



# General Assembly

Eleventh Emergency Special session

**9**<sup>th</sup> plenary meeting  
Thursday, 24 March 2022, 10 a.m.  
New York

Official Records

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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Blanco Conde (Dominican Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

*The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.*

## 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 resolutions (A/ES-11/L.2 and A/ES-11/L.3)

**The Acting President:** Today we will hear from the remaining speakers on the list carried over from the 8th plenary meeting, held yesterday (see A/ES-11/PV.8).

**Mr. Beleffi** (San Marino): The Republic of San Marino aligns itself with the statement delivered yesterday (see A/ES-11/PV.7) on behalf of the European Union, and I will now add some remarks in my national capacity.

San Marino condemns Russia's aggression against Ukraine and is deeply worried about the ongoing conflict as well as the ensuing humanitarian crisis. San Marino is a sponsor of draft resolution A/ES-11/L.2, entitled "Humanitarian consequences of the aggression against Ukraine". The ongoing military offensive, which has regrettably been escalating, has already caused more than 2,000 civilian casualties, including women and children. The suffering of civilians is growing hour by hour. According to data from the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs,

the number of internally displaced persons, combined with the number of those who have fled to other countries, amounts to more than 10 million — nearly a quarter of the population of Ukraine. That number is still increasing.

San Marino strongly condemns the indiscriminate and disproportionate attacks on civilians, including through indiscriminate shelling, air strikes and the use of explosive devices in densely populated areas. The international humanitarian law in this area is clear. Civilians and civilian objects must be protected. We call on the parties to respect the principles of international humanitarian law and firmly condemn the attacks on civilians and civilian infrastructure, including hospitals and schools. We reiterate that the use of explosive weapons in populated areas has a devastating and indiscriminate impact on civilians, putting children at risk in particular.

With the ongoing hostilities, many people remain trapped in areas of escalating conflict, and thanks to the disruption of essential services are unable to meet even their most basic needs. Civilians have been enduring terrible conditions, living underground without water, food, heat, electricity or medicine for weeks. We stress the importance of protecting humanitarian corridors to enable the safe passage of civilians fleeing their homes in search of safety and security. We also ask for the protection of the humanitarian actors who are risking their lives to deliver their assistance and essential services to the population, especially its most vulnerable members, such as women and girls, the elderly, the disabled and people with serious medical

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

22-29872 (E)



Accessible document

Please recycle



conditions. We are particularly worried about the situation of those vulnerable groups. Women and girls need our immediate attention, as they are particularly at risk of becoming victims of violence and exploitation in these circumstances.

San Marino stands in deep solidarity with the people of Ukraine and asks all the parties involved in the hostilities to put humanitarian imperatives first. We stand ready to contribute to mitigating this humanitarian emergency and addressing the unprecedented levels of displacement. Since the beginning of the conflict, San Marino has welcomed almost 300 refugees from Ukraine, and our Government, together with civil society, private entities and sport federations, is working to facilitate the integration and inclusion of those refugees, who are mostly women and children, in our territory. The Government has created a subsidy that San Marino families hosting Ukrainian refugees can access to support basic expenses. Also, we have begun fundraising with the aim of partially financing the activities necessary to enable a sustainable stay in our country. The fund has already received generous contributions from the citizens of San Marino and public and private entities. The citizens of San Marino have also contributed to the collection of medical equipment to be donated to Ukraine.

The Republic of San Marino feels the tragedy that people living under attack have to endure. We hear the intolerable and constant noise of war. We see the destruction of buildings, houses and entire cities. All that must stop. San Marino continues to call for an immediate cessation of hostilities. We do not and never will accept the use of arms to settle disputes that must find their resolution in international law, the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and political mediation. Only through political dialogue will we find a durable and peaceful solution to this crisis, which is deeply wounding to all peoples and nations that believe strongly in the values of peace. We encourage all the parties to recommit to diplomatic negotiations. That is the only way to stop this tragedy and the only way forward.

**Mr. Ke** (Cambodia): On behalf of the Royal Government of Cambodia, I would like to express my sincere condolences to the people and the Government of the United States on the passing of former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. May her soul rest in peace.

Cambodia is gravely concerned about the increasing gravity of the situation and the worsening humanitarian consequences of the ongoing military hostilities in Ukraine, including civilian casualties, the displacement of persons and a growing flow of refugees to its neighbouring countries. Draft resolution A/ES-11/L.2, which is being considered by the General Assembly, calls on Member States and the international community to address the humanitarian crisis in Ukraine. In this dire situation, it is critically important that all parties ensure safe and full access for humanitarian relief to the people in need in and around Ukraine. Attacks must not target civilians or civilian infrastructure. All parties must respect international humanitarian law and human rights law.

In its statement on Ukraine issued on 3 March, the Foreign Ministers of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations called for a ceasefire or armistice and a continuation of political dialogue aimed at leading to sustainable peace in Ukraine. They underlined the importance of a ceasefire in creating an enabling environment for negotiations to address the current crisis and avoid exacerbating the suffering of innocent people.

As a nation that is friendly to both countries, Cambodia encourages Russia and Ukraine to resolve their conflict through diplomacy and dialogue and other peaceful means in order to end the humanitarian crisis and achieve a long-lasting peace between the two nations. Cambodia has sponsored the draft resolution and will vote in favour of it.

**Mr. Adom** (Côte d'Ivoire) (*spoke in French*): Like others before me, I would like to offer my delegation's sincere condolences to the Government and the people of the United States on the passing of Ms. Madeleine Albright, former Secretary of State and Ambassador of the United States to the United Nations.

My delegation also welcomed the resumption of the eleventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, on the humanitarian situation in Ukraine. We commend the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General in working for a peaceful and lasting resolution to the crisis there.

Côte d'Ivoire reaffirms its commitment to respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of States and for the peaceful settlement of disputes, as prescribed by the Charter of the United Nations. It is vital that we respect the texts that regulate our shared

life and that we have freely endorsed. That is why my country remains deeply concerned about the escalation of violence that unfortunately continues to cause terrible damage, with significant numbers of victims and massive destruction of critical infrastructure, making it desperately urgent to immediately implement resolution ES-11/1 of 2 March, which we adopted in a democratic vote.

According to recent figures provided by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Organization for Migration, more than 10 million people have been forced to leave their homes in search of safety and security, of whom 3.5 million have found refuge in neighbouring countries. My country strongly condemns all violations of international humanitarian law and human rights perpetrated in Ukraine. We call for strict respect for international humanitarian law as well as respect for the legal provisions that govern it, in particular the 1949 Geneva Conventions and its Additional Protocol of 1977.

Côte d'Ivoire also calls for safeguarding the security and safety of civilians in the conduct of military operations and respecting the principles of distinction, proportionality and precaution, as recommended by international humanitarian law. We further urge for the protection of civilians fleeing violence and the facilitation of rapid, safe and unimpeded access for humanitarian assistance to those in need in Ukraine and neighbouring countries. This is also a moment for my delegation to reiterate its call for fair and non-discriminatory treatment of all affected by this crisis, including Africans and people of African descent.

My country welcomes the mobilization and solidarity of the international community in support of the thousands of people affected by this conflict. We echo the Secretary-General's continued calls for funding a contingency plan for a robust humanitarian response in Ukraine, as well as the regional refugee response plan for Ukraine and neighbouring countries. Finally, Côte d'Ivoire urges for an immediate cessation of hostilities, in order to give peace a chance through dialogue and diplomacy.

**Mr. Zhang Jun** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): The current developments in Ukraine have caused widespread concern among the international community and are something that China does not wish to see. Regarding the issue of Ukraine, it is China's consistent

position that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries should be respected. The purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations should be upheld and the legitimate security concerns of all countries taken seriously. Furthermore, we should support all efforts conducive to a peaceful resolution of the crisis.

The humanitarian situation in Ukraine is becoming increasingly serious. The civilian casualties and massive displacement caused by the conflict are deeply regrettable. The most urgent task now is to urge the parties to exercise maximum restraint, avoid any more civilian casualties and reach a ceasefire through negotiations as soon as possible, with the particular aim of preventing a greater humanitarian crisis. China attaches great importance to the humanitarian issue in Ukraine. We have put forward a six-point initiative in that regard and have already delivered several shipments of humanitarian aid to the Ukrainian Red Cross Society. We welcome any initiatives and measures that can help to alleviate or resolve the humanitarian crisis in Ukraine. China's fundamental starting point is that we urge the international community and the United Nations to focus on the importance of the humanitarian situation in Ukraine and call on the parties concerned to strengthen their coordination on humanitarian issues in order to effectively protect the safety of civilians, especially vulnerable groups such as women and children, and to facilitate the evacuation of people and humanitarian relief operations. We also support the United Nations and relevant organizations in their active execution of relief operations.

In view of the situation as it regards the humanitarian issue in Ukraine, the principles of humanity, neutrality and impartiality established in resolution 46/182 should be strictly observed and there should be no politicization of humanitarian issues. China agrees with the purpose of draft resolution A/ES-11/L.2, proposed by France, Mexico and other countries, and appreciates the efforts by the countries concerned to promote consensus. At the same time, it is clear that some parts of the draft resolution go beyond the scope of humanitarian considerations. There are issues that are very complex and can be resolved only through political negotiations between the parties concerned. Draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3, proposed by South Africa, focuses on humanitarian issues and addresses many important aspects of the situation in Ukraine, while emphasizing that a cessation of hostilities is

a crucial step towards improving the humanitarian situation. We believe that under the current complex circumstances, South Africa's draft resolution is more conducive to promoting the unity of Member States and further opening the door to dialogue and negotiation and a diplomatic solution. China has therefore joined the sponsors of the South African draft resolution.

The world today is facing many serious challenges. The spillover factor of the Ukraine crisis is having global repercussions. The world has not yet emerged from the shadow of the coronavirus disease. The ever-expanding implementation of sweeping, indiscriminating sanctions has battered and will continue to batter the global economy, trade, finance, energy, food and industrial supply chains, seriously affecting the normal lives of people everywhere and exacerbating the problems of an already struggling world economy. Developing countries, which form a majority around the world, are not parties to this conflict. They should not be drawn into these tensions or forced to suffer the consequences of geopolitical conflicts and major power struggles. Sanctions and the use of force cannot be the only options for dealing with international and regional hotspot issues. In the face of complex situations, all countries have the right to make independent and autonomous decisions for their foreign policies. The countries concerned should not adopt simplistic approaches limited to friend or foe, black or white, and nor should they force any country to choose a side. Respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all countries is a basic norm of international relations and applies to all countries in all situations. There should be no exceptions in that regard, much less double standards.

Dialogue and negotiation are the only way out of the crisis in Ukraine. China appeals urgently to the international community to show reason, strengthen solidarity and work relentlessly to achieve a ceasefire and peace. China will continue to play a constructive role in facilitating peace talks.

**Mr. Akram** (Pakistan): The delegation of Pakistan joins others in expressing condolences to the people and the Government of the United States on the sad demise of former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. She was an outstanding diplomat who contributed to multilateralism, the post-Cold War order and the advancement of the rights of women.

Yesterday the forty-eighth session of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) issued its Islamabad Declaration, in which the Ministers stated the following with regard to the situation in Ukraine.

“We express deep concern at the deteriorating security and humanitarian situation arising from the conflict in Ukraine. We reaffirm unequivocal support for the universal and consistent application of the principles of the United Nations Charter, including non-use of force, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, non-interference in their internal affairs, and peaceful settlement of disputes, to preserve and build international peace and security, to ensure equal security for all States and respect for international humanitarian law.

“Having deliberated on the ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine at the forty-eighth session of the Council of Foreign Ministers, we call for an immediate cessation of hostilities to prevent further loss of life and ensure that the humanitarian crisis does not worsen in Ukraine. We stress the need for the establishment of humanitarian corridors to ensure safe movement of civilians from active conflict zones and the provision of humanitarian supplies. We urge both sides to engage in meaningful dialogue with the purpose of finding a solution to the present conflict. We express the willingness of OIC member States to support and facilitate the dialogue process between all sides, if requested.”

Pakistan appreciates the various efforts made by some countries to facilitate an end to this war and promote a negotiated solution. They include Turkey and China. Pakistan has supported those efforts and contributed to them within its capacity. We also appreciate the endeavours in the United Nations by South Africa, the European Union, Mexico and others to agree on a draft resolution to provide adequate and expeditious humanitarian assistance to the people so gravely affected by the conflict in Ukraine. Even at this late stage in our deliberations, we hope that we can arrive at an agreed outcome that can facilitate the promotion of humanitarian help to civilians in Ukraine and to refugees and the displaced, including foreign nationals and students, on the basis of humanitarian principles and without discrimination. Such an outcome should not be impeded by political considerations. A



divided outcome in the Assembly will not yield the humanitarian results we all desire.

**Mr. Tun** (Myanmar): The delegation of Myanmar would like to express its deepest condolences to the people and the Government of the United States on the passing of Ms. Madeleine Albright, former Secretary of State and Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations. May she rest in peace.

I would like to thank the President for convening this meeting. Myanmar has sponsored draft resolution A/ES-11/L.2, on “Humanitarian consequences of the aggression against Ukraine”, which was introduced by the country most concerned, Ukraine (see A/ES-11/PV.7), and will vote yes. We always value the position of the country concerned first and foremost and respect the voices of its people.

As Ukrainians continue to face the catastrophic situation resulting from the aggression and its indiscriminate and disproportionate attacks, the timely provision of humanitarian assistance to the people in need is crucial. Any unnecessary suffering for anyone, especially women and children, the elderly, people with disabilities and other vulnerable groups, must end completely and immediately. It is vital to ensure the protection of all civilians, along with humanitarian and medical personnel, journalists and people in vulnerable situations, including women and children. We welcome the continued efforts of Member States, the Secretary-General, United Nations agencies and international organizations to deliver humanitarian assistance as well as aid and protection for refugees. We also welcome the Secretary-General’s appointment of a United Nations Crisis Coordinator for Ukraine.

We fully share in the sufferings of the people of Ukraine and stand firmly in solidarity with them. The people of Myanmar are experiencing similar man-made tragedies and humanitarian crises as a consequence of our military’s atrocities, crimes against humanity and indiscriminate and disproportionate attacks against its own people. According to the United Nations, to date in Myanmar almost 900,000 people are still displaced and 6.2 million are in need of humanitarian assistance due to the military’s indiscriminate attacks across the country. At the same time, our people are encountering food insecurity.

Myanmar would therefore like to reiterate its appeal for an immediate and complete cessation of hostilities and attacks in Ukraine. We call for assuring

humanitarian access and the provision of humanitarian assistance to everyone in and around Ukraine. We also urge the international community to provide transparent and inclusive humanitarian assistance to those in need in Myanmar and to help the people of Myanmar in our efforts to end these military atrocities and the military dictatorship in a timely and effective manner. Saving lives is a noble task for us all.

**Mr. Rae** (Canada): I appreciate this opportunity to address the General Assembly today. Like many others, I would like to express the deep condolences of the Government of Canada, our delegation, and many of us personally for the loss of Ms. Madeleine Albright. She was truly an outstanding public servant and a great leader for the United States. She was a great friend of Canada and indeed of our Minister for Foreign Affairs, who was with her when she was Secretary of State. We shall miss her presence on the world stage. It is a loss for all of us.

This is now a defining time for the United Nations. The Russian Federation is continuing its illegal invasion of Ukraine in an unprovoked act of aggression against its neighbour. Russia has so far expressed no repentance and has carried on its aggression unabated since we last met to condemn its actions as a serious violation of the Charter of the United Nations. In the last few days, the International Court of Justice has also ordered that Russia immediately suspend its military operation in Ukraine. And yet Russia, a permanent member of the Security Council, a creator of the Nuremberg process and a signatory to the creation of the International Court of Justice and to the Geneva Conventions, carries on as if there is no law and no rules apply to it.

We know now how serious the humanitarian situation in Ukraine really is. Scores of innocent civilians, including children, have been killed and injured, and the situation not only is not getting better, it is getting worse by the hour. We are witnessing before our very eyes the premeditated destruction of entire cities. What is happening in Mariupol right now tells us everything we need to know about this particularly cruel war of aggression. Russia is laying siege to that city and to others, to its people, bombing hospitals and schools and flattening entire apartment complexes. Expectant mothers, children and the medical staff at a children’s hospital and maternity ward were slaughtered in a particularly gruesome attack on 9 March. That is part of a horrific trend. In just 25 days the United Nations has verified 52 attacks on health-care centres in

Ukraine. Medical personnel and facilities are supposed to be protected under international humanitarian law. Those attacks, and all attacks on civilians and civilian areas, must stop. There is no justification for them, and there is nothing “special” about Russia’s military operation in Ukraine. It is directed at whole cities, at people’s homes. But we also have to remember that like any armed conflict, this one immediately creates obligations under international humanitarian law for all the parties involved. Those laws are designed to protect civilians, limit suffering and ensure that those in need of aid receive it. Those obligations cannot be willed or bargained away. They apply to Russia, and they apply to Ukraine. They must be observed.

Canada is proud to join more than 80 countries in sponsoring draft resolution A/ES-11/L.2, entitled “Humanitarian consequences of the aggression against Ukraine”, which is before us. We are affirming that by demanding full compliance with international humanitarian law and appealing for desperately needed humanitarian access. If the draft resolution is passed there will be no delay in the provision of humanitarian assistance and no division about it, either.

More than 10 million Ukrainians have been forced to flee their homes — 10 million. Let us think about that number for a minute. Ten million people forcibly displaced by Russia’s military in Ukraine in four weeks. That is more than the entire population of more than 100 of the States represented in this Assembly. Ten million people displaced in four weeks. Of those, three million are refugees that have fled Ukraine since the start of this war. That is creating enormous strain on neighbouring countries — and that is not an accident either. It adds unnecessarily to the already record numbers of refugees and displaced persons globally who have fled Afghanistan, Venezuela, the Sahel region, Syria, Myanmar and so many other conflicts. While we are focused today on Ukraine, we cannot neglect those and other situations. Humanitarian needs everywhere deserve just as much care and attention. Canada will continue to respond to those needs, just as we are responding to the catastrophe that is unfolding in Ukraine.

It is important to remember that the effects of this war of aggression by Russia on Ukraine are of course devastating Ukraine. That is what they are intended to do. That is what Russia has set out to do — to destroy and undermine the economy, the structure, the people, the cities and the humanity of Ukraine. However, those

effects are also felt outside of the region, as many people have said. They are felt in the least-developed countries and by vulnerable populations around the world. They include rising energy prices, supply-chain disruptions, food insecurity issues and food shortages that lead to higher prices, hardships, instability, malnutrition, starvation and, yes, famine. Those are the effects of Russia’s war of choice. This war has had all of those effects. They threaten the hard-won progress on development that we have made over the past decade, distract the world from its recovery from the coronavirus disease pandemic and undermine efforts to combat climate change and achieve the Sustainable Development Goals.

*(spoke in French)*

But let us be clear. The impact and the crises, no matter how severe, could be lessened tomorrow if Russia ended its war of aggression. Russia must end this war before more damage is done.

In its first resolution of this emergency special session (resolution ES-11/1), the General Assembly deplored Russia’s actions as a violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Russia’s war is not just against Ukraine. We must remember that. Ukraine is not the only victim of this war. It is in contravention of the principles and commitments that we collectively made when we signed the Charter. It is a war against peace, progress and the freedom of nations and peoples to choose their own destiny. We are the United Nations, not warring empires.

This is a war that President Putin cannot win. It bears repeating that this is a war he cannot win. Russia has prevented the Security Council from carrying out its fundamental duty to protect international peace and security. Through the threat of a veto, it has also prevented the Council from adopting a humanitarian resolution. It is therefore once again up to the General Assembly to defend the rules-based international order in which the United Nations and its Charter play a central role. In our view, the draft resolution before us today deserves the support of all countries. Canada urges everyone to support it.

We have listened very carefully, in the Assembly and in our conversations, to the concerns expressed by all Member States.

*(spoke in English)*

We were asked to address concerns about the effects on least-developed countries, discrimination against any refugees fleeing Ukraine, the safety of foreign students, food security and the need to fully fund the United Nations Humanitarian Response Plan 2022. The draft resolution submitted today does just that, in addition to demanding the protection of civilians and safe and unhindered humanitarian access.

There has been a suggestion — and we have heard it again today — that a humanitarian resolution should not say anything about the cause of the crisis or ascribe responsibility to any particular party. With great respect, Mr. President, we disagree. This is not a natural disaster. A humanitarian crisis of this type is not a spontaneous event. It did not just happen. It happened because one country deliberately, without provocation, attacked another country. It is the direct result of a deliberate decision by the Russian Federation to invade Ukraine. To put it in the simplest terms, we cannot talk about Moby-Dick without mentioning that it is a whale. We cannot do it. We cannot pretend it did not happen. We cannot just set it aside and say that it is of no importance. If we do not identify the aggressor and insist that it uphold its obligation to fully respect international law and comply with the legally binding order of the International Court of Justice, then, I would argue, we have failed to do our job. A ceasefire and a withdrawal of the occupying troops are necessary so that we can take the next steps.

*(spoke in French)*

Henri Dunant, the Swiss founder of the International Red Cross, was so deeply affected by the human devastation on the battlefield at Solferino that it drove him to begin his exemplary work, which led ultimately to the founding principles of humanitarian aid and the obligations of all in time of war. It is said that the last words he spoke before his death were “Where is humanity?” Today we must answer, “We are here”.

*(spoke in English)*

We are going to be voting yes today on this draft resolution for this reason, for humanity. We will vote yes for humanity, not in the name of being able to solve all the problems of the world, because we cannot do that, but rather because we have to take steps designed to lead to peace, truth, justice and reconciliation. And sometimes we have to say difficult things. We cannot

avoid the facts and the reality of this situation. The Canadian poet Leonard Cohen put it this way:

“Forget your perfect offering  
“There is a crack, a crack in everything  
“That’s how the light gets in”.

Let us keep our eyes on the light and let us face the time ahead in love and solidarity with one another. Despite our differences, we will get there. We will do it with honesty, courage and solidarity.

**Mr. Marschik** (Austria): I would like to express my thanks to the Permanent Representative of Canada. Mr. Rae is the best warm-up support act one can have here at the United Nations.

Before I begin, let me express Austria’s heartfelt condolences and sympathies to Mrs. Linda Thomas-Greenfield and to our United States colleagues on the passing of former Secretary of State Madeline Albright. She was a strong advocate for multilateral diplomacy and a role model for us here at the United Nations and for the world.

I also want to assure the Assembly that Austria aligns itself with the statement delivered on behalf of the European Union (see A/ES-11/PV.7).

Today we are meeting for the second time here in the General Assembly to discuss the unprovoked, illegal and unjustified act of aggression of Russia against Ukraine. We are doing so to discuss the devastating humanitarian consequences of the aggression. Thanks to reports and briefings by the United Nations and the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, we have a clear picture of the terrible humanitarian situation. People are suffering unimaginable horrors in cities such as Mariupol, Kharkiv and Kherson. Mr. Rae mentioned many. Children are suffering, as are the old, the sick and the disabled, those in health-care centres, institutions and orphanages. We hear reports of attacks on civilian infrastructure with explosive weapons and of the use of cluster munitions in populated areas. We hear about shelling of health-care facilities and schools, about hunger and lack of medicine. We hear about acts that constitute war crimes, war crimes that must be condemned in the strongest terms by all of us. International humanitarian law is not optional. We insist on its strict implementation by all of us. I have not heard a single voice here arguing that the suffering in Ukraine is necessary or justified.

While the humanitarian conditions in Mariupol, Kharkiv and Kherson seem outside the scope of the imaginable, for many they are unfortunately all too familiar. In parts of the Middle East, the Gulf and Africa, civilians are suffering. In many instances the Security Council has taken action. Even in politically difficult cases the Council has found compromises, but not so regarding Ukraine. Here, the Security Council has been unable to act, failing in its role as the guardian of peace and security under the Charter of the United Nations. Clearly, when we start discussing the proposal on the new Agenda for Peace in *Our Common Agenda* (A/75/982), this predicament will have to be addressed. Until then, it is up to us here in the General Assembly to address the situation in Ukraine. In view of the tragedy on the ground, that should be quite straightforward. We need an immediate ceasefire. The Russian attacks must stop. We need the safe and secure evacuation of civilians, including through humanitarian corridors or safe passage. We need access for humanitarian personnel and aid. All those points are reflected in draft resolution A/ES-11/L.2, which we will adopt shortly and which Austria will support. Hopefully, most other Member States will support it as well.

There is a second draft resolution that has been put forward (A/ES-11/L.3). That is the right of every State, and there is a lot in that second draft resolution that Austria also supports. However, there are glaring omissions, and we already have a draft resolution, presented by Ukraine, that covers all the relevant points. Moreover, it is unusual that during the drafting process there were no consultations with the country that the draft deals with. I hope that its sponsors will not put it forward for action before ensuring that it meets with the approval of the country concerned. This is after all a draft humanitarian resolution. We are uniting here to support the suffering people in Ukraine, not to antagonize them.

We have heard about some of the consequences of the war of aggression against Ukraine. There are many concerns. Because Ukraine is the world's breadbasket, the war there threatens food security, particularly in vulnerable countries, including least-developed countries, landlocked developing countries and small island developing States. There are also very real concerns about the possible consequences of a potential nuclear fallout caused by an attack on nuclear facilities. All international norms in the area of nuclear security must be fully respected. We support

all efforts, especially those of the International Atomic Energy Agency and its Director General Mr. Rafael Mariano Grossi, to ensure nuclear safety around Ukraine's nuclear facilities. We must make the best possible use of the upcoming Conference of the Parties to the Amendment to the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material, which we have worked hard to strengthen.

Yes, we must all do our part to help. We have heard of many humanitarian efforts and initiatives by the United Nations and Member States, and we commend them. Austria has allocated more than €17.5 million to support the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, UNICEF, the International Committee of the Red Cross and non-governmental organizations, and we have deployed a crisis team to Moldova to provide additional consular support and humanitarian assistance to Ukraine's immediate neighbours.

When we think about what we can do, let us also be frank and factual here in the Assembly. Like Mr. Rae, I am puzzled when I hear colleagues arguing that we should avoid politicization, that we need to balance the text or that we need more neutral language. This is a humanitarian resolution, for goodness' sake. This is about human suffering caused by armed attacks and war crimes. How can that require balance and neutral language? Should we seek equidistance between victim and aggressor? Austria is a neutral State. We are not party to any military alliances. Our neutrality is embedded in our Constitution. Believe me, we know about neutrality. Neutrality does not mean neutrality of values. Nor does it mean taking no position when faced with unprovoked, unjustified violations of international law. Like other neutral States, we take a clear stance. We speak up against violations of the law and humanitarian law and against violations of the Charter. We support efforts to hold those responsible for crimes. We support clear language in our humanitarian draft resolution — Ukraine's draft resolution — language that differentiates between victim and aggressor. Austria therefore urges Member States to vote in favour of this humanitarian draft resolution to show the world once again that the General Assembly continues to protect civilians, defend the rule of law and uphold the Charter.

**The Acting 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 would like to convey



its condolences to our colleagues at the United States Mission to the United Nations for the loss of former Ambassador and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. It is salient that as a refugee herself, she should be remembered here and at this moment. We also offer our condolences to our colleagues at the Mission of the Republic of Ireland to the United Nations on the passing of Ambassador Jim Kelly. Our national symbol is an eight-pointed cross, representing the beatitudes. One in particular is apposite in remembering those two distinguished diplomats and public servants — blessed are the peacemakers.

Sharing in its humanitarian spirit and mindful of the pain and anguish of the Ukrainian people, the Sovereign Order of Malta, as a permanent observer and therefore not casting a vote today, does however express its support for the humanitarian focus of a draft resolution that is under consideration today. The Sovereign Order of Malta condemns any form of unwarranted aggression against sovereign States and is deeply concerned about the suffering of the people of the Ukraine, the suffering of civilians, especially women and children, the suffering of the sick and the unbearable suffering of the elderly. We reiterate our call for a cessation of hostilities against the innocent and for a strengthened purpose through dialogue to find a pathway to peace.

The current fighting in Ukraine has caused the death of countless innocent civilians, destroyed civic infrastructure, ripped apart families, forced nearly 4 million people to flee the country and caused the internal displacement of as many as 6 million individuals. We, an independent, neutral, sovereign entity State providing global humanitarian aid in more than 120 countries, have given considerable support, advice and material help to the Ukrainian people, particularly during the past eight years of conflict. At this moment our staff are currently serving in Ukraine and in neighbouring countries, with more than 5,000 personnel and tens of thousands of volunteers. They are doing everything from serving hot food and drink to caring for victims of injury and accident, providing first aid, medical assistance, counselling and emotional support and securing short- and long-term accommodation. Volunteers from locations away from the border, many of them from other countries and representing faith-based and community groups, have travelled to the region with supplies and humanitarian equipment, in some cases putting their

own lives in danger. Our crisis-response arm, Malteser International, along with our national associations and relief corps, is coordinating activities with regional and local Government agencies, particularly within Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Romania, the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Germany and Austria, and with international aid organizations such as the Red Cross, the Order of Saint John, among others, and such United Nations agencies as the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

We are also engaged in an international fundraising programme to ensure that adequate resources continue to be available. However, the dire humanitarian situation in Ukraine continues to deteriorate rapidly, as densely populated areas such as the city of Mariupol are shelled incessantly, with scenes of devastation reminiscent of the Second World War. The civilian populations affected, from women and children to journalists, together with humanitarian and medical personnel, all deserve the right to safety, along with secure, voluntary and unhindered passage. Those who have been able to escape the escalating violence in their homeland tell our volunteers on the ground that all they want is to go home in peace and security and resume their lives, send their children back to school, care for their aging relatives and pets and sit and breathe the air of freedom and peace. But millions more are waiting inside Ukraine in an atmosphere of uncertainty, even terror. They are the rural populations, the workers, the farmers, the agriculturalists, those whose efforts in wheat production in better times help feed millions of the world's starving. Now they too face the prospect of starvation. They need our help, while the World Food Programme and millions across Africa and in other nations of the world desperately wait for a solution that will provide life-giving sustenance to the hungry.

Refugees and internally displaced persons are especially vulnerable, and the Order of Malta is seriously concerned about the heightened risk of sexual violence, especially trafficking in persons, which has already been observed from border locations and reported by numerous non-governmental organizations, the media and local police officials. To reduce the risk of human trafficking, effective assistance, protection and clear advisories must be provided to refugees without discrimination. Adequate training should be provided to those giving advice and assistance so that these vulnerable women, children and young people do not fall victim to that scourge. We appeal to all people

of goodwill to assist in the protection of all refugees, internally displaced persons and people in need, inside and outside Ukraine. We ask the United Nations community for compassion on behalf of the innocent.

**The Acting President:** We have heard the last speaker on this item.

Before we proceed to take action on draft resolutions A/ES-11/L.2 and A/ES-11/L.3, delegations wishing to make statements in explanation of vote or position before the voting on either or both of these draft resolutions are invited to do so now in one intervention. Before giving the floor for explanations of vote, I would like to remind speakers that explanations are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

I give the floor to the representative of South Africa.

**Ms. Joyini (South Africa):** South Africa is deeply concerned about the humanitarian crisis in Ukraine and its neighbouring countries. It is vital to ensure that the General Assembly adopts a draft resolution responding to this humanitarian crisis and affirms the international humanitarian principles by which the parties must abide. Addressing the humanitarian situation should be our immediate priority. Unfortunately, rather than putting the humanitarian crisis and our response at the centre of our deliberations, the political divisions in this Assembly suggest that in the minds of some delegations the humanitarian response is perhaps secondary to geopolitical objectives. While we should not ignore the context that gave rise to this crisis or any violations of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, that should not distract us or our focus from what we ought to be doing right now. What we should be doing, as a matter of urgency, is working as a global community to end the war by calling for a cessation of hostilities, because that is the first step in a comprehensive humanitarian response and will create the environment necessary to a political process that can lead to sustainable peace.

Let us be clear. War has no winners. The real heroes are those who work for peace. Over the past few decades, the world has continued to experience debilitating conflicts. Many of those wars have contravened the provisions of the Charter and international law. As an example, as a result of one of those conflicts, the devastating war in Iraq, more than 2.4 million people are reported to have died since 2003. Many more civilians across the world have died and

been displaced. Making this point in our discussion on the humanitarian situation in Ukraine is not a form of whataboutism. It is underscoring the point that many countries and their peoples suffer the consequences of wars that are not of their own doing. They have had no role in starting or ending those wars. In fact, we must make the point that in most cases the vast majority of countries in the Assembly have never invaded or colonized other countries and yet have suffered the consequences of those invasions and colonizations. There are a few powerful countries that have been party to most of those conflicts, often in the form of proxy wars in other countries or regions. Africa has experienced its fair share of those proxy wars and their destructive outcomes. We therefore empathize with the people of Ukraine, who find themselves caught up in a conflict not of their making.

War and the use of force are never solutions to international disputes, irrespective of the countries that are involved. Once war has begun, it is imperative that we all work towards peace. That is why South Africa is of the view that right now we should be more concerned with ending the war and addressing the humanitarian plight of those who are affected by it. South Africa remains steadfast in its belief that an atmosphere of dialogue, mediation and diplomacy represents the only path to de-escalating the current conflict. In that regard, we reiterate our call for employing the good offices of the United Nations in mediating and pursuing the quest for a sustainable solution and for us as Member States to facilitate an enabling environment for dialogue.

Against a backdrop of a deepening humanitarian crisis and with peace not in sight, we ought to ask ourselves what matters most. The objective of the Assembly must be to find a constructive outcome that is conducive to the creation of sustainable peace in Ukraine and that addresses the humanitarian plight of those affected by the conflict. Draft resolution A/ES-11/L.2, submitted by a cross-regional group, unfortunately does not address that. South Africa supports several of its aspects, including an immediate cessation of hostilities, an affirmation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine and the establishment of humanitarian corridors. We support the full protection of civilians, humanitarian personnel and vulnerable people, including women and children. We support the call to all States and parties to the conflict to fully respect international humanitarian law and international human rights law. We support the

voluntary, safe and unhindered passage of civilians, including foreign nationals, without discrimination.

However, there are elements in draft resolution A/ES-11/L.2 that make attaining a consensus in the General Assembly difficult. At this stage it remains imperative to ensure that all parties to the conflict are committed to humanitarian principles and a United Nations humanitarian response and are part of the outcome that we adopt. It was for that reason that South Africa saw the need to put forward a text that focuses specifically on the humanitarian plight of the people affected. Political issues that may result in Member States failing to agree on a text should be addressed elsewhere. We believe that an impartial humanitarian resolution should focus purely on addressing humanitarian needs. It is in that context that we have proposed a text that will first and foremost focus on calling for a cessation of hostilities as the first step towards ameliorating the humanitarian situation.

A crucial aspect of our draft resolution (A/ES-11/L.3) also calls on all the parties to abide by international humanitarian law and all the Additional Protocols to the 1949 Geneva Conventions. It is pivotal to ensure that a draft resolution, aside from addressing the humanitarian needs of the people, also lays a foundation for the parties to engage in constructive and meaningful dialogue. It is South Africa's view that in the current context of the conflict in Ukraine, it is essential that the United Nations adopt a draft resolution on the humanitarian situation affecting the people of Ukraine that is based on the principles that govern humanitarian assistance — humanity, neutrality, impartiality and independence. Those principles provide the foundations for humanitarian action and are central to establishing and maintaining access to the people affected. It is important that the draft resolution express concern about the humanitarian situation and call on all parties to abide by international humanitarian law.

South Africa has explained to Ukraine the rationale for introducing its own draft resolution. South Africa will abstain in the voting on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.2. We have submitted draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3, which we believe is more conducive to a comprehensive humanitarian response. Regarding the action we will take this morning, it is crucial that all voices be heard and given an equal chance. There should be no attempt to muzzle those we see as different from us. That would be attacking the core of what the United Nations is about, undermining its basic

tenets and setting precedents we will regret for years to come. Following the action by the Assembly on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.2 this morning, South Africa therefore formally requests that the Assembly should vote on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3.

**The Acting President:** We have heard the only speaker in explanation of vote before taking action on the draft resolutions.

Before the Assembly takes a decision on draft resolutions A/ES-11/L.2 and A/ES-11/L.3, I would like to address the question of the majority required for their adoption. In the light of paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 18 of the Charter of the United Nations, if there is no objection to taking action on those draft resolutions, a two-thirds majority of members present and voting is required for their adoption.

As indicated by the President at the 7th plenary meeting yesterday morning (see A/ES-11/PV.7), the Assembly will consider the two draft resolutions it has before it, taking into account rule 91 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, which states that

“[i]f two or more proposals relate to the same question, the General Assembly shall, unless it decides otherwise, vote on the proposals in the order in which they have been submitted. The General Assembly may, after each vote on a proposal, decide whether to vote on the next proposal.”

The Assembly will therefore consider the draft proposals in the order in which they have been submitted, which means that the draft proposal contained in document A/ES-11/L.2, which was submitted first, will be considered first.

The Assembly will now take action on draft resolutions A/ES-11/L.2 and A/ES-11/L.3, one by one. We turn first to draft resolution A/ES-11/L.2, entitled “Humanitarian consequences of the aggression against Ukraine”.

I give the floor to the representative of the Secretariat.

**Ms. De Miranda** (Department for General Assembly and Conference Management): I should like to announce that since the submission of draft resolution A/ES-11/L.2, and in addition to the delegations listed in the document, the following countries have also become sponsors: Afghanistan, Andorra, Argentina, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Cambodia, Chile, the

Democratic Republic of the Congo, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Israel, Jamaica, Kiribati, Liberia, Malawi, Myanmar, the Niger, Papua New Guinea, Peru, the Republic of Moldova, Samoa, Singapore, Suriname, Switzerland, Timor-Leste, Tonga and Tuvalu.

**The Acting 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, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cabo Verde, Cambodia, Canada, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Estonia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Indonesia, Iraq, 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), 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, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, San Marino, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Serbia, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, South Sudan, 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, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Burundi, Central African Republic, China, Congo, Cuba, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Eswatini, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Mongolia, Mozambique, Namibia, Nicaragua, Pakistan, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tajikistan, Togo, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Uzbekistan, Viet Nam, Zimbabwe

*Draft resolution A/ES-11/L.2 was adopted by 140 votes to 5, with 38 abstentions (resolution ES-11/2).*

**The Acting President:** The representative of South Africa has requested that the Assembly also take action on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3.

I give the floor to the representative of Ukraine, who wishes to speak on a point of order.

**Mr. Kyslytsya (Ukraine):** I would like to request clarification on a point of order from the Secretariat. According to rule 91 of the rules of procedure, South Africa could not request a vote on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3 until after the voting on resolution ES-11/2 was completed. I would like to know when South Africa requested the vote.

**The Acting President:** I give the floor to the representative of South Africa.

**Ms. Joyini (South Africa):** South Africa requests that a vote be taken on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3.

**The Acting President:** I give the floor to the representative of Ukraine on a point of order.

**Mr. Kyslytsya (Ukraine):** This is an attempt to confuse the General Assembly and a failure to follow the rules. I would like to explain my reasons for asking for a procedural motion.

The General Assembly is already perceived by the peoples of the world to be inconsistent in thoughts, beliefs, attitudes and courses of action, especially with regard to decisions and changes in attitude. It is called cognitive dissonance. We see the similarities between draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3 and its twin brother — the defunct Russian draft resolution (S/2022/231) proposed in the Security Council (see S/PV.9002), which received just two votes in support. This draft is a ticket to a public perception of defeat for the Assembly. Anyone



who thinks that draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3 is about Ukraine is totally wrong. Its text has never been a product of consultations with Ukraine or of cross-regional consultations, unlike resolution ES-11/2, which we just adopted by an overwhelming majority.

Draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3 is a text promoted unilaterally by one country, prompted by another that did not even care to hide it. Whatever the ultimate result of the Assembly's action is, if there is action on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3 it will certainly mean that the Assembly's authority is further undermined if not lost altogether. If that is not compelling enough for some, because maybe the Assembly's authority and image is not that important to them, I can offer another analogy. Imagine holding a dying child. Imagine that instead of administering to that child the proper medicine — albeit bitter and with many side effects, but at least offering a chance to save the child — the choice is made to take a nameless, generic, inexpensive placebo handed over by a big supplier. Will we choose that option? Will we leave the dying child with no chance at all just because the nameless, generic pill was so easy to get and to swallow? Let us think about it. That is exactly what document A/ES-11/L.3 is. It is fresh paint on the mouldy, rotten structure of the Assembly. But it is not paint, it is actually the blood of Ukrainian children, women and defenders. Let us spare the Assembly that shame. Let us prove that the Assembly is still a solid structure and that we are the United Nations, wise enough to avert imminent disaster.

Pursuant to rule 91 of the General Assembly's rules of procedure, we propose that the Assembly decide not to vote on the draft resolution proposed by South Africa. We urge all delegations to vote against the proposal of South Africa to go ahead with a vote on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3. Before that, I would like to ask the President to explain very carefully to all of us what the votes mean, so that there is no confusion, because the entire aim of what is going on right now is to spread confusion in the General Assembly.

**The Acting President:** The representative of Ukraine has objected to the proposal that the General Assembly consider draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3, taking into account rule 91 of the rules of procedure. Before putting the motion to a vote, I want to inform the Assembly that a vote against is a vote against considering draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3.

I give the floor to the representative of the Secretariat.

**Ms. De Miranda** (Department for General Assembly and Conference Management): We have two proposals. The representative of South Africa has proposed that after the General Assembly's adoption of resolution ES-11/2, the Assembly should take action on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3. That was what the representative of South Africa said, including in her explanation of position — that the Assembly should take action on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3.

The representative of Ukraine has just objected to the proposal that the Assembly should consider draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3 and so we have to go to a vote. Those who believe that the Assembly should take action on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3 will vote yes. Those who consider that the Assembly should not proceed to take action on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3 — in other words, should put A/ES-11/L.3 aside — should vote no.

**The Acting President:** I thank the representative of the Secretariat for the clarification.

I now give the floor to the representative of Australia on a point of order.

**Mr. Fifield** (Australia): Judging by some of the chatter in the Hall, I think it may be of assistance to delegations if the Secretariat would again explain the motion that is currently before the General Assembly and what voting in favour of it or against it would result in. This is a significant vote, and I therefore think it would benefit delegations to hear again precisely what it is we are voting on.

**The Acting President:** I now give the floor to the representative of the Russian Federation on a point of order.

**Mr. Nebenzia** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Sir, I would like to point out that you announced a vote. The representative of the Secretariat explained to us what that vote meant. As we know, according to the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, nobody can interrupt a vote after it has been announced by the President.

**The Acting President:** Let us move forward with the voting.

I give the floor to the representative of the Secretariat.

**Ms. De Miranda** (Department for General Assembly and Conference Management): The General Assembly is now voting on a motion to take action on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3. Those who consider that the Assembly should take action on the draft resolution should vote in favour of the motion. Those who consider that the Assembly should not proceed to take action on the draft resolution should vote against the motion. Those abstaining should press the button for abstention.

**The Acting President:** I shall now put to the vote the motion submitted by the representative of South Africa that action be taken on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:*

Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belarus, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Cabo Verde, Cambodia, Central African Republic, China, Cuba, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Namibia, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, Yemen

*Against:*

Albania, Andorra, Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Fiji, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Liberia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malta, Marshall Islands, Micronesia (Federated States of), Monaco, Montenegro, Myanmar, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, North Macedonia, Norway, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Samoa, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Suriname, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

*Abstaining:*

Argentina, Belize, Bhutan, Burundi, Chile, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ghana, Guyana, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Libya, Malaysia, Mexico, Nepal, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Qatar, Sao Tome and Principe, Serbia, South Sudan, Sri Lanka, Switzerland, Togo, Tunisia, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Zimbabwe

*The motion to take action on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3 was rejected by 67 votes to 50, with 36 abstentions.*

**The Acting President:** Since the motion for the General Assembly to take action on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3 was not adopted, the Assembly will take no action on that draft resolution.

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

**Mr. Tirumurti** (India): India remains deeply concerned about the ongoing situation in Ukraine, which has continued to deteriorate rapidly since the beginning of the hostilities. The conflict has resulted in civilian deaths and nearly 10 million people have either become displaced internally or have moved to neighbouring countries. We have consistently called for a cessation of hostilities.

The humanitarian situation continues to worsen, particularly in conflict zones in urban areas. Women, children and the elderly are disproportionately affected as the conflict is prolonged. We reiterate our call for an immediate ceasefire. Addressing the humanitarian needs of the population affected is urgent. In that regard, we support the initiatives of the United Nations and its agencies. We hope that the international community will continue to respond positively to the humanitarian needs of the people of Ukraine, including by extending generous support to the United Nations humanitarian flash appeal launched by the Secretary-General and the Ukraine Regional Refugee Response Plan. India has already sent more than 90 tons of humanitarian supplies to Ukraine and its neighbours as part of the nine separate tranches of humanitarian assistance delivered so far. The supplies have included medicines and other essential relief materials. We are in the process of sending further supplies in the coming days.

India ensured the safe return of about 22,500 Indians from Ukraine through Operation Ganga, which involved 90 evacuation flights. In that process, we also assisted nationals from 18 other countries. We deeply appreciate the efforts of the Ukrainian authorities and those of neighbouring countries to ensure their safe return. I want to underscore that it is important for humanitarian action to always be guided by the principles of humanitarian assistance — humanity, neutrality, impartiality and independence — and that it should not be politicized. We firmly believe that the efforts of the United Nations should contribute to a de-escalation of the conflict, facilitate an immediate cessation of hostilities in order to promote dialogue and diplomacy and bring the parties together to seek an immediate end to people's suffering. We continue to underline the need for respect for the Charter of the United Nations, international law and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States.

India abstained in the voting on resolution ES-11/2 because what is required now is to focus on a cessation of hostilities and delivering urgent humanitarian assistance. Resolution ES-11/2 did not fully reflect our expectations regarding those challenges.

**Mr. Ladeb** (Tunisia) (*spoke in Arabic*): Tunisia voted in favour of the General Assembly's adoption of resolution ES-11/2 today based on the high importance that we attach to addressing the humanitarian situation, as well as the need for all the parties to uphold the provisions of international humanitarian law. Our decision was also based on our firm commitment to preserving life, ensuring the right to life, providing protection and access to humanitarian assistance and putting an end to the humanitarian suffering of innocent civilians, above all children, women, the elderly and people with disabilities. They are the primary victims in any conflict and pay the highest price in wars through various kinds of suffering, with effects that can have repercussions for multiple generations.

The worsening humanitarian crises have become a hallmark of the various conflicts happening around the world today, including in Ukraine. As much as we commend the efforts of the United Nations and humanitarian relief organizations to alleviate their impact, we also reaffirm the importance of focusing efforts on stopping this war and helping the parties concerned reach a peaceful settlement that can ensure a restoration of security and stability while also halting the deterioration of the humanitarian situation and the

waves of refugees and internally displaced persons. In that regard, I should not fail to thank Ukraine's neighbours for their efforts to alleviate the suffering caused by this crisis and facilitate safe passage for students and others residing in Ukraine.

The driving force behind the establishment of the United Nations was the desire to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. More than seven decades later, millions of people in many conflict areas around the world are still being subjected to killing, humiliation, starvation, sieges and every other kind of violation of their basic rights. While we appreciate the eagerness of Member States to bring an end to the deteriorating humanitarian situation in Ukraine, we had hoped that the international community would be more united and more willing to speak with one voice regarding that humanitarian situation, which cannot be a matter for contention.

In that context, we also stress how important it is that the international community not remain silent about the human suffering of the millions of refugees and displaced and besieged people in other areas of conflict in the world, especially in the Middle East and on the African continent, where decades-long conflicts still persist. The international community should address them with the same commitment, based on the same standard and the same humanitarian values, in line with the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law.

In conclusion, my country calls for intensifying the international efforts to urge the parties to the conflict to reach a peaceful settlement of this war, whose repercussions have extended beyond the region to include the rest of the world, especially the developing countries whose food and energy security is under threat and that are still suffering from the economic and social consequences of the coronavirus disease pandemic.

**Mr. Vongnorkeo** (Lao People's Democratic Republic): The Lao People's Democratic Republic is gravely concerned about the humanitarian situation in Ukraine. My delegation welcomes and supports all the humanitarian efforts to assist the Ukrainian people and all the foreign nationals who are affected. We commend all the countries and organizations that have extended swift humanitarian assistance to Ukraine. We are also hopeful that all the parties and organizations concerned will continue to ensure the safety of refugees and provide secured passage for them in and around

the conflict zones. The top priority now is to prevent the situation from escalating further, while salvaging every glimmer of hope for an immediate and possibly permanent cessation of the hostilities.

My delegation abstained in the voting on resolution ES-11/2, entitled “Humanitarian consequences of the aggression against Ukraine”, because we believe that a humanitarian resolution of the General Assembly should be adopted by consensus and that its language should be well-balanced, non-politicized and conducive to easing tensions and creating favourable conditions for all humanitarian operations on the ground, in line with the fundamental principles of humanity, neutrality, impartiality and independence, as affirmed in resolutions 46/182 and 58/114. What is urgent now is to seek a political and diplomatic solution to the conflict, and we welcome all the ongoing efforts and peace negotiations between the parties concerned. Refraining from any action that could escalate tensions or hamper diplomatic efforts is therefore vital. Only diplomatic means can lead to a ceasefire agreement and permit unhindered humanitarian action, because we are already witnessing negative consequences that are liable to have long-term effects for innocent people in the region and the global community at large.

**Mr. Kayinamura** (Rwanda): I am taking the floor to explain Rwanda’s vote on resolution ES-11/2, which the Assembly just adopted. We voted in favour of the resolution in order to reiterate firmly our position expressed previously in this emergency special session (see A/ES-11/PV.5).

We need to ensure that there is a major focus on achieving three main objectives: protecting civilians, providing humanitarian support and ensuring dialogue. In that regard, Rwanda very much wanted to see all Member States unite around a humanitarian resolution of the General Assembly. It is unfortunate that there is such division when the lives of innocent civilians are at stake. There is no guarantee that the ongoing war and the resulting crisis will bring peace. Rather, they are causing human suffering. Rwanda therefore joins many other delegations in calling for an immediate cessation of hostilities. We fully support the international efforts to de-escalate the war, as well as any mechanism that can bring peace. The diplomatic options represent the best solutions for achieving sustainable peace. In that regard, we call for open dialogue and negotiations in good faith. A lasting solution can be achieved only through dialogue between both parties, taking into

account the concerns on both sides. In addition, the parties to the conflict should not use civilians as human shields against gunfire, which amounts to a violation of international law.

Finally, Rwanda calls for a sincere commitment to protecting civilians. The ongoing crisis is causing grave harm to innocent civilians, whose future is now uncertain. We encourage the parties concerned to give peace a chance. We want to reiterate that a lasting solution to the current crisis lies primarily in the hands of both the Russian Federation and Ukraine. They have the key and the padlock, and they can unlock it.

**Mr. Abd Aziz** (Malaysia): Malaysia voted in favour of resolution ES-11/2. We are deeply concerned about the humanitarian situation in Ukraine and have been closely monitoring the developments in and around the country, including what is happening on the ground. We strongly urge all the parties concerned to take immediate steps to de-escalate and continue dialogue and negotiations in order to prevent further devastation and loss of life. We call for safe and unhindered access to humanitarian assistance for those affected in and around Ukraine. We call for respect for and the protection of civilian lives and infrastructure. Malaysia urges all the parties to fully comply with their obligations under international humanitarian law and international human rights law.

We also want to address the issue of what happened in the General Assembly today, when the Assembly had to consider resolution ES-11/2 and draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3, both on the same topic. We saw similarities between the texts and merit in both, and we would have voted in favour of both had they both been put to a vote. Malaysia is disappointed that the authors of the two drafts did not work together to reach agreement on a single text. We believe deeply in the importance of having a focused and balanced resolution that addresses the dire humanitarian situation on the ground. The submission to the Assembly today of two draft resolutions on the same issue and the need that resulted to consider a procedural motion does not convey the notion that the United Nations — and the international community itself — is united in its solidarity with those affected by the humanitarian crisis, and that is unfortunate. There was also a glaring absence of open-ended discussions among the wider United Nations membership. We feel that more open-ended consultations should have been conducted because they would have enabled the authors to engage the wider membership and hear their views



on the matter, especially since there were two draft resolutions on the same issue.

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 international peace and security. We will continue to support the international efforts to seek a peaceful and amicable solution to the conflict in the interests of maintaining regional and international peace and security and promoting greater prosperity.

**Mr. Nebenzia** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): I am not going to address the issue of the wars that have been started by the countries that today are demanding a cessation of hostilities and claiming to be peacemakers. For eight years those countries said nothing about the crimes committed by the Kyiv regime against its own citizens, both in Donbas and throughout the entire territory of Ukraine. But I would like to discuss one particular date. It has been noted today that 24 March marks a month since the special military operation began. However, it is also the anniversary of 24 March 1999, the day the United States and its NATO allies launched an armed aggression against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that continued for 78 days and nights.

The NATO forces flew more than 35,000 sorties, launched approximately 3,000 cruise missiles and dropped more than 10,000 tons of explosives. It was the equivalent in TNT of five times that of the atomic bomb the United States military dropped on Hiroshima in 1945. More than 2,000 Serbs died in the bombing, including women, children and the elderly. They were later referred to cynically as collateral damage. Thousands of civilian objects in dozens of cities were destroyed. The autonomous province of Kosovo was separated from the country by force. NATO's aggression against Yugoslavia in 1999 was the first armed attack on a sovereign State in Europe since 1945. That was the tragic contribution to European history made by the "strictly defensive" NATO bloc, as it calls itself. I could have cited more examples that others have also mentioned here today.

I do not think it is worth dwelling on the reasons why Russia voted against resolution ES-11/2, the pseudo-humanitarian resolution submitted by Western countries and Ukraine. Why pseudo-humanitarian? Because its authors needed it solely so that they could once again condemn Russia, hang various labels on my

country and conduct a kind of roll call of all who were willing to subscribe to a one-sided interpretation of the situation. We are grateful to all who found the courage to consider all of this with an independent mind.

Resolution ES-11/2 is also pseudo-humanitarian because if our Western colleagues really cared about humanitarian issues, they would have supported draft resolution S/2022/231, the genuinely humanitarian text that Russia submitted to the Security Council yesterday (see S/PV.9002). However, political considerations prevailed. The result was that crucial decisions concerning humanitarian workers on the ground were not taken, and the resolution that the General Assembly has just adopted cannot make up for that in any way. Besides that, we should not fail to point out that under unprecedented pressure from the Western countries, the Assembly has once again exceeded its remit in attempting to issue instructions on questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, in violation of paragraph 2 of Article 11 of the Charter of the United Nations. Such instructions, adopted *ultra vires*, are null and void and have no legal implications *ab initio*.

We also regret the procedural hassle, unworthy of the United Nations, that Western countries started to prevent a vote on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3, submitted by our colleagues from South Africa. Our Western colleagues were too afraid of encountering a situation in which their self-appointed monopoly in the General Assembly on advancing anti-Russian draft resolutions on the situation in Ukraine would be undermined. The initiators of this row gave the game away when they acted as they did. We thank our South African colleagues for their initiative and resolve, as well as the countries that were willing to support their draft resolution. I think the Member States will remember this lesson from our Western colleagues on the manipulation of their humanitarian principles.

**Mr. Larbaoui** (Algeria): First of all, on behalf of the Permanent Mission of Algeria to the United Nations, I would like to express my deepest condolences and sincere sympathy to the United States Government and to our colleagues at the United States Mission for the sad loss of former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, who was very close to my country, Algeria, and with whom we worked closely to finalize the Algiers Agreement of December 2000, which brought an end to the war between our brother countries of Ethiopia and Eritrea.

I would now like to return to the explanation of Algeria's vote on resolution ES-11/2.

*(spoke in Arabic)*

Algeria is deeply concerned about the deteriorating crisis in Ukraine and its repercussions for the humanitarian situation, a tragic reality that more than ever demands that we all abide by the basic rules and principles of international humanitarian law that define international humanitarian obligations, especially the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their Additional Protocol of 1977, and international human rights law. In that regard, Algeria urges the Security Council to assume its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and to cooperate in working for world peace in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Algeria reaffirms its firm attachment to the purposes and principles of the Charter and the rules of international law, based on respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States, along with mutual respect for international obligations and security guarantees.

Algeria also stresses the importance of stepping up diplomatic efforts in order to end the current humanitarian crisis in Ukraine, and reiterates its support for all efforts aimed at easing tensions by means of dialogue and negotiations, which represent the only way to resolve the crisis, prevent further bloodshed and address the tragic humanitarian situation, without discrimination, and which would help to restore security and stability and the safety of the countries and peoples of the region.

**Mr. Costa Filho (Brazil):** Brazil voted in favour of resolution ES-11/2 because it is urgent that the United Nations sends a strong message on the humanitarian situation in Ukraine. The General Assembly cannot remain a bystander while the world is witnessing once-peaceful cities rapidly turning into war zones, as well as the shocking images documenting the conflict and the desperation of thousands of civilians trapped in battle zones with no food, water or electricity. Indeed, the dire situation on the ground demanded a swift reaction from us.

However, we deeply regret that the Assembly was not able to speak with one voice today. Promoting compliance with international humanitarian law, protecting civilians and calling for peace are objectives that should unite rather than divide us. Brazil would have much preferred a consensus text resulting from

effective, transparent and inclusive negotiations rather than a *fait accompli* on a draft resolution that was not open to negotiation and whose language contained clearly divisive elements, many of which went beyond the humanitarian aspects of the conflict. We would have preferred a resolution with strictly humanitarian messages that called for an immediate cessation of hostilities and respect for humanitarian law. Essentially, today was a moment for a constructive resolution, one that could influence the behaviour of the parties on the ground, promote effective humanitarian arrangements and create the space so desperately needed for negotiations in order to end the hostilities. We have doubts as to whether the resolution that we adopted today will have that effect.

The text adopted also fails to address a pressing concern arising from the ongoing crisis — the humanitarian consequences of indiscriminate economic sanctions, which will inevitably affect every country, particularly developing nations. They will not only add to the hardships of economies that are already strained as they recover from the pandemic, but will probably also hit their most vulnerable populations. In attempting to correct a wrong, these broad economic sanctions may in the end create more harm than they were intended to prevent.

This is a watershed moment for the United Nations and multilateralism in general. The gradual erosion of the rules prohibiting the use of force has culminated in what is one of the greatest challenges to our collective security system since its inception. And we are now at risk of further jeopardizing the basic tenets, norms and institutions that the international community has built, with enormous effort. We should not politicize humanitarian messages or selectively apply international humanitarian law, which was created precisely in order to safeguard minimum standards of human dignity regardless of how inexcusable the causes of a war may be.

It is commonly said that war begins when diplomacy fails. We are concerned about the possibility that we may have missed an opportunity to use diplomacy to create bridges and facilitate effective humanitarian actions that could represent a first step towards peace. There can be no military solution to the conflict in Ukraine. It is our responsibility in the General Assembly to keep the paths of dialogue open and contribute effectively to a lasting solution to this crisis. Brazil would have also voted in favour of draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3,

submitted by the South African delegation, and we are grateful to South Africa for its efforts to synthesize the most pressing issues of the humanitarian situation in Ukraine. The draft text focused appropriately on humanitarian aspects, thereby complementing the strong political message conveyed in resolution ES-11/1, adopted by the Assembly in its emergency special session on March 2 (see A/ES-11/PV.5).

Draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3 reaffirmed the international community's commitment to the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of all States, including Ukraine, within their international recognized borders. It called for an immediate cessation of hostilities, which is the most effective way to address the humanitarian situation in any armed conflict. It also demanded full respect on the part of all parties for international humanitarian law, in line with the spirit that guided the creation and development of the rules of war. It addressed issues regarding humanitarian assistance, which is urgently needed in Ukraine.

Brazil fully subscribes to the messages conveyed in South Africa's draft resolution. Some may argue that it competed with resolution ES-11/2, which the General Assembly just adopted. As I said previously, we would have indeed preferred to have had only one consensus text before us today, negotiated with the entire membership in a transparent and inclusive manner. However, both texts contain important humanitarian messages. They do not contradict each other, and Brazil sincerely regrets that the Assembly declined to take action on a draft resolution submitted by a Member State that took nothing away from resolution ES-11/2 and could have enabled a greater number of members to coalesce around the humanitarian needs in Ukraine.

**Mr. Mahmoud** (Egypt) (*spoke in Arabic*): Egypt would like to emphasize the following points regarding resolution ES-11/2, on the humanitarian situation in Ukraine, which was just adopted, and which we voted for, based on our firm belief in the rules of international humanitarian law on the protection of civilians in armed conflict.

First, all parties should be committed to refraining from politicizing international humanitarian action and any relevant resolutions. Egypt was uncomfortable with the rigidity displayed by some Member States in the negotiations on resolution ES-11/2 and the humanitarian

draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3, undermining the prospects for achieving the consensus we all desire.

Secondly, Egypt reiterates its rejection of the approach that has employed economic sanctions outside the framework of the mechanisms of the multilateral international order. Their serious consequences are resulting in suffering for civilians and damage to the global economy, which has not yet fully recovered from the repercussions of the coronavirus disease pandemic.

Thirdly, Egypt would like to note that the continuing conflict has already increased the costs of food and energy imports and is threatening international trade flows and the stability of global food markets. It is therefore urgent that we address the issue internationally in order to ensure that food-importing countries do not face unequal burdens.

While we emphasize the importance of ensuring that all the parties assume their responsibilities in this crisis, directing the flow of humanitarian assistance to all in need and enabling foreign residents of Ukraine to cross borders without discrimination and across all lines, we also stress that it is imperative to find a speedy political solution that can end the crisis as soon as possible, in a manner that addresses the concerns and interests of all the parties involved as well as the root causes of the crisis itself. That should be a top priority for the entire international community, especially the United Nations system.

**Mr. Bahr Aluloom** (Iraq) (*spoke in Arabic*): My country, Iraq, has suffered in wars over the past few decades. The Iraqi people know very well what it means to be in dire need of humanitarian aid in times of war and crisis. The United Nations and our partners and friends have provided us with the humanitarian support we needed to overcome the effects of those crises. Out of our sense of responsibility towards the Ukrainian people, we supported resolution ES-11/2, which aims to provide and enhance humanitarian assistance for those in need in Ukraine. Had we had the opportunity, we would also have supported draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3, submitted by South Africa.

**Mrs. Sulimani** (Sierra Leone): The delegation of Sierra Leone would like to add its voice to those of previous speakers to convey our deepest sympathy and sincere and heartfelt condolences through the United States Mission to the United Nations to the people and the Government of the United States for the death yesterday of former Secretary of State Madeleine

Albright, who was a good friend of Sierra Leone. I say so because in 1999, when war was raging in my country, Ms. Albright, then Secretary of State, visited Sierra Leone in support of peace and reconciliation and to speak with our leaders. That will never be forgotten, and we are eternally grateful to her. May her soul gently rest in perfect peace.

My delegation is taking the floor to explain Sierra Leone's vote on resolution ES-11/2, which we just adopted.

In our explanation of our vote on resolution ES-11/2 of 2 March (see A/ES-11/PV.5), we expressed our grave concern about the deplorable and serious situation that has unfolded in Ukraine, with regional and international ramifications for peace and security. We expressed our serious concern about the worsening refugee and humanitarian situation in and around Ukraine. Today we reiterate our call for equal treatment for all seeking safety and refuge and for taking meaningful action to ensure that all who are fleeing or are directly affected by the conflict to be treated equally, without discrimination, particularly with regard to race or immigration status.

Sierra Leone is gravely concerned about the dire humanitarian situation in Ukraine and therefore voted in favour of resolution ES-11/2. Our vote on resolution ES-11/1 of 2 March was based on our fundamental belief in the sanctity of the Charter of the United Nations and the purposes and principles of our Organization. We emphasized the need for consistent and good-faith application of the principles of the Charter and international law, while at the same time not absolving the United Nations for any action or inaction, particularly with regard to addressing questions of peace and security in Africa.

Similarly, we recognize as a matter of principle that humanitarian resolutions are meant to enable the delivery of humanitarian assistance, in accordance with the principles of humanity, neutrality and impartiality. In that regard, we were guided in our vote by the framework agreed by the General Assembly in resolution 46/182 of 1991. We gave appropriate consideration to the principle of respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of States, in accordance with the Charter, and the need for humanitarian assistance to be provided with the consent of the State concerned. We therefore voted this morning out of consideration for the accepted principles for the

delivery of humanitarian assistance. Let me conclude by calling once again for an immediate cessation of hostilities and urging for a continuation of the ceasefire talks, which would establish a path for the good-faith diplomatic efforts needed to resolve the conflict.

**Mr. Nasir** (Indonesia): Indonesia expresses its deep condolences to the people and the Government of the United States for the passing of former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. May her soul rest in peace.

We thank the delegations of Ukraine, France and Mexico, along with the core group, as well as the delegation of South Africa, for their initiatives. Indonesia voted in favour of resolution ES-11/2 because action is needed to address the dire humanitarian situation in Ukraine. However, we deeply regret that the General Assembly was not able to speak with a strong and united voice, which is currently urgent and vital to reflecting our commitment to saving lives. However, consensus has become increasingly difficult to reach and seems to be a luxury in the Assembly, even on matters as important as humanitarian issues. Indonesia deeply regrets that the world had to see today how divided we are in the United Nations on a matter of such great importance.

We were presented with two draft resolutions, A/ES-11/L.2 and A/ES-11/L.3, which addressed identical issues. This kind of situation is usually the result of an absence of political will, but that was not the case in this regard. Indeed, we saw strong political will on the part of all Member States with regard to addressing the humanitarian situation in and around Ukraine. What was at fault was a failure or unwillingness to have inclusive consultations and dialogue among ourselves. Indonesia believes that it is always imperative for all the parties to sit together to try to iron out differences and achieve a delicate balance. Considering the importance of the issue at stake, we were ready to vote for both draft resolutions, based on our belief that regardless of our differences, our ultimate objective must be to save people's lives. We regret that today events unfolded that prevented the proposals from being considered equally. We hope we can do better to uphold the democratic spirit of the Assembly going forward.

Every day we continue to witness the humanitarian situation worsening in and around Ukraine. Its impact is also now being felt by innocent civilians in many least-developed and developing countries as a result of the



rising prices of basic food commodities. We may have a larger-scale humanitarian crisis on our hands if that trend persists. We therefore reiterate our call to stop the war. It will be crucial to de-escalate the hostilities without delay, allow access for humanitarian assistance and facilitate safe passage for civilians fleeing Ukraine. But most importantly, we believe it is urgent that we push for a lasting peace. To that end, we need to focus on rebuilding trust rather than sowing discord, in order to enable a political settlement conducive to a positive outcome that could pave the way for ending this perilous war.

**Mr. Giorgio (Eritrea):** My delegation is taking the floor to deliver Eritrea's explanation of its vote on resolution ES-11/2. Regrettably, resolution ES-11/2 contains references to resolution ES-11/1, adopted on 2 March, which my delegation voted against (see A/ES-11/PV.5).

Eritrea is disappointed that the humanitarian issue is being politicized. We reject any politicization of humanitarian issues, as it undermines action geared to addressing the core humanitarian situation of the peoples and countries affected. Had resolution ES-11/2 focused solely on humanitarian priorities, it would have been possible to adopt it by consensus, resulting in a much stronger and more united voice on the humanitarian principles that matter most in the context of the agenda item we have been discussing for the past two days (see A/ES-11/PV.7 and A/ES-11/PV.8).

Eritrea appreciates South Africa's initiative and was prepared to support draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3, the text it submitted. In considering humanitarian assistance, it is important that the principles of humanity, neutrality, impartiality and independence be upheld and all humanitarian actions guided by full respect for those principles. Despite the geopolitical differences between the United States-led NATO countries and Russia, which are having grave humanitarian consequences for Ukraine, Eritrea would like to stress the importance of ensuring that all of the parties take concrete steps to respect their obligations under the international humanitarian principles in order to see that all civilians of all nationalities, including African nationals, are fully respected and protected.

It is important to make every effort possible to minimize the humanitarian consequences for the civilian population. The humanitarian situation unfolding in Ukraine demands agreement on a ceasefire

and the establishment of a humanitarian pause to ensure the safe, rapid, voluntary and unhindered evacuation of civilians. While the task of providing humanitarian assistance is ongoing, there should also be an earnest effort on the political track to end the conflict, and in that regard, Eritrea reiterates its call for the peaceful resolution of the conflict through dialogue and diplomacy.

Finally, on a more serious political note, the current campaign or drive to return to a unipolar world order by tightening the noose on Russia, as Eritrea's Ministry for Foreign Affairs has put it, is becoming an increasingly dangerous and risky military confrontation that runs counter to the fundamental pillars of robust multilateralism and the lofty aspirations of the majority of the world's peoples and nations. We must remain guided by the Charter of the United Nations, in full respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States, if we are to establish a peaceful world order. In this tumultuous period of great uncertainty, Eritrea wishes peace to Ukraine and Russia and to the rest of the region.

**Mr. Prongthura (Thailand):** Thailand joins others in expressing its deep condolences to the Government and the Permanent Mission of the United States for the sudden passing of former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. May her soul rest in eternal peace.

Thailand voted in favour of resolution ES-11/2 because of the overriding importance that we attach to the protection of civilians, including humanitarian personnel and people in vulnerable situations. Our support for the resolution also underlines our deep concern about the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Ukraine. We urge all the parties to fully comply with international humanitarian law and international human rights law, protect civilians and civilian objects and ensure the unhindered provision of humanitarian assistance without discrimination or politicization. In that regard, we commend Ukraine's neighbours and the other States that have quickly mobilized humanitarian assistance for those in need.

For its part, Thailand reaffirms its responsibility as part of the collective global efforts to alleviate the plight of the civilians affected. We have provided humanitarian assistance, including food, medical and other essential supplies, through the Red Cross Society of Ukraine. The only way to mitigate the humanitarian consequences of the crisis is by settling the dispute

peacefully. We continue to hope for progress in the bilateral dialogue between the parties concerned and for every effort to be made to achieve a peaceful settlement of the situation.

**Mr. Hmoud** (Jordan) (*spoke in Arabic*): Jordan voted in favour of resolution ES-11/2 based on our position on the importance of respecting the provisions of international law, international humanitarian law and the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We call on all the parties to the conflict to establish a ceasefire and engage in effective negotiations in order to restore peace and stability, alleviate the human suffering that has resulted from the crisis and enable refugees to return home.

Jordan also calls on the parties to the conflict to abide by their obligations under international humanitarian law in times of armed conflict, which include refraining from targeting civilians and civil installations and adhering to the principle of precaution, which protects civilians from the scourge of war. They should also protect civilians and humanitarian workers, permit humanitarian access without hindrance or preconditions and provide safe corridors for civilians to exit cities and conflict zones.

Jordan supports the diplomatic efforts under way and the role of the United Nations in reaching a political, peaceful and sustainable solution to the conflict in a manner that protects the legitimate interests of all the parties and preserves Ukraine's sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity.

Although Jordan voted in favour of resolution ES-11/2, we emphasize the importance of examining all allegations of violations of international humanitarian law, because establishing the responsibility for all such violations cannot be predetermined but is rather the result of effective documentation of violations of the rules pertaining to the law of armed conflict.

**Mr. Takht Ravanchi** (Islamic Republic of Iran): My delegation abstained in the voting on resolution ES-11/2. We reiterate our position on the current conflict as we explained it during the meeting of the emergency special session held on 2 March (see A/ES-11/PV.5).

The Islamic Republic of Iran is deeply concerned about the deteriorating humanitarian situation in and around Ukraine. We reiterate our principled position regarding the need for disputes to be settled by peaceful means, in accordance with international law, and

underline the need for all parties to fully respect the well-established provisions 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 and civilian infrastructure guaranteed. Iran reiterates its call for an urgent cessation of hostilities and the de-escalation of tensions in the current conflict and encourages all the parties to pursue their concerns through dialogue. We support the ongoing negotiations between the parties and reiterate our urgent call for a peaceful resolution of the conflict in accordance with international law.

We believe that the resolution just adopted by the General Assembly contains certain elements that go beyond the scope of the humanitarian situation on the ground and lacks realistic mechanisms for dealing with the humanitarian aspects of the conflict. The Islamic Republic of Iran emphasizes that the humanitarian nature of assistance must always be upheld and that the provision of such assistance should be guided solely by the principles of humanity, neutrality and impartiality. We urge all the parties to cooperate in advancing the humanitarian response to the situation. In that regard, we emphasize the importance of ensuring the provision and effective delivery of humanitarian assistance to the people in need, including refugees. We call for the immediate facilitation of the safe, voluntary and dignified transfer of all civilian refugees and internally displaced persons from the areas affected by the conflict.

Humanitarian issues have a prominent place in Iran's foreign policy. We once again express our readiness to cooperate in coordinating and facilitating the provision of humanitarian assistance to those in need in the current conflict. In that context, we commend the continued efforts of the Secretary-General and United Nations agencies to deliver humanitarian aid and assistance and protection for refugees.

Finally, my delegation regrets that Member States were not given a chance to vote on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3, which focuses on humanitarian issues, something that is urgently needed right now. Had it been put to a vote, we would have voted in favour of it.

**Ms. Mudallali** (Lebanon): Allow me to convey my delegation's deepest condolences on the passing of former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. She was

a great leader, a trailblazer and, most importantly, a role model for so many women in diplomacy and foreign policy, including me. I knew her personally as a great champion of freedom and democracy around the world, including in Lebanon.

We have just adopted resolution ES-11/2, on the humanitarian situation in Ukraine, and Lebanon voted in favour of it. We would have liked to see a resolution on this important matter adopted by consensus and the General Assembly united behind it. What do we do now? Where do we go from here? Is resolution ES-11/2 going to be implemented? Is it more important to score successes in voting than to make real progress on the ground by helping the traumatized women and children who are looking to us to stop this war? How much safer are the civilians in Ukraine because of the adoption of this resolution today? How much closer are we to a solution and to peace today?

We are failing in our duty to stop the scourge of war. We are failing the civilians in Ukraine. We are failing the world, which is now standing on the brink of a food crisis and prospects of hunger and famine. This war is reverberating across the world, especially in the least-developed and vulnerable countries that have not yet recovered from the pandemic and the financial crisis. It is high time for an immediate cessation of hostilities. It is high time to alleviate the humanitarian plight of civilians, especially children and women, which continues to worsen by the day. It is high time to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems, as enshrined in paragraph 3 of Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations.

In that regard, we reiterate our call for a peaceful solution to this conflict through diplomacy, dialogue and negotiations. I want to echo what my sister Mathu Joyini, the Ambassador of South Africa, said in her statement today. War has no heroes. Real heroes are those who work for peace. The failure to stop a war in Europe 76 years ago resulted in somewhere between 70 million and 85 million deaths in the Second World War. We have to do everything in our capacity to stop this war and make sure that it does not devolve into a wider conflict. We in Lebanon know very well the price of war and the consequences of inaction on lives and livelihoods — not in one country alone, but around the world. I call on all my colleagues here to act as heroes for peace and today, after we leave this Hall, to embark on a new path towards a consensus resolution that unites us around peace. Today the Assembly clapped

when resolution ES-11/2 was adopted. I think the real celebration and triumph will come when we vote to stop this war and end the misery of the Ukrainian people.

**Mr. Tlalajoe** (Lesotho): Lesotho voted in favour of resolution ES-11/2, motivated by our deep desire for humanitarian action to be taken immediately, primarily for Ukrainians and people of other nationalities suffering as a result of the situation in that country. The fundamental focus of Lesotho's vote was therefore on humanitarian action rather than the causes of the conflict or any other factors that could escalate, fuel or lead to further suffering. We do hope that after the adoption of this resolution the focus will be on humanity and action. As in our previous vote, in favour of resolution ES-11/1 on 2 March (see A/ES-11/PV.5), Lesotho's position today was based on its respect for the Charter of the United Nations, humanitarian law and the territorial integrity of nations. We pray that we will see a cessation of hostilities, a resolution of the conflict by peaceful means and the restoration of peace in the region.

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

**Mr. De Rivière** (France) (*spoke in French*): We have just adopted resolution ES-11/2, on the humanitarian situation in Ukraine. It is a balanced text that accurately reflects the disastrous situation on the ground. It reiterates the urgency of putting an end to the humanitarian disaster and respecting international humanitarian law. It calls on Russia to stop its aggression immediately. The text of the resolution, which is the outcome of broad consultations with Ukraine and Member States from all regions, was sponsored by 80 countries and adopted by an overwhelming majority of Member States. It sends a very strong message from the Assembly, and it is what Ukraine and Ukrainians need. That is also why the European Union and its member States supported Ukraine's procedural motion. It is now more important than ever for us to stand united behind the universal principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international humanitarian law.

**Mr. Hermann** (Denmark): I am delivering my statement on behalf of the Nordic-Baltic countries: Estonia, Finland, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Sweden and, of course, my own country, Denmark.

Today we voted not to take action on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3, entitled "Humanitarian

situation emanating out of the conflict in Ukraine”, submitted by South Africa. Let me be clear. In general, South Africa’s draft resolution included messages and principles that we support, as steadfast defenders of the humanitarian principles and international humanitarian law. Nevertheless, the decision to vote not to take action on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.3 was not difficult, for reasons that have already been stated today but that bear repeating.

First, our problem with the text was less about what was in it and more about what was not in it. It mentioned only Ukraine. Yet Russia alone bears the responsibility for the humanitarian catastrophe we are discussing today, and Russia alone can end it. That responsibility is clear, and the message that we send from the General Assembly must be just as clear.

Secondly, our problem with the text was not who was behind it, but who was not behind it. As Member States of the United Nations, we have a strong tradition of engaging on humanitarian crises together with the country concerned, and those who sponsored South Africa’s draft resolution are among the strongest defenders of that principle. It was therefore particularly regrettable that the text was drafted without the engagement of Ukraine, and even more so that it was submitted in competition with resolution ES-11/2, the humanitarian resolution put forward by a cross-regional group of countries, together with Ukraine, and adopted by an overwhelming majority of the General Assembly.

It does not take much imagination for any of us to put ourselves in the place of our Ukrainian colleagues. A country has been invaded and its people are living through a humanitarian disaster. How would any of us here expect the United Nations to act? Would we expect and insist on being consulted? If the answer is yes, our conclusion can only be that nothing should be done about Ukraine without Ukraine. And as Nordic-Baltic countries, we are grateful that this, too, was the message from the General Assembly today.

**Mrs. Furman** (Israel): Israel ascribes great importance to enabling the provision of unhindered humanitarian assistance. We are of the view that the utmost effort should be taken to prevent civilian casualties, especially among vulnerable populations, including women, children, persons with disabilities and the elderly. It is for those reasons that Israel voted in favour of resolution ES-11/2, which should be read

as applicable in accordance with the obligations of all parties under international law.

Israel remains gravely concerned about the growing humanitarian crisis in Ukraine and is doing all it can to provide aid to those in need. We have normative, historical and ethical obligations to be part of the humanitarian efforts. In that regard, Israel has already provided more than 100 tons of humanitarian assistance to the people of Ukraine, including medical supplies, generators, water purification systems, emergency water supply kits and winter gear. Just yesterday, Israel inaugurated a Shining Star field hospital in western Ukraine. As the head of the Israeli delegation noted at the hospital’s inauguration ceremony, Israel hopes to light the path of refugees in need of medical care. We will extend a helping hand to them, as has always been Israel’s custom in such crises. Israel reiterates its call for de-escalation and dialogue. In view of our positive relations with both parties, we are assisting in the mediation efforts to stop this tragic war. We hope and pray for a peaceful resolution of the crisis rather than more needless suffering and bloodshed.

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

**Archbishop Caccia** (Holy See): The Holy See welcomes the adoption of resolution ES-11/2, entitled “Humanitarian consequences of the aggression against Ukraine”, at this eleventh emergency special session of the General Assembly.

My delegation is pleased to see the great clarity with which resolution ES-11/2 deplors the dire humanitarian consequences of the conflict; expresses grave concern about the deteriorating humanitarian situation in and around Ukraine; reaffirms the need to protect the safety, dignity, human rights and fundamental freedoms of people fleeing the conflict and violence, without any kind of discrimination; strongly condemns any attacks on civilians and civilian objects; and stresses the particular impact that armed conflict has on women and children, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, as well as other civilians who have specific needs, including persons with disabilities and older persons. Furthermore, my delegation welcomes the fact that the resolution recognizes the manifold consequences of the conflict, including increased food insecurity globally, as well as the potential impact of a possible accident resulting from the bombing and shelling of Ukrainian nuclear infrastructure.



Addressing the pilgrims in Saint Peter's Square yesterday morning, Pope Francis spoke in remembrance of the many victims of the conflict, recalling that there is no victory in war. Rather, everything is lost in war, and war is nothing other than a self-destructive defeat for humankind. In the face of the death and suffering caused by the conflict, the Holy See reiterates its call for an immediate ceasefire, the establishment of and respect for humanitarian corridors and the advancement of a real and decisive focus on negotiations towards, in the words of the adopted text, "the immediate peaceful resolution of the conflict". The Holy See expresses its gratitude once more to all, from States to individuals,

who have opened their homes and hearts to those fleeing the conflict, who are providing food, clothing and medicines to those in need and who are labouring to put an end to this conflict.

**The Acting President:** We have heard the last speaker in the debate on this item. In accordance with the terms of paragraph 14 of resolution ES-11/2, which the General Assembly has just adopted, the eleventh emergency special session of the General Assembly is temporarily adjourned.

*The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.*