



Security Council

Seventy-ninth year

Provisional

9796th meeting

Wednesday, 27 November 2024, 10 a.m.

New York

<i>President:</i>	Dame Barbara Woodward	(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
<i>Members:</i>	Algeria	Mr. Koudri
	China	Mr. Geng Shuang
	Ecuador	Mr. Montalvo Sosa
	France	Mr. De Rivière
	Guyana	Ms. Benn
	Japan	Mr. Yamazaki
	Malta	Ms. Gatt
	Mozambique	Mr. Kumanga
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Hwang
	Russian Federation	Mr. Polyanskiy/Ms. Sokolova
	Sierra Leone	Mr. George
	Slovenia	Mrs. Blokar Drobič
	Switzerland	Mr. Hauri
	United States of America	Mr. Wood

Agenda

Maintenance of peace and security of Ukraine

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The meeting was called to order at 10.05 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Maintenance of peace and security of Ukraine

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

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Miroslav Jenča, Assistant Secretary-General for Europe, Central Asia and the Americas, Departments of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs and Peace Operations, to participate in this meeting.

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

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

I give the floor to Mr. Jenča.

Mr. Jenča: Only last week, Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo, on behalf of the Secretary-General, recounted the horrific toll that the 1,000 days of Russia's full-scale invasion have brought to the people of Ukraine (see S/PV.9788), an invasion that was launched in gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations and international law. Yet in recent days we have seen alarming signs of further escalation in this already explosive war. The latest developments follow the disturbing reports of troops from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea being deployed to the conflict zone.

On 21 November, the Ukrainian city of Dnipro was hit by a Russian intermediate-range ballistic missile. The location hit was reportedly an industrial area south-west of Dnipro city. According to the Ukrainian authorities, the missile was equipped with six warheads, each with six sub-munitions, and took only 15 minutes to arrive from the launch site in the Astrakhan region of the Russian Federation, some 1,000 kilometres away from Dnipro city. Hours after the strike, the President

of the Russian Federation confirmed that Russia had tested a new conventional intermediate-range missile called "Oreshnik". He said that the strike was launched in response to the use of Western-supplied long-range missiles by the Armed Forces of Ukraine against the territory of the Russian Federation. He further stated that Russia would continue testing the new missile in combat. Yesterday Russian authorities signalled the likelihood of further such strikes, following additional reported Ukrainian strikes on Russian military targets using the long-range missiles mentioned. The United Nations does not have additional details on those incidents, including on the type of weapons used. However, the use of ballistic missiles and related threats are a very dangerous escalatory development.

Under international humanitarian law, parties are required to

"take all feasible precautions in the choice of means and methods of attack with a view to avoiding, and in any event to minimizing, incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians and damage to civilian objects".

We condemn all attacks on civilian targets and critical infrastructure, irrespective of the weapon system used. We urge all parties to take immediate steps to de-escalate and to refrain from any action or rhetoric that could further intensify this war, bring more suffering to the civilian population and gravely endanger regional and international peace and security.

Amid those concerning reports, systematic Russian aerial strikes have continued to wreak havoc across Ukraine. Just yesterday, Russia reportedly launched 188 drones against 17 regions of Ukraine. That was reportedly the record number of drones deployed in a single attack. Since February 2022, at least 12,162 civilians have been killed and 26,919 injured in Ukraine, according to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. In addition to civilian casualties, relentless attacks hitting residential areas continue to cause severe damage to civilian infrastructure, further deteriorating the living conditions for millions of Ukrainians.

The cost of this war is already too high for the people of Ukraine and for the world, and it is growing by the day. We must reverse the dangerous cycle of escalation. That requires genuine political will and inclusive diplomatic efforts towards a just, lasting and comprehensive peace, in line with the United Nations

Charter, international law and General Assembly resolutions. We stand ready to use our good offices and to make available all our tools and experience to that end.

The President: I thank Mr. Jenča for his briefing.

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

Mr. Wood (United States of America): I thank Assistant Secretary-General Jenča for his briefing.

When Russia launched its unprovoked full-scale invasion of Ukraine, the Kremlin expected a quick and decisive victory. But the Kremlin underestimated the people of Ukraine and their determination, strength and courage. Despite all the suffering and substantial risk to global peace and security, at the cost of tens of thousands of Ukrainian and Russian lives, and against the protests of the international community and of the Council, Putin has escalated and expanded his war of choice.

Just days ago, Russia launched an experimental ballistic missile at Ukraine. The weapon was a new intermediate-range ballistic missile, which was based on Russia's RS-26 Rubezh intercontinental ballistic missile. Ukraine withstood the strike, as it has withstood countless attacks from Russia.

Russia began escalating and expanding the war some time ago, when it turned to other countries to supply its dwindling stocks of ammunition, missiles and drones, violating the Council's resolutions by importing North Korean and Iranian missiles. Suffering more than 1,000 Russian casualties per day, Russia introduced to the battlefield over 10,000 troops from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In the past year, at Russia's request, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has also unlawfully transferred over 18,000 containers of munitions and munitions-related materiel and more than 100 ballistic missiles for use against Ukraine — all of which have been used to strike populated areas, such as Kyiv and Zaporizhzhya.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is preparing to transfer even more ballistic missiles. We also have information that a large number of 170-millimetre long-range self-propelled artillery pieces of Democratic People's Republic of Korea origin and 240-millimetre long-range multiple rocket launchers are being introduced into the conflict.

None of that is without cost. We have information that Russia transferred air defence systems to North Korea. Pyongyang is receiving other substantial benefits, such as free and subsidized fuel, relieving pressure that constricted the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for decades. Russia is also selling the Democratic People's Republic of Korea dual-use technology and equipment so that the Kim regime can improve the country's military manufacturing and capabilities.

On this, we note that China has influence and capacity when it comes to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and it is urgent that it use that influence to prevent a further escalation of the conflict.

With respect to Russia, time and again, the Kremlin has chosen to ignore its responsibilities as a permanent member of the Security Council, reneging on its commitments and indifferent to how its actions have undermined international peace and security. In March, Russia vetoed the renewal of the mandate of the Panel of Experts of the Sanctions Committee established pursuant to resolution 1718 (2006), to conceal its violations of the Council's arms embargo (see S/PV.9591). The veto was also a gift to Pyongyang, which has long sought to evade sanctions against it.

The Kremlin has continuously shown disdain for the resolutions of the Council. Russia's training of Democratic People's Republic of Korea soldiers, involving arms or related materiel, as well as its procurement of ballistic missiles from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, violate resolutions 1718 (2006), 1874 (2009) and 2270 (2016), which all Member States are required to faithfully implement.

As Russia expands and escalates the conflict, the Kremlin blames others for perpetuating the war and spreads false narratives. The Kremlin equates its drone and missile strikes with those of Ukraine, ignoring a fundamental difference: Ukraine has every right to defend itself against invasion under Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. Russia has no right to assault the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States Members of the United Nations. Equating Ukraine's struggle for survival with Russia's expansionism undermines everything that the Council and the Charter are designed to protect. Make no mistake: Russia continues to barrage the Security Council with disinformation, in the hope that the truth gets lost and the world tunes out. We cannot fall victim

to Russia's cynical tactics and must remain focused on its violations of international law.

We must stand by Ukraine, a fellow United Nations Member state, as it defends itself from Russia's aggression. Therefore, to help Ukraine protect itself from Russia's escalating and expanding war, the United States is providing Ukraine with hundreds of additional Patriot and advanced medium-range air-to-air missiles to strengthen its air defences. The United States will continue to surge security assistance to Ukraine to strengthen its capabilities, including air defence, and put Ukraine in the best possible position on the battlefield.

The United States stands with the community of nations in support of Ukraine and the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity. Our future is at stake. Russia's war threatens our NATO allies, European security and the fundamental rights enshrined in the United Nations Charter. We renew the call for Russia to end this war and immediately withdraw its forces from Ukrainian territory within its internationally recognized borders and to meet its responsibilities as a member of the Council. The United States will continue to make that a priority during our presidency in December, particularly the involvement of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the war.

Mrs. Blokar Drobič (Slovenia): I would like to begin by thanking Assistant Secretary-General Jenča for his briefing.

We find ourselves at a peculiar moment in time, when the integrity of European and global security hangs by a thread. The war on Ukraine has been dangerously escalating in the past couple of months. Some of the latest chapters feel like they came from a work of fiction. Unfortunately, they do not.

I am referring particularly to the reports of the deployment of Democratic People's Republic of Korea troops to Europe. Such a development is unprecedented and is impacting regional security in multiple parts of the globe. At the same time, that deployment infringes upon multiple Security Council resolutions and needs to be addressed further.

What is more, heating up irresponsible nuclear rhetoric, including the field testing of a nuclear-capable ballistic missile, is a cause for concern. It is a chilling reminder of something that for many decades the international community worked very hard to avoid.

This war is spreading, intensifying and taking ever-more lives. Just two nights ago, Russia launched a record 188 drones into Ukraine. Ten days ago, it launched the largest combined air strike in months. The aerial attacks are becoming larger, with more firepower and with modernized weapons. All of that is destroying critical civilian infrastructure and the natural environment in swathes. It comes on top of threats to the physical integrity of civilian nuclear facilities, which is of grave concern to my country.

Those developments are evidently dangerous. With every passing day, the risk of escalation and spillover increases. We need peace in Ukraine — a peace that is acceptable to Ukraine, that respects international law and that is based on the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. Geng Shuang (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank Assistant Secretary-General Jenča for his briefing.

Tomorrow will be Thanksgiving here in the United States. On the eve of that holiday, we are gathered here today to consider the Ukraine issue again, as we witness once more the expansion of the fighting, the spread of the conflagration of war and the cruelty of war. At this moment, I cannot help but wonder whether those caught up in the war can be reunited with their families. Is there anyone they can be thankful for? Can they have a happy and peaceful tomorrow?

Sadly, the Ukraine crisis has been dragging on, and the recent fighting on the ground has become ever-more intense. The number of weapons on the battlefield is still increasing, and the variety is expanding. Long-range weapons and cluster munitions have been used, causing serious damage to infrastructure and heavy casualties. Recently, there have even been reports that anti-personnel landmines will be used in combat. We are deeply concerned and worried about the intensified fighting. We once again call on both parties to the conflict to remain calm and exercise restraint, give up their obsession with winning by force, abandon the myth of a complete military victory, prioritize peace and the people's interest and start peace talks at an early date to realize a ceasefire.

Meanwhile, the Ukraine crisis has now reached a critical moment. Recently, the international community has seen increasingly stronger calls for peace, and discussions on ending the war have increased significantly. Some ideas and proposals, along with the parties' reactions, have been reported in the media. We

call on the international community to make greater efforts to consolidate consensus, jointly scale up peace efforts and create synergy in promoting peace talks.

China's position on the Ukraine issue — namely, promoting peace talks and a political settlement — is consistent. Since the outbreak of the crisis, China has stated that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries must be respected, that the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations must be observed, that the legitimate security concerns of all countries must be taken seriously and that all efforts conducive to the peaceful settlement of the crisis must be supported. We have maintained engagement and exchanges with Russia, Ukraine and all other relevant parties, actively conducted shuttle diplomacy through our special representative and remained committed to promoting peace talks. Together with Brazil, Algeria and other countries of the global South, we established the Group of Friends for Peace on the Ukraine crisis and called for upholding the three principles of no expansion of the battlefield, no escalation of fighting and no provocation by any party, while bringing together the voices from the global South advocating peace, thereby contributing our collective wisdom and strength to the early de-escalation of the situation and the political settlement of the crisis.

In that context, China is ready to work with all parties concerned, including the global South, to continue to make unremitting efforts to promote the dawning of peace and the political settlement of the Ukraine crisis at an early date.

Just now, the representative of the United States mentioned China in his statement. I would like to respond briefly. Promoting an early political settlement of the Ukraine crisis requires the joint efforts of the international community. Since the outbreak of the crisis, China has always made every effort to promote peace and peace talks. We call on all parties, especially the United States, to work with China to make genuine efforts to end the war.

Ms. Benn (Guyana): We commend the United Kingdom for the swiftness with which it responded to the request from Ukraine to discuss recent escalations in the ongoing conflict between Ukraine and the Russian Federation. We welcome the Council's determination to keep this matter at the top of its agenda and hope that our deliberations today will encourage more deliberate

steps towards the de-escalation and peaceful resolution of the conflict.

I thank Assistant Secretary-General Jenča for the important updates provided.

Guyana finds the reports of escalations in the conflict deeply troubling. We are among the majority of States Members of the United Nations that continue to call for an immediate end to the unrelenting violence and violations of international law seen in this conflict. It is innocent civilians who continue to bear the brunt of this conflict.

Just yesterday, at the initiative of the President, the Council met to discuss the protection of civilians in armed conflict and the need for more concrete efforts to protect humanitarian workers (see S/PV.9795). We heard from every member of the Security Council about the need to prevent and respond to such attacks. We believe that it is self-evident that the first step in that regard is to work together to end the hostilities, not only in Ukraine but in other parts of the world as well. In that respect, Guyana wishes to reiterate its call for a peaceful resolution to the ongoing conflict. As we consider the options that would take us to such an end state, we demand that the parties comply with their obligations under international law and prioritize the protection of civilians and civilian objects, taking all necessary precautions to protect them from harm.

Every life matters. UNICEF has reported that an average of at least 16 children are killed or injured in Ukraine every week. The total number of civilian casualties currently stands at upwards of 30,000. That figure includes the civilians who have been killed or injured since February 2022, the vast majority by bombings in urban areas. Thousands more continue to endure relentless hostilities, prolonged displacement and severe shortages of essential resources including safe water, electricity and other necessities. The situation gets worse each time there is an escalation in the conflict.

It is for that reason that Guyana continues to call for a serious political and diplomatic process to pave the path to peace. We commend the efforts of those who have committed to finding pathways to peacefully end the war and stress the need for that to be a collective endeavour. We insist that the Council uphold the responsibility entrusted to it and take action to protect civilians and change the dangerous trajectory that this conflict is taking. We also remain firm in our view that

respect for the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and international law must be upheld, and we therefore call on the Russian Federation to withdraw its military forces from the internationally recognized territory of Ukraine.

In conclusion, Guyana stands ready to contribute to any effort that will lead to a lasting and sustainable peace in Ukraine.

Ms. Gatt (Malta): I thank Assistant Secretary-General Miroslav Jenča for his sobering briefing.

Today, we convene to deliberate on another serious escalation. Just yesterday, the Russian Federation launched more than 100 drones and missiles aimed at more than 10 Ukrainian regions, including the cities of Kyiv, Odesa, Kharkiv and Zaporizhzhya. While it seems that most of those attacks were intercepted, they still led to a considerable number of injuries and physical damage. Such actions are coupled with the worrisome deployment of a new ballistic missile, which was launched at Ukraine last week, further causing significant damage. That is yet another escalatory tactic with the potential to unleash more havoc on the people of Ukraine. It is deeply troubling that Ukraine might potentially be used for the testing of new weapons by the Russian Federation.

Neither can we forget about the systematic targeting of Ukrainian civilian infrastructure, in particular energy infrastructure. This month alone, the Russian Federation launched another massive missile and drone attack on Ukraine's energy infrastructure, with the sole intention of damaging Ukraine's energy capacity just before the upcoming winter months. Malta condemns all attacks on civilian targets and critical infrastructure. The Council must reiterate in no uncertain terms its call on all parties to fully uphold international humanitarian law and the principles of distinction and proportionality. Malta also continues to call for full and unfettered safe access for all humanitarian workers currently operating on the ground in Ukraine.

Malta again reiterates its deep concern with regard to the transfer of weapons and ammunition from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Iran to the Russian Federation and the deployment of troops from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the front lines in Ukraine. The presence of foreign troops on the front lines in Ukraine broadens the scope of the war and increases the scope for escalation and directly endangers European and global peace and security.

We call on all States to stop supporting and enabling Russia's illegal war of aggression.

We stress the need for full accountability for all crimes committed by Russia in Ukraine and reaffirm our support for the ongoing work of the International Criminal Court, the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on Ukraine and the Register of Damage. We also further reiterate our support for the establishment of a special tribunal for the prosecution of the crime of aggression against Ukraine. Together, we need to focus on achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in Ukraine, in line with the Charter of the United Nations. We will support all efforts aimed at achieving such goals. Malta can never accept a world in which might is right.

In conclusion, let me reiterate that Ukraine has a right to defend itself under Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. We once again call on the Russian Federation to immediately end the war it started and to withdraw all its troops and military equipment from the entire territory of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders.

Mr. Kumanga (Mozambique): We thank the Assistant Secretary-General for his briefing. We acknowledge the presence of the Permanent Representative of Ukraine in the Chamber.

The Security Council has considered this issue extensively, including during the presidency's recent signature event (see S/PV.9788). Yet, despite affording it that attention, we remain missing in action. What is urgently needed now is bold action rooted in constructive approaches that foster confidence-building, anchor a ceasefire and pave the way for a durable settlement. Regrettably, as the communication prompting this meeting illustrates, the trajectory remains one of escalation, inflammatory rhetoric and a misguided strategy of "escalating to de-escalate". Such a calculation is dangerous, with consequences that will extend far beyond the battlefield.

We reiterate our call on the warring parties to adhere to international humanitarian law, which categorically prohibits attacks on civilians and civilian infrastructure. Those are binding norms, not optional principles. With winter setting in, the targeting of energy grids and essential services in Ukraine poses an egregious threat, risking millions of lives through exposure, hunger and deprivation.

The clear and present risk of nuclear escalation further serves to underscore the urgency of action. The fallout — literal and figurative — of such a catastrophic event would transcend borders, making survival itself a futile endeavour. As the Secretary-General has repeatedly warned, there is no military solution to this war; diplomacy must prevail. At this precarious moment, the value of the time-honoured wisdom that one cannot shake hands with a clenched fist becomes self-evident. A return to the negotiating table is not just advisable — it is an imperative.

We therefore call on all parties to halt escalation, reject the mindset of mutual destruction and commit to measures that build trust, reduce hostilities and protect civilians. History will judge us not by the strength of our weapons but by our courage to choose peace over war. Let us act before it is too late.

Mr. Polyanskiy (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): The request for today's meeting by the Kyiv regime, with the support of its Western masters, shows that the Ukrainian President, whose term has expired, has not given up tilting at North Korean windmills for the time being, but is prioritizing those efforts in his strategy of prompting NATO countries to raise the stakes in the conflict with Russia.

We see no point in commenting on the absurd new accusations, which, like the previous ones, are based on speculation and phobias. Everything about that nonsensical subject was already said at the previous meeting on 30 October (see S/PV.9767).

Let us therefore focus today on the real aims behind the propaganda and smear campaign mounted by the Kyiv authorities. We have already spoken about them on numerous occasions, and everything that we predicted came to pass: Zelenskyy's bankrupt regime needs to drag NATO countries into a direct confrontation with Russia on the battlefield at any cost. If not, an inevitable humiliating defeat awaits — a definite prospect after the failure of the Ukrainian leader's Kursk adventure and the blatant collapse of the front in Donbas, as all military experts have noted. Even Western media outlets have acknowledged that, last week alone, Russian troops liberated 235 square kilometres of territory, advancing at a record pace for all of 2024. The most robust defences built by Kyiv since 2014 are crumbling before our eyes. Sheer panic is gripping Ukrainian ranks; forcibly mobilized soldiers are abandoning their positions in droves and it is becoming increasingly

difficult for the actor Zelenskyy, who has usurped power in violation of the country's Constitution, to lie to his people. Those Ukrainian citizens who have the opportunity to do so are fleeing abroad to escape his rule; others are holing up at home to avoid the military patrols that are sending all men, irrespective of age or health, to their slaughter.

Another disastrous trend for the Kyiv authorities is the return en masse to former Ukrainian territories, now under Russian control, by those inhabitants who had lived there until 2022 but had been taken in by the propaganda and had decided at that time to evacuate to the west of the country. The Ukrainian authorities themselves recently said that returnees number at least 150,000, 50,000 of them having returned to Mariupol, which is now undergoing reconstruction. In essence, the population of that city has almost returned to what it was in early 2022. That represents devastating news for Zelenskyy and his clique, but even more devastating are the reasons that people are moving to Russia, prime among which are hostility from their Ukrainian-speaking compatriots, discrimination based on language and faith, the authorities' failure to deliver on their promises of social and economic support, widespread corruption and a reluctance to fight for an inhumane regime mired in it. In other words, Ukrainians are leaving because they cannot withstand all the delights of the Ukrainian-style democracy, which the backers of the Kyiv regime extol in their propaganda speeches. What kind of Government can stomach such humiliation?

And then there is the prospect of cooperation with the new American Administration. In doing his best to ignore the likelihood that it would come to power, Zelenskyy at times overstepped the bounds of diplomatic propriety. Even setting aside predictions that Donald Trump will cut aid to Ukraine, which would essentially be a death sentence for the Ukrainian armed forces, it is becoming increasingly clear that he and his team will audit the aid already provided to Kyiv. And that prospect is the most frightening scenario for the main Kyiv corruptor and his associates. After all, they have stolen so much during these almost three years that even many Western experts' hair stands on end.

For example, there were articles in the British press last week about the unbelievable plundering by Ukrainian officials directly linked to Ukraine's presidential office in connection with the alleged restoration of Ukrainian energy infrastructure. They cite anonymous testimonies

from a number of such mega-corrupt officials, who hope that Russian strikes on those facilities will continue and everything will be blamed on the war. Ukrainian servicemen are constantly complaining about extortion and corruption in the army, and it is becoming ever-more difficult for the authorities to shut them up. It turns out, in particular, that many defence facilities, which on paper have received millions of dollars, do not actually exist. Poland's former Minister of Labour, Piotr Kulpa, acknowledged in an interview the other day that from 30 to 50 per cent of Western funds have been consistently plundered in Ukraine, from the very beginning. Out of the stolen money — he says — it would be possible to put together an annual support budget for Ukraine. Obviously, that is only the tip of the iceberg. Can Council members imagine the scale of the plunder? And it is authorized and covered up at the very top.

It is not surprising that the Ukrainian authorities go out of their way to derail any audit of the allocated funds. The single-best way to do so is to provoke an unprecedented escalation, making all other things seem trifling in comparison. The outgoing United States Administration is also actively egging Kyiv on — it seems that in the remaining time the former will do its utmost to make a mess for both Russia and the new team in the White House. That is not surprising — it takes two to tango in international corruption, so the officials in the Biden team probably have just as much reason to fear a financial audit as their Kyiv accomplices. That is why we are hearing now all this fearmongering about North Korean troops, just as previously we heard stories about Iranian missiles. I wonder what Kyiv and its Western associates will come up with next. Whether it is Martians or little green aliens, it does not really matter — there is no need to prove anything, accusations will suffice.

Perhaps these manoeuvres by corrupt Ukrainian officials and their Western accomplices would have gone unnoticed if, in an attempt to cover their tracks, they had not gambled with global peace and brought every one of us — regardless of what country we live in — closer to the brink of an all-destructive global conflict. That is exactly what happened after the Biden Administration, and right after some of its European satellites, authorized the Ukrainian army to use long-range missiles for attacks inside Russia. And Zelenskyy, of course, did not delay — we have already witnessed two waves of such strikes. On 19 November, six United

States-made army tactical missile systems (ATACMS) weapons were launched and, on 21 November, there was a combined missile attack with British-made Storm Shadow and United States-made high-mobility artillery rocket systems. The attacks targeted military facilities in the Bryansk and Kursk regions. They did not reach their targets, thanks to our accurate air defence systems, but from that moment on, as we have repeatedly emphasized, the regional confrontation in Ukraine provoked by the West has taken on features of a global conflict.

In response to the use of American and United Kingdom-made long-range weapons, on 21 November, the Russian armed forces delivered a combined strike on a Ukrainian military facility. In that operation, for the first time, Russia used one of its most advanced medium-range missile systems — deploying a non-nuclear hypersonic ballistic missile. The Western specialists assisting Ukraine were able to see the effectiveness of the weapon, which is unmatched worldwide, with their own eyes.

However, the Zelenskyy regime does not seem to have heeded our warning and has decided to test our resolve once again. Yesterday, 25 November, the Russian Ministry of Defence reported that, over the past three days, the Ukrainian army launched two strikes with long-range Western missiles against facilities in the Kursk region. A total of 12 ATACMS missiles were used, and most of them were shot down. However, there were casualties and minor damage on the ground.

What else can we say? Just wait. Every wave of escalation on the part of Western countries will meet decisive and kind-for-kind retaliation. I will be blunt — we believe that we have every right to use our weapons against the military facilities of those countries that allow their weapons to be used against our facilities. We also ask those countries to bear in mind that today there are no countermeasures, anywhere in the world, against our most advanced hypersonic weaponry — American missile defence systems in Europe cannot intercept them. We warned them about this, but their choice has been made. We have repeatedly said that we are ready to negotiate. We have put forward concrete proposals. The last time was back in June, but the Kyiv ringleader and the West have time and again chosen escalation. That was their deliberate decision, even though it is absolutely reckless.

In our view, it is that intentional escalation on the part of the United States and its allies that we should be discussing today in this Chamber, because the global conflict that they risk provoking— given the modern weaponry involved — will not spare anyone. Of course, the representative of the Kyiv regime will say nothing about this, as Ukrainian diplomacy today has the sole purpose of saving the skin of Zelenskyy and his clique, even if it means plunging the whole world into the abyss of war. We urge all Council members to think about that and to not make mistakes when choosing their priorities and approaches.

Mr. Hauri (Switzerland) (*spoke in French*): I would like to thank Assistant Secretary-General Miroslav Jenča for his briefing.

We condemn the recent Russian attacks on various regions in Ukraine. We are alarmed by the numerous civilian casualties, including children, and the considerable damage inflicted on civilian infrastructure, particularly in Kharkiv, Odesa and Zaporizhzhya. As winter approaches, nearly 150,000 families, as well as hospitals, schools and businesses, are without heating in the Dnipro and Ivano-Frankivsk regions.

Switzerland, having condemned Russia's military aggression against Ukraine — launched more than 1,000 days ago in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations — is particularly concerned by the following issues.

First, we note a significant increase in the number of civilian casualties and damage to civilian infrastructure. We recall that attacks against civilians or civilian objects are prohibited. All parties must strictly respect international humanitarian law, in particular the rules governing the conduct of hostilities, and ensure the protection of the civilian population and respect for human rights.

Secondly, we remain concerned that nuclear safety and security conditions remain precarious, particularly at the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant. All Ukrainian nuclear facilities are endangered by the ongoing attacks against Ukraine's energy infrastructure. Switzerland supports the International Atomic Energy Agency in its vital work, as repeatedly described in the Chamber by its Director General, and particularly the five fundamental principles for the protection of the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant.

Finally, we are dismayed by the negative impact of Russia's military aggression on the entire multilateral disarmament and arms control architecture. We condemn Russia's repeated threats to use nuclear weapons, and we regret reports of an even longer-range ballistic missile attack against Ukraine. These developments illustrate the negative effects of developments over the past decade, particularly in the context of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the suspension of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty. Increasingly substantiated reports suggest that troops from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are not only deployed in Russia, but they are actively engaged in combat. That intensification of external support for Russian military aggression would also represent a serious violation of the Council's resolutions on non-proliferation. Adding to that, the recent report from the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons confirms the use of a riot-control agent in Ukraine as a method of warfare, in violation of the Convention on Chemical Weapons.

Switzerland remains extremely concerned by Russia's repeated use of anti-personnel mines. It also expresses its deep concern at the recent announcement of the transfer of anti-personnel mines to Ukraine. That unprecedented development in the history of the Ottawa Convention risks having repercussions that go beyond this context. We call on all States to respect their obligations under international law, including those under the Ottawa Convention.

Switzerland calls on all States to respect their legal obligations and once again urges Russia to immediately cease all hostilities and withdraw its troops from the entirety of Ukrainian territory. As a member of the Security Council, Switzerland believes that this organ has a responsibility and a duty to respond to the widely shared call for a just and lasting peace in Ukraine. We reaffirm our commitment to supporting peace efforts based on international law and the Charter of the United Nations, in particular the principles of territorial integrity and sovereignty. Switzerland continues to support the Secretary-General in the search for a peaceful solution and remains ready to contribute to all measures aimed at promoting peace in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

Mr. Yamazaki (Japan): I thank the United Kingdom for convening this meeting and thank Assistant Secretary-General Jenča for his informative briefing.

It has not been long since the Council members, at the meeting on 18 November (see S/PV.9788), once again clearly condemned Russia's aggression. Japan, represented by State Minister Fujii, emphasized our commitment to the Charter of the United Nations and our solidarity with Ukraine. However, Russia ignored the repeated calls of the international community and once again carried out a large-scale missile attack on Ukraine, which caused casualties among innocent civilians. We must not look away from this new worsening situation.

Russia is continuously attacking Ukraine using weapons supplied by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, thereby violating the relevant Security Council resolutions. North Korea's troops have been deployed to Russia, and they are now engaged in combat against Ukraine. That constitutes a clear violation of international law, including the United Nations Charter. We condemn in the strongest terms this unlawful, unjustified and unacceptable military cooperation between Russia and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which only further exacerbates the tension in the region and beyond. We also reiterate our deep concern about military cooperation between Iran and Russia.

Moreover, the Security Council should not overlook Russia's revision of its nuclear policy last week. Russia has repeatedly made remarks and taken actions indicating the use of nuclear weapons as its aggression. Japan, as the only country that has ever suffered atomic bombings during war, will never tolerate Russia's nuclear threats, let alone its use of nuclear weapons.

The members of the Security Council should not seek peace in a way that ignores Ukraine's sovereignty, and neither should they demand equal de-escalation from both sides, which would only reward the aggressor. And neither should we confuse the defender with the aggressor. There must be a just and lasting peace consistent with the United Nations Charter. That goal has been repeatedly affirmed by an overwhelming majority of the General Assembly, leaving no room for doubt. We would like to repeat what is worth repeating: Ukraine is not waging a war of choice; Ukraine was forced to fight and is defending itself. It is Russia that launched an unprovoked war of aggression.

Attempts to change the status quo by force should never succeed. Allowing such actions would have worldwide repercussions, affecting everyone in the future. The international community must act to stop

the aggressor — not to seek a false peace or to reward the aggressor. This is not a matter of choosing sides between Ukraine or Russia; it is a question of either upholding or disregarding the United Nations Charter. Japan once again strongly demands that Russia withdraw from Ukraine immediately and unconditionally. Japan continues to stand with Ukraine.

Mr. Koudri (Algeria): I thank Assistant Secretary-General Miroslav Jenča for his briefing.

The recent developments that occurred in both Ukraine and Russia are deeply concerning. The use of new types of destructive weapons in this conflict, such as intermediate- and long-range missiles, is a dangerous escalation. It is an escalation that could only worsen the already tense situation that has caused the deaths of so many innocent victims in Ukraine and Russia. We reiterate our call upon the parties to exert restraint and urgently reverse this escalatory rhetoric to avoid the worst scenario.

Algeria has warned many times — and it does so again today — against the mindset of confrontation and polarization that prevails in this conflict. Escalation could lead us to uncontrollable and unpredictable situations that no one wants to happen. It is high time to reverse the trend and favour diplomacy, dialogue and negotiation. Only dialogue and negotiation can lead us to a ceasefire and stop the bloodshed. Only dialogue and negotiation can bring peace and security to Ukraine, to Russia and to the whole region. It is critical that both parties choose the path of de-escalation and engage directly or indirectly in genuine dialogue and negotiation. That is the only way to reach a mutually acceptable solution to this conflict, in line with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, taking into consideration all security concerns. The international community should play a vital role in creating conditions that could facilitate dialogue between the parties to reach such a solution and end this war.

Escalation is the right path towards failure. We must change direction. Let us give diplomacy a real chance. Peace and security should be our only option.

Mr. George (Sierra Leone): I thank Assistant Secretary-General Miroslav Jenča for his briefing. I welcome the participation of the representative of Ukraine in this meeting.

Sierra Leone remains deeply concerned about the escalating security situation and the deteriorating humanitarian situation in a conflict that has continued for close to three years now. The conflict has escalated dramatically in recent months, and the battlefield has expanded, with intensified offensive operations by both parties. A week ago in this Chamber (see S/PV.9788), Sierra Leone took note of several news reports that restrictions on the use of long-range missiles to strike targets inside the Russian Federation had been lifted following recent intelligence and open-source reports that troops from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are now engaged in combat in the Kursk region. We stated that, if those reports were confirmed, it would mark a dangerous escalation of the conflict.

Today we take note of Ukraine's letter dated 25 November 2024, stating that the Russian Federation has used a new intermediate-range missile on 21 November to attack the city of Dnipro and that it continues to carry out massive missile and drone strikes against residential areas and critical civilian infrastructure. If confirmed, those actions represent a dangerous escalation in the conflict.

We furthermore take note of reports from Ukraine of multiple attacks continuing to target and damage electricity and gas facilities, despite the looming winter, and numerous civilian facilities across Ukraine. We have reiterated many times in the Security Council over the course of this year that the deliberate targeting of residential or civilian areas, civilian infrastructure and essential services, such as hospitals, schools, water and energy facilities, is unacceptable and prohibited under international law. It poses a significant threat to the safety and well-being of the most vulnerable and protected populations, violating the basic tenets of humanity and the principles of international humanitarian law. Sierra Leone also deems unacceptable attacks on civilians, vital civilian infrastructure and protected objects. We call on all the parties involved to take all necessary measures to prevent further civilian casualties and damage to civilian infrastructure.

The deteriorating security situation also continues to have devastating humanitarian consequences for the civilian population. The most recent updates from United Nations aid teams have highlighted the deepening humanitarian crisis across Ukraine, particularly in front-line areas in the north-east and south, owing to intensified attacks. The Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs warned that civilians remaining

in front-line communities in Donetsk, Kharkiv, Kherson, Dnipropetrovsk and Zaporizhzhya face dire living conditions, which are expected to worsen as winter approaches.

Reported attacks against Ukraine's energy infrastructure have drastically reduced the country's electricity capacity, leading to daily power cuts for millions of people across Ukraine. Those outages, often lasting many hours, limit access to water, mobile networks and the Internet and public transportation. They disrupt children's ability to learn and even to attend school remotely. As Ukraine approaches its third winter since the start of the conflict in February 2022, Sierra Leone is deeply concerned that the repeated attacks on energy infrastructure are expected to exacerbate the challenges civilians will face, with likely disruption to essential services such as water, gas and heating.

We note that, to address the winter-specific needs, the humanitarian community launched the 2024–2025 winter response plan, appealing for \$492.1 million to support 1.8 million people with critical winter-related humanitarian assistance, as outlined in the 2024 humanitarian needs and response plan. That plan intends to support timely preparedness and response. Sierra Leone calls on the international community to support it.

The drastic escalation of the conflict, its alarming number of civilian casualties and its devastating humanitarian consequences for civilians, including the elderly, women and children in Ukraine, underscore the need for the violence to end. All parties to the conflict must prioritize the protection of civilians and refrain from further escalation and pursuit of the option of winning the war on the battlefield at all costs. Dialogue and diplomacy should be the primary tools employed to pave the way for a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

Let me conclude by urging all parties to prioritize the protection of civilians and critical infrastructure, including energy infrastructure, to ensure essential services for the well-being and stability of civilians. Let me also repeat what my delegation stated last week in this Chamber (see S/PV.9788): peace is made not between friends, but between parties in a state of disagreement. In that regard, achieving genuine peace requires overcoming hostility, bridging divides and fostering dialogue where mistrust and animosity have taken root. It involves compromise, reconciliation and

the willingness of both parties in the Ukraine conflict to prioritize coexistence and the greater good over their grievances or individual interests. In that vein, peace is most meaningful and transformative when it is forged between those who were once adversaries, as is the case in the current conflict.

Sierra Leone therefore reiterates its call for meaningful steps to be taken towards an immediate and unconditional cessation of hostilities and for constructive and inclusive diplomatic efforts to achieve a just and lasting resolution of the conflict. In taking that important step, we reiterate our call for full respect for the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders — and likewise for the Russian Federation. The legitimate concerns of all parties are to be taken into account in order to find a political and diplomatic solution, as envisaged in Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations. The international community, including the Council, must remain steadfast in its commitment to supporting the pursuit of a just and sustainable peace.

Mr. De Rivi re (France) (*spoke in French*): I thank Mr. Jen a for his briefing.

A few days ago, Russia announced that it had carried out a strike in Dnipro, Ukraine, using its Oreshnik intermediate-range ballistic missile for the first time. That strike, which caused damage to civilian areas, was accompanied by threatening statements made by Russia towards States that support Ukraine's right to self-defence. Russia is therefore opting for escalation in this brutal and illegal war of aggression of its own making against Ukraine. None of the pretexts put forward by Russia to justify its war should hide the reality that Russia attacked Ukraine, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations. It is prolonging this war, when it could put an end to it without any risk to its security by ceasing its military operations and withdrawing its troops from Ukraine's territory — as ordered by the International Court of Justice since March 2022.

Russia has chosen to flout international humanitarian law in an attempt to break the resistance of the Ukrainian people. For many months now, it has been carrying out an extensive campaign of air strikes against residential areas and energy infrastructure in Ukraine.

Russia has also chosen to jeopardize the international non-proliferation architecture by procuring drones, ammunition and ballistic missiles

from Iran and — despite having voted in favour of Security Council resolutions that deem such actions a violation — from North Korea. There are now North Korean troops deployed on Russian soil, and if they become involved in the fighting, that would constitute a further escalation.

In this conflict there is an aggressor, Russia, which no longer hesitates to violate the gamut of international law and to pursue escalation aimed at continuing its war of conquest. There is also a country under attack, Ukraine, which has the right under the Charter to defend its independence and territorial integrity. France continues to stand by Ukraine and its people, including by providing them with the military support they need to effectively exercise their right to self-defence. That right, it should be remembered, includes the possibility of striking military sites in Russia when they are used in the context of the war of aggression against Ukraine. Ukraine must be able to defend itself and to enter into negotiations for a viable peace when it so wishes.

We cannot let Russia benefit from any lack of cohesive efforts on our part. To allow this war of aggression to achieve its intended goal would be to accept an international disorder in which the law of the jungle reigns and force takes precedence over law. We will remain committed to a just and lasting peace in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

Mr. Hwang (Republic of Korea): I too extend my gratitude to Assistant Secretary-General Jen a for his briefing.

Last week we discussed the aftermath of Russia's brutal invasion of Ukraine, which has been ongoing for 1,000 days. Regrettably, today we gather once again in the Chamber to address a grave development in this unprovoked war. Last week, I highlighted that Russia is undermining the international order and the global non-proliferation regime (see S/PV.9788). However, recent developments over the past week are even more alarming.

On 19 November Russia announced the revision of its nuclear doctrine. This new nuclear doctrine allows for a nuclear response to aggression from a non-nuclear-weapon State, if supported by a nuclear-weapon State, thus lowering the threshold for nuclear engagement.

In addition, Russia launched an intermediate-range ballistic missile, and this attack marks the first time that such systems have been used in combat. It is

worrisome that Russia is dangerously blurring the lines between conventional and nuclear warfare by taking those escalatory actions.

The war in Ukraine is becoming further complicated with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's full involvement. Initially, North Korea supported Russia's invasion of Ukraine and was one of only five Member States that voted against General Assembly resolution ES-11/1 on 2 March 2022, entitled "Aggression against Ukraine", which deplored the aggression and demanded a full withdrawal of Russian forces.

Starting around August 2023, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has now shipped about 20,000 containers to Russia. It is estimated that Pyongyang has provided approximately 9.4 million artillery shells, to date. Furthermore, North Korea has recently transferred not only munitions, but also artillery launch systems. My Government estimates that around 150 units of 170-mm Howitzers and 240-mm multiple-rocket launchers have been delivered to Russia.

About 11,000 North Korean soldiers have been dispatched to Russia, and some of them are now actively engaged in combat operations in the Kursk oblast. While my Government is investigating specific intelligence related to North Korean casualties, the estimated casualty toll remains unverified.

The rapid pace of developments these days makes it challenging for us to even keep up with unfolding events. Nevertheless, one thing is clear: all of these activities are blatant violations of multiple Security Council resolutions.

North Korea's increasing involvement in Russia's war against Ukraine carries serious implications.

First, with North Korean troops and weapons on the battlefield, the conflict between Russia and Ukraine is being internationalized and is evolving into a broader confrontation. Russia can now rely on additional military resources and manpower from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to bolster its operational capabilities and sustain its military efforts. In fact, we are now even facing the potential of an additional deployment of North Korean troops, as more personnel may be needed to supplement and maintain existing troop levels.

Secondly, North Korea's full participation in the war provides Pyongyang with greater access to Russian resources and military technology. In return

for sending its troops, my Government assesses that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has received from Russia not only economic benefits, but also anti-aircraft missiles and equipment in order to reinforce its weak air defence systems.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea could acquire advanced military technology, material and equipment to advance its illegal nuclear programme. With Russia's direct backing, an emboldened North Korea will likely intensify its pursuit of its illegal nuclear ambitions and provocative actions, thus further destabilizing the Korean Peninsula and beyond.

Thirdly, we are currently witnessing an ominous collusion: a permanent member of the Security Council, with its top-tier military technology and lowered nuclear threshold is collaborating with an impoverished and isolated regime, well known for brutally oppressing its own people, the leader of which is sending soldiers into distant battlefields, to be used for Russia's reckless tactics, while siphoning off their salaries from Russia into the regime and funding the illegal development of weapons of mass destruction. Such collusion, if unchecked, could profoundly shake the foundations of the international order based on the Charter of the United Nations. The international community should stand united in condemning such collusion and in calling for an immediate halt to the illegal cooperation.

In conclusion, the Republic of Korea once again urges Russia and North Korea to cease their military cooperation and immediately withdraw their troops. We also take this opportunity to reaffirm our steadfast position in support of Ukraine defending its people and territory in accordance with the United Nations Charter and international law. For our part, we will respond resolutely to any threats to our national security, in cooperation with the international community, and will take corresponding measures, depending on ensuing developments related to military cooperation between Russia and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Mr. Montalvo Sosa (Ecuador) (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Assistant Secretary-General Jenča for his detailed briefing.

More than a thousand days after the start of the invasion of Ukraine, we are faced with a scenario that has taken on a new dimension. The constant escalation of violence and the use of increasingly devastating weaponry threatens to bring us to a point of no return,

generating a climate of uncertainty and fear that resonates globally.

Just nine days ago, Under-Secretary-General Rosemary DiCarlo reminded the Council of the devastating consequences of the war (see S/PV.9788). More than 12,000 civilians have lost their lives, including more than 600 children. Entire cities have been reduced to rubble. Civilian infrastructure, including more than 1,300 schools and 580 medical facilities, have been systematically destroyed.

Ukraine has become one of the most heavily mined places in the world, with nearly a quarter of its territory contaminated by mines. The threat of a devastating winter, compounded by the destruction of critical infrastructure and the ongoing attack on Ukraine's energy grid, puts at risk millions of people who depend on humanitarian aid for survival. In addition, the growing danger of a nuclear incident in areas such as Zaporizhzhya underscores the gravity of the situation. As long as the war continues, humanitarian needs will persist. Winter brings new challenges.

The international community must redouble its efforts to ensure a sustained and coordinated humanitarian response, prioritizing those in front-line communities and surrounding areas. That includes strengthening essential services, such as mental health, as well as legal and psychosocial support for victims, especially children and women, who have suffered irreparable trauma.

Until peace is restored, the parties must strictly comply with the rules of international law, including international humanitarian law, including their obligations to protect the civilian population and strictly observe the fundamental principles of distinction, proportionality and precaution.

We cannot underestimate the risks posed by further escalation of the conflict and its implications for international security. The parties must act with responsibility and restraint, avoiding any action that would bring us to the brink of a wider confrontation. Consequently, the mobilization of thousands of soldiers from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea into the conflict zone and their potential participation in hostilities is worrisome. Similarly, the use of weaponry that could exacerbate the situation should be avoided.

The time has come to put an end to the violence and destruction. Ukrainian and Russian citizens deserve

to live in peace. The world cannot afford a conflict of greater proportions. The international community must redouble its efforts to create conditions conducive to resuming dialogue and reaching an immediate ceasefire.

As I mentioned a week ago (see S/PV.9788), since February 2022, the Council has held approximately 100 formal meetings in an open format, which have allowed us to express our positions. It is time for us to explore all available tools and modalities, to prevent this forum from becoming a sounding board in which words are repeated without being translated into concrete actions to restore peace.

During this debate, a common denominator has emerged in the statements: first, the need for unrestricted respect for the principles enshrined in international law and in the Charter of the United Nations, and secondly, the imperative of promoting de-escalation in response to the risks posed by this conflict. Ecuador fully endorses those calls and reaffirms its support for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Ukraine. Ecuador also reaffirms its willingness to support any initiative that makes it possible to achieve progress towards a negotiated solution leading to a just and sustainable peace based on international law and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

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

I would like to start by thanking Assistant Secretary-General Jenča for his briefing today.

Last week, we marked 1,000 days since Russia launched its illegal, full-scale invasion of Ukraine. We recalled the devastating impact that the war has had upon the Ukrainian people and the world, and we reiterated our steadfast commitment to ensuring that Ukraine gets the support it needs to defend itself and to achieve a just and lasting peace, in line with the Charter of the United Nations. President Putin has demonstrated time and again that he has no interest in such a peace. In recent weeks and months, Russia has intensified its attacks on Ukraine.

First, it has stepped up the use of indiscriminate glide bombs against Ukrainian cities. Last week, the United Nations announced that the number of civilians killed since February 2022 had exceeded 10,000, with more than 18,500 injured.

Secondly, Russia has intensified its deliberate targeting of civilian energy infrastructure. That is a war

crime, and it puts the lives of millions of Ukrainians at serious risk during the cold winter months.

Thirdly, Russia has used experimental weapons. Last week, it fired an intermediate-range ballistic missile on Dnipro. Ukraine is not a testing ground for new weapons.

I could go on, but this pattern of reckless activity by Russia serves only to prolong the war and the suffering of the Ukrainian people, while posing serious risks to international peace and security. There is only one aggressor here and only one country in breach of the Charter. To seek de-escalation, we must focus on deterring Russia from that aggression. No one wants peace more than Ukraine, but Ukraine needs to be able to defend its civilians from these brutal attacks. Ukraine has a right to self-defence under Article 51 of the Charter, and we will support them in their efforts to achieve a sustainable peace.

I resume my functions as President of the Council.

I now give the floor to the representative of Ukraine.

Mr. Kyslytsya (Ukraine): I recognize here the residual presence of Putin's envoys in the permanent seat of the Soviet Union.

I would like to thank the United Kingdom presidency for convening this meeting, which Ukraine requested in response to Russia's recent escalatory actions. Those actions include the first use of an intermediate-range ballistic missile to strike the Ukrainian city of Dnipro and the use of troops from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its war against Ukraine.

The ongoing deployment of troops from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to support Russia remains one of the clearest indicators of Moscow's unwillingness to de-escalate, alongside the weapons supplies that Russia has been receiving from Pyongyang for more than a year.

Since the Council's most recent discussion (see S/PV.9788), the situation on the ground has escalated, and the first clashes of the Ukrainian forces against servicemen from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have already taken place. As we informed earlier, the troops are fighting under the assumed identities of individuals of Russia's Far East nationalities, using forged documents. Primarily, they operate as combined arms units trained for action in the European theatre of military operations. The Democratic People's Republic

of Korea is now entering the war in a full-fledged manner. According to available information, its current military contingent of 11,000 troops could quickly be increased to 100,000.

The question of whether the Pyongyang regime truly requires such a substantial number of combat-trained servicemen solely to assist its Russian allies is rhetorical at best. The answer to that question is self-evident, and while it may be uncomfortable, acknowledging this reality is essential. Otherwise, an appropriate and adequate response would be unlikely.

According to publicly available information, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has sent more than 20,000 containers of artillery, missiles and other conventional arms to Russia since August 2023 to replenish Russia's dwindling weapons stockpiles. As reported by Ukraine's military defence intelligence, Pyongyang has supplied Moscow with 100 KN-23 and KN-24 short-range ballistic missiles. The first use of those weapons by Russia against Ukraine, including against residential areas and civilian infrastructure, was recorded at the end of 2023. In 2024, Ukraine has documented approximately 60 launches of such missiles, accounting for one third of all ballistic missile attacks carried out by Russia this year.

Furthermore, recent reports from the expert community point to satellite images that reveal that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is expanding a manufacturing complex in the city of Hamhung. That industrial facility assembles KN-23 short-range ballistic missiles, which Russia has used against Ukraine, including to target residential areas and civilian infrastructure. The satellite images reportedly taken in early October show the construction of what appears to be an additional assembly building and a new housing facility likely intended for workers. In addition, there have been recent reports that Russia received 170-mm self-propelled Howitzers and 240-mm multiple rocket launch systems from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Let me recall that the transfer of ballistic missiles, along with any other arms and related materiel, from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to Russia flagrantly violates multiple Security Council resolutions. The training by the Russian Federation of regular units from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, including those recently deployed in the Kursk region, constitutes a violation of resolutions 1718 (2006), 1874

(2009) and 2270 (2016). In turn, Democratic People's Republic of Korea soldiers providing or receiving any training or other assistance related to the use of arms is also a violation of the resolutions mentioned.

We reiterate that Pyongyang's support comes at a price, and that is access to Russian technology in missile, nuclear and other military programmes. It is crucial to understand that that price is being paid not so much by Russia but by the world. A failure to act decisively will be far more costly in the long run than taking strong and timely measures today. We call on all responsible nations to take immediate actions to resolutely counteract the Russian and North Korean regimes, from increasing sanctions pressure on Moscow and Pyongyang to maximizing Ukraine's capabilities within the framework of the victory plan presented by President Zelenskyy.

At the same time, the Security Council and its Sanctions Committee established pursuant to resolution 1718 (2006) should continue addressing the issue of non-compliance by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Russian Federation with the relevant resolutions. In that regard, Ukraine also supports the monitoring of, and reporting on, both regimes' violations and evasions of the sanction measures within the framework of other multilateral mechanisms, in particular the Multilateral Sanctions Monitoring Team established on 16 October 2024.

Another escalatory move by Putin, aimed at testing the world's resilience to Russia's nuclear blackmail, occurred on 21 November. On that day, the Ukrainian city of Dnipro suffered an attack by an intermediate-range ballistic missile capable of delivering weapons of mass destruction. According to an initial examination of remnants, it was the first time that such a missile had been identified on the territory of Ukraine. The missile was equipped with six warheads, each containing six submunitions. It moved along a ballistic trajectory, which was affected only by aerodynamic resistance. Moscow's narratives following the strike, including comments by the war criminal Mr. Putin, once again underscored Russia's intentions to persuade the global audience of its complete inadequacy — that time by showing its readiness to kill Ukrainians with not only conventional, but also nuclear means. Ukraine calls on States Members of the United Nations, in particular the nuclear-weapon States, to condemn Russia's irresponsible nuclear sabre-rattling.

In responding to that escalatory step, it is also important to remember that Putin's future actions will directly depend on the strength and resolve of our reaction. In effect, that *modus operandi* has always been simple and straightforward: if his blackmail succeeds and his opponent shows weakness or a willingness to appease, a new and more severe escalation of violence and violations will inevitably follow. If, on the contrary, adequate measures to deter Russia and reduce its aggressive potential are taken, Putin will stop. Therefore, the response to the Kremlin's current nuclear blackmail and threats must include tougher sanctions and increased military assistance to the party defending itself, its people and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. In that context, we do not accept concerns about strengthening Ukraine's capacities to strike military targets on Russian territory as allegedly amounting to "escalation". Such labelling either demonstrates a complete misunderstanding of the conflict's nature and current developments on the ground or serves as manipulation in the aggressor's interest.

It was from Russian territory that the full-scale invasion began in February 2022. It is on Russian territory that new military units are being formed to occupy and destroy Ukrainian cities and kill Ukrainian people. It is on Russian territory that the production of deadly weapons is accelerating — weapons that will be used not only against Ukraine, despite the illusions of those hoping to buy a few years of peace at the expense of Ukraine's existence. Finally, it is from Russian territory that missiles, drones and guided aerial bombs are being launched daily, killing Ukrainians and destroying our critical infrastructure. That includes the launching of drones from Iran and missiles from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, enabling those rogue States to test their weaponry. More than 11,500 missiles have been launched against Ukraine since February 2022, and more than 33,000 guided aerial bombs have been deployed. Over the past four days alone, 495 uncrewed aerial vehicles were launched by Russia, along with Iskander ballistic missiles and Kh-59/69 guided air-to-surface missiles.

Among the targets that Russian forces are attempting to strike are the transmission substations of our nuclear power plants. Following the Russian attack on 17 November, the International Atomic Energy Agency Director General stated that several electrical substations on which the nuclear power plants depend had suffered further damage. In addition, the

main power lines from four of the substations were disconnected. That poses a real and immediate threat to nuclear safety and security, not only for Ukraine but for the entire continent. Strikes on Russian territory help to reduce such war-related threats. Unlike Russia, Ukraine does not target residential areas, hospitals or civilian infrastructure. Our goal is not to intimidate the Russian civilian population but to weaken the ability of the Kremlin regime to threaten Ukraine and the world. Russian military command posts, airfields, artillery arsenals and missile deployment sites were among the most recent targets hit by the Ukrainian forces. Every target struck means a Ukrainian life saved and somebody's home or a power station preserved.

Ukraine will continue to exercise its inherent right to self-defence under Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. That right, I remind the Council, does not impose geographical limitations on defending against an armed attack. At the same time, Article 51 does not allow an aggressor to hide its violations under the guise of the right to self-defence, as self-defence applies in cases where an armed attack is occurring or is imminent. In February 2022, as we all remember, the qualification "imminent" applied only to Russia's plans to invade Ukraine — plans that Russia, in the form of its Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, denied in this very Chamber a week before the invasion (see S/PV.8968).

Russia must understand that its every attempt to expand the war will have consequences. They will serve to sober the aggressor State, disrupt its plans and force it towards peace — a comprehensive, just and lasting peace based on the Charter, not on a deceitful appeasement, reminiscent of the Munich Agreement of 1938. The former scenario could be achieved in two ways: by helping Ukraine and by increasing pressure on Russia. And if Russia prevails, the price for all of us would be far too high.

One speaker today said that he cannot help but wonder whether those caught up in the war can be reunited with their families, whether there is anyone they can be thankful for and whether they can have a happy and peaceful tomorrow. The answer is yes; there are 141 countries in the General Assembly that they can be thankful for: the countries that voted for the condemnation of the Russian aggression in March 2022 (see A/ES-11/PV.5). The answer is yes, there are 141 countries in the they can be thankful and that call a spade a spade, having voted in February 2023 for Assembly

resolution ES-11/6, entitled "Principles of the Charter of the United Nations underlying a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in Ukraine"; those principles include Ukraine's territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders. Yes, they can be thankful for the dozens of countries that help Ukraine with air defence systems and with the means to destroy the military bases in Russia from which hundreds of missiles are launched to kill Ukrainian children, women and men.

I want to conclude by expressing my profound gratitude to all those countries that have been supporting Ukraine through almost three years of this bloody war.

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

Mr. Szczerski (Poland): I would like to thank Assistant Secretary-General Miroslav Jenča for his briefing.

As was mentioned, just last week, we gathered in the Council to mark the grim milestone of 1,000 days since Russia's unprovoked and brutal invasion of Ukraine (see S/PV.9788). That sobering anniversary should have served as a wake-up call to the international community. Yet Russia, undeterred, has chosen to escalate the conflict further, demonstrating a blatant disregard for international law and human life. Furthermore, Russia's increasingly active support from other States is transforming this war into a collective act of aggression.

Russia has intensified its aggression against Ukraine through a combination of verbal threats and military actions. The recent attacks against Dnipro on 21 November, targeting Ukrainian civilians and civilian infrastructure, with the use of a modified RS-26 Rubezh intermediate-range ballistic missile — Oreshnik — capable of carrying nuclear warheads, represents a new level of danger in the conflict with Ukraine. That move, coupled with the revision of Russia's nuclear doctrine, constitutes another instance of nuclear sabre-rattling, further undermining the global security architecture.

Such behaviour not only threatens the stability of Ukraine and the region, but it also increases the risk of wider conflict and nuclear proliferation. The Kremlin's aim is clear: to intimidate Ukraine and its supporters and sway public opinion to deter international support, but that will not happen. The international community must send a clear message to Russia: its nuclear threats will not be tolerated. Poland strongly opposes and

deplores such reckless actions and calls on Russia to cease its aggression, withdraw its troops from the internationally recognized territory of Ukraine and return to the path of diplomacy.

We reiterate that Ukraine's defensive operations to diminish Russia's capacity to wage its illegal war are a legitimate exercise of its inherent right to self-defence, fully in line with international law and Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. In contrast, Russia, as the aggressor, continues to violate the fundamental principles of international law, including the prohibition of the use of force against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of any State and international humanitarian law.

Russian authorities and soldiers must be held accountable for all crimes committed in Ukraine. If they go unpunished by international justice, aggressive Moscow could inspire other actors to replace international law with a might-makes-right approach. That could lead to a world in which coercion and intimidation replace peaceful negotiations and lasting reconciliation in every region.

Any future peace must be grounded in the Charter of the United Nations and international law and must be negotiated and agreed upon by Ukraine. We believe that President Zelenskyy's peace formula currently best embodies those principles.

The President: I now give the floor to Mr. Lambrinidis.

Mr. Lambrinidis: I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union and its member States.

I want to thank you, Madam President, for organizing this meeting. I also thank Assistant Secretary-General Jenča for his briefing.

Only last week we marked 1,000 days since Russia's unprovoked and unjustified full-scale invasion of Ukraine (see S/PV.9788). I delivered a statement on that occasion in this Chamber on behalf of the European Union and its member States. And today we are compelled to meet, once again, after Russia, once again, stepped up its offensive with a new wave of escalations. In the few past days, Russia has intensified its massive aerial assaults against Ukrainian cities, once again killing innocent civilians, including children. Once again, it has inflicted further damage on Ukraine's energy infrastructure, including also endangering nuclear safety and security as nuclear sites, need a secure off-site power supply. Once again, it has

expanded its use of arms, firing a new ballistic missile against Dnipro. And, once again, it has deepened its military cooperation with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, now deploying thousands of North Korean troops to support its war of aggression, in violation of Council resolutions.

Each of those actions separately constitutes, once again, unacceptable escalations and serious breaches of international law. Russia must be held fully accountable for its violations. The world counts on all Council members to defend international law, to cease any and all assistance to Russia's war of aggression and to assist Ukraine in achieving a just, lasting and comprehensive peace.

Might cannot make right. We can never accept attempts to change borders by force. Territorial integrity is at the core of the Charter of the United Nations, and it must be upheld. Once again, therefore, we will continue to support Ukraine and defend the Charter of the United Nations in response to Russia's aggression and will do so for as long as it takes.

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

Mr. Tammsaar (Estonia): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the three Baltic States — Latvia, Lithuania and my own country, Estonia. We align ourselves with the statement delivered on behalf of the European Union. Let me add a few additional elements.

First of all, I would like to thank Assistant Secretary-General Jenča for his briefing.

The criminal Russian regime, instead of opting to de-escalate and to heed the calls of the international community to find a peaceful end to this war, has again decided to pursue escalation in Ukraine, as exemplified by Russia's launching of a record number of drone strikes into Ukraine during the few past days, in which energy infrastructure, including nuclear power plant infrastructure, in several regions was seriously hit. Moreover, last Thursday the Kremlin fired an intermediate-range ballistic missile at the city of Dnipro, with a warning that more would follow. While Russia's nuclear sabre-rattling is unfortunately nothing new, firing experimental missiles with the capability of carrying nuclear warheads at another Member State is an irresponsible and deeply concerning development. Let me be clear: such desperate attempts at intimidation are not going to work.

The deepening involvement of Iran, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Belarus in Russia's aggression against Ukraine must stop immediately. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea's continued large-scale supply of artillery shells and ballistic missiles to Russia and the involvement of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's troops fighting on Russia's side in Ukraine are a major escalation with global consequences. We also urge China, as a permanent member of the Security Council, with a particular responsibility to uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, to exercise its influence to end Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine, thereby providing a peaceful tomorrow for Ukrainians.

In addition, recent reports of Russia recruiting cannon fodder from Yemen to fight for it in Ukraine only further displays Russia's escalatory course of action. It is highly alarming that military and mercenaries from all over the world are being recruited to fight in the heart of Europe to satisfy Russia's neocolonial and imperial ambitions.

The developments that I and many around this table have highlighted only confirm that Russia's goals in Ukraine have not changed. They do not want peace; rather, they wish to erase the sovereign Ukrainian State from the map and root out the national identity of the Ukrainian people. That is not going to happen. We will not allow that to happen. We will stand with the Ukrainian people and reiterate our unwavering support for Ukraine's right to self-defence, Ukraine's sovereignty and its territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders. We call upon the United Nations membership to support Ukraine's peace formula, which is the only viable framework to secure a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in Ukraine, based on principles of the United Nations Charter.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Mr. Kim Song (Democratic People's Republic of Korea): Only a week ago (see S/PV.9790), here in this Chamber, a draft resolution (S/2024/835) reflecting the unanimous demand of the international community for an immediate and unconditional ceasefire in Gaza was rejected due to the veto by the United States. The result was the worsening of an abnormal situation: the throwing into darkness and despair of the Palestinian

people in their aspirations for survival and the abetting of Israel's nefarious atrocity of mass killings.

However, the Security Council laid aside today's most pressing security issue. We are witnessing the tragedy of merciless killings that could even make Hitler blush with shame. Overwhelmed by the high-handed practices of one permanent member of the Security Council, it has convened a meeting that completely runs counter to the fundamental principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. This is truly a disgrace that ought to be condemned by the international community. I strongly denounce the United States and its followers for calling yet another illegal meeting, which proceeds from their ulterior political motives to cover up the root cause of the outbreak and protraction of the Ukrainian crisis and to deceive the international community.

As has been clarified on several occasions, the Ukrainian crisis was started by the United States and Western forces, which ignored the legitimate security interests and the right to territorial integrity of Russia. They pursued NATO's reckless eastward expansion, with the ambition of maintaining their hegemonic world order. It is none other than the United States and Western forces that ruptured the hard-won peace talks between Russia and Ukraine at the beginning of the event and caused innocent civilian casualties and prolonged crisis by systematically supplying various lethal weapons to the Kyiv authorities, obsessed with the pipe dream of dealing a strategic blow to Russia.

Today the Ukrainian crisis is plunging into an even more grave and irreversible phase as the present United States Administration, nearing the end of its term, has irresponsibly allowed the Kyiv authorities to strike areas within Russia with weapons supplied by it. Some Western countries followed suit. Ukraine invaded Russia's Kursk region in August, killing numerous civilians. Recently, with public support from the United States and the West, it even went on to commit the dangerous crime of attacking Russian territory, using the United States surface-to-surface army tactical missile system and the United Kingdom's air-to-surface cruise missile Storm Shadow. All the facts give a clear answer to the question of who is the main culprit that is further escalating the Ukrainian war and aggravating tensions. Russia's counterstrike on 21 November is an exercise of its just and legitimate right to self-defence and serves as a serious warning to the United States and Western countries gripped by war mania.

The pressing issue to be addressed at the Security Council at present is the action by the United States and its allies — driven by their ambition for hegemony — to undermine peace, inciting confrontation and conflict among countries, while running amuck in order to strengthen aggressive alliances and arms build-up. Just as fascists in Europe and Asia colluded with each other to throw the world into turmoil in the past century, the reactionary forces in the West and the East today, allied under the baton of the United States, are now attempting to establish a rapacious and tyrannical order across the world. The United States in particular is expanding its nuke-sharing military alliance system while escalating military pressure and provocation against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea through deployment of its vast array of strategic strike means and the forces of allies in the vicinity of our State. That being the case, the United States is still picking on the legitimate development of relations between independent sovereign States by mustering its satellite forces. That is certainly a mockery of, and an insult to, the United Nations Charter.

Under the Treaty on Comprehensive Strategic Partnership, which fully conforms to the United Nations Charter and international law, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Russian Federation are developing bilateral relations in all fields, including politics, economy, military and culture, and maintaining contacts with regard to each other's security and development of the situation. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea will remain faithful to its obligations under the Treaty and will continue to strengthen and develop relations with the Russian Federation in order to defend the fundamental interests of the peoples of both countries, contribute to regional and global peace and security and realize international justice.

The righteous international community should never tolerate such acts of the United States and its followers, which infringe upon sovereignty and disturb the peace. Such acts are their attempt to obstruct the development of legitimate friendly relations between sovereign States and impose tragic war and catastrophic disaster. Instead, the international community should turn out for the struggle to safeguard justice and equity, peace and stability.

The President: The representative of the United States has asked for the floor to make a further statement.

Mr. Wood (United States of America): I apologize for taking the floor a second time. I just wanted to make a very general point and ask a question.

To be clear, the deployment of troops of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to help Russia carry out its illegal war of aggression against Ukraine and the Ukrainian people has fundamentally changed the nature of this war, posing not only a growing threat to Ukraine but also an increasing threat to broader European security. The United States and its allies will continue to take all the steps necessary to help Ukraine defend itself and to ensure allied security.

My last point is a question to the representative from the regime of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It is a very simple question, and I think the Council would appreciate a very succinct answer. Has the Democratic People's Republic of Korea deployed troops to Russia?

The President: The representative of Ukraine has asked for the floor to make a further statement. I now give him the floor.

Mr. Kyslytsya (Ukraine): I am not going to comment on North Korea's pulp fiction, edited by the Russian Mission. However, I am forcing myself to stay in this Chamber out of respect for this institution and out of the need to look the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the eyes and tell him directly that he represents a criminal regime. He represents a regime that is helping another criminal regime. At the end of the day, sooner or later, he and his leadership will end up in the dock. And, sooner or later, his people will be free. They will enjoy democracy, freedom and liberty.

The President: The representative of the Russian Federation has asked for the floor to make a further statement.

Ms. Sokolova (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We regret the fact that the representative of the United States continues to waste the valuable time of the Security Council with his conjecture and smearing of countries that Washington does not like. No proof has ever been provided by anyone. That has always been just the typical Anglo-Saxon "highly likely"-style speculation. We have already repeatedly provided exhaustive explanations and see no point in repeating them. Our colleagues from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea today clearly laid out their

position. For those who have ears, may they hear that, if the United States and its allies choose the path of escalation — and that is the conclusion emerging from their statements today, in which they did not talk about the real reason for the new round of escalation, which is that the Western donors of the Kyiv regime have given the latter the green light to strike territory inside the Russian Federation with long-range missiles — then we are ready for it. But we would urge them to apply the bare minimum of common sense and to think long and hard about the fact that we need to engage in a serious dialogue on eradicating the root causes of the crisis. We have always been prepared to engage in that. The West was not prepared to do that. Therefore, to my Western colleagues, the choice is theirs, and the whole world is waiting.

The President: The representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has asked to make further statement. I now give him the floor.

Mr. Kim Song (Democratic People's Republic of Korea): I take the floor to respond to the comments made by the representative of the United States.

It is the legitimate right of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to develop relations with the Russian

Federation. The comprehensive strategic partnership treaty between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Russian Federation fully conforms with international law and the Charter of the United Nations. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea will therefore remain faithful to its obligations under that treaty.

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

Before adjourning this meeting, as this is the last scheduled meeting of the Security Council for the month of November, I would like to express, on behalf of the United Kingdom, our sincere appreciation to the members of the Council and to the Secretariat for the support they have provided this month. We also thank the technical support team, as well as the conference service officers, interpreters, translators, verbatim reporters and the security staff, for enabling the Council to carry out its meetings. As we conclude our presidency for this month, we wish the delegation of the United States good luck in the month of December.

The meeting rose at 12 p.m.