterate that Russia's ongoing military offensive against Ukraine is in blatant violation of the fundamental rules of international law and the principles on which our Organization was founded. Those rules and principles aim to prevent wars and protect humankind from disastrous consequences. Unfortunately, owing to Russia's attacks, we are witnessing those consequences in and around Ukraine. The international community cannot be a mere spectator to such an act of aggression, and I am proud that as of today, it is not.

In its adoption today of resolution ES-11/1, the General Assembly has emphasized loudly and clearly that it stands against egregious violations of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and political unity of fellow Member States. The membership is committed to preserving the letter and spirit of the fundamental constitutional document of our Organization, the Charter of the United Nations. By adopting this resolution, the most democratic institution of the multilateral system has denounced Russia's aggression against Ukraine in the strongest possible terms. We commend the Member States that contributed to the collective endeavour that culminated in today's outcome. They stood firm in upholding full respect for the Charter and preserving the rules-based international order. We hope and trust that the calls and demands in this historic resolution will not fall on deaf ears. The Assembly must follow through on its decision.

We once again call on Russia to listen to the demands of the global community and heed its own people's pleas to stop its military operations, withdraw all of its forces from Ukraine, reverse its decision regarding the Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine, as well as its annexation of Crimea, and return to diplomacy and dialogue without delay. We also reiterate our call for an immediate humanitarian pause. The peoples of



the world are holding their breath, waiting and hoping to see a halt to the march towards the precipice. It is not too late to return to the negotiating table and engage seriously. As a neighbour and friend of both the Russian and Ukrainian peoples, Turkey stands ready to facilitate a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

**The President:** There are still nine more Member States wishing to make statements after the adoption. We have heard the last speaker for this meeting. We shall hear the remaining speakers at 3 p.m. today in this Hall.

*The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.*