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Eightieth year

Provisional

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New York

<i>President:</i>	Mr. Fu Cong.	(China)
<i>Members:</i>	Algeria.	Mr. Koudri
	Denmark	Ms. Machon
	France	Mr. De Rivière
	Greece	Mr. Gerapetritis
	Guyana	Mrs. Rodrigues-Birkett
	Pakistan.	Mr. Ahmad
	Panama	Mr. Alfaro de Alba
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Hwang
	Russian Federation	Mr. Nebenzia
	Sierra Leone	Mr. George
	Slovenia.	Mr. Žbogar
	Somalia	Mr. Mohamed Yusuf
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . .	Dame Barbara Woodward
	United States of America.	Ms. Shea

Agenda

Maintenance of peace and security of Ukraine

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The meeting was called to order at 5.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Maintenance of peace and security of Ukraine

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I would like to warmly welcome the Ministers and other high-level representatives present in the Security Council Chamber. Their presence today underscores the importance of the subject matter under discussion.

In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Czechia, Finland, Latvia, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Spain and Ukraine to participate in this meeting.

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

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

I give the floor to Ms. DiCarlo.

Ms. DiCarlo: Three years ago today, the world watched in shock as the Russian Federation launched its full-scale invasion of Ukraine — a clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations and international law. That act undermined the very foundations of the international order.

For three long years, the people of Ukraine have endured relentless death, destruction and displacement. Families have been torn apart, have lost loved ones and have witnessed their homes and entire cities reduced to rubble. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) has verified that, since 24 February 2022, at least 12,654 Ukrainian civilians, including 673 children, have been killed. Another 29,392, including 1,865 children, have been injured. The actual figures are likely considerably higher. The numbers only continue to rise as Russia's brutal attacks persist across the country. In 2024 alone, civilian casualties increased by 30 per cent as compared to the previous year. The war has created the largest displacement crisis in Europe since the Second World War. More than 10 million Ukrainians remain uprooted — 3.6 million displaced within Ukraine and 6.9 million seeking refuge abroad. Many remain in precarious conditions, uncertain whether they will ever return home.

Beyond the immediate physical devastation, the long-term psychological toll on an entire generation of Ukrainians is incalculable. Ukraine is now among the most heavily mined countries in the world. That is a deadly legacy that will take years to overcome, including its immense environmental consequences. The massive destruction of civilian infrastructure affects millions. For three consecutive winters, repeated strikes on the energy grid have left communities without power, heating or other essential services. More than 2 million families remain without adequate shelter. At least 790 attacks have damaged or destroyed medical facilities. That has put the lives of countless patients at risk, with medical professionals struggling to work under extreme circumstances. In 2024 alone, attacks on medical facilities tripled as compared to the previous year. The education system has also been decimated. More than 3,600 schools and universities have been damaged, preventing 600,000 children from attending classes in person. Last year, attacks on educational facilities surged by 96 per cent as compared to 2023.

Over the past three years, the conflict has also escalated and expanded, not only across Ukraine but into parts of the Russian Federation. We have seen reports by local Russian officials of increased civilian casualties and damage to civilian

infrastructure in the Kursk, Belgorod and Bryansk regions of the Russian Federation owing to alleged Ukrainian attacks. It cannot be said often enough: attacks against civilians and civilian infrastructure violate international humanitarian law. They are unacceptable, no matter where they occur. The war's impact is also felt globally, as it destabilizes economies, disrupts food security and threatens international peace. The further internationalization of the conflict is deeply alarming, particularly with the reported deployment of troops from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea into the conflict zone. Moreover, the risk of a nuclear incident remains unacceptably high. A drone attack on 14 February caused a fire in the building confining the remains of the reactor destroyed in the 1986 Chernobyl accident. This incident once again underlines the persistent risks to nuclear safety in Ukraine.

The United Nations is committed to assisting Ukraine in its recovery. We continue to work with our humanitarian partners to deliver life-saving assistance. In the past three years, over 200 inter-agency convoys have reached 810,000 people with assistance along the front line. However, without sustained funding, these critical efforts risk being suspended, which would leave 12.7 million people without the assistance they so desperately need. Furthermore, we still do not have access to the estimated 1 million people in need of humanitarian aid in the areas of Ukraine currently occupied by the Russian Federation.

We recall that international humanitarian law requires the facilitation of rapid and unimpeded passage of humanitarian relief for all civilians in need, no matter where they live. International humanitarian law also prohibits attacks on humanitarian personnel and assets. And since February 2022, 25 aid workers have been killed in the line of duty and 86 others injured. There have been 236 documented incidents involving violence against humanitarian personnel, assets and facilities. Humanitarian workers must be protected.

The full-scale invasion brought a dramatic increase in the number of human rights violations in Ukraine, as reported by the human rights monitoring mission in Ukraine. OHCHR also documented the systemic and widespread use of torture, including sexual violence, by Russian authorities against Ukrainian prisoners of war. OHCHR reports that 95 per cent of Ukrainian prisoners of war and three quarters of Ukrainian civilian detainees interviewed have suffered torture or ill treatment in Russian captivity. Russian forces have executed at least 71 Ukrainian prisoners of war since February 2022, with an alarming spike in executions since August 2024. And at least 170 civilians, including five children, have been executed in areas of Ukraine controlled by Russian authorities, including in places of detention. Meanwhile, about half of the 469 Russian prisoners of war interviewed by OHCHR described torture and ill treatment, mostly during the initial stages of captivity. Twenty-six of those interviewed reported having been subjected to sexual violence. The monitoring mission has also verified the execution of 26 Russian prisoners of war. With one exception, those killings occurred in 2022 and early 2023. These crimes must not go unpunished. All victims of violations of international humanitarian law and international human rights law deserve justice. Accountability is not optional; it is an obligation under international law.

In its only consensual decision concerning Ukraine since the full-scale invasion, presidential statement S/PRST/2022/3, issued 6 May 2022, the Security Council recalled that Member States have undertaken, under the Charter of the United Nations, the obligation to settle their international disputes by peaceful means. Resolution 2774 (2025), which the Council adopted a few minutes ago, also urges a swift end to the conflict. Indeed, it is high time for peace in Ukraine. That peace must be just, sustainable and comprehensive, in line with the Charter of the United Nations, international law and resolutions of the General Assembly, including those adopted this morning (General Assembly resolutions ES-11/7 and ES-11/8). That

includes full respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank Ms. DiCarlo for her briefing.

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

I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece.

Mr. Gerapetritis (Greece): I would like to thank the Permanent Mission of China to the United Nations for convening this all-important high-level briefing.

Eighty years ago, the Security Council was entrusted with a unique mission and ultimate responsibility to maintain peace and security and to enact the prohibition of the use of threat and force around the world — a noble task, indeed, which often proved incredibly difficult in practice. Our meeting here today takes place in the midst of multiple crises in the four corners of the world. In all of these crises, the foreign policy of Greece, as a founding member of the United Nations, has been consistently defined by its commitment to international law and respect for international treaties defining international borders. As a principled position, Greece condemns any breach of international peace and security effected through military action by any State against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of any other State.

In that sense, Greece's stance on Ukraine has been crystal clear from the very beginning of the war, which is now entering its fourth year. It is imperative that we all work towards an end to the suffering and destruction that is taking place in Ukraine. We need peace; the war must stop. We all agree on that, and we commend all efforts to that effect. Yet it is incumbent upon us to actually refer to international law, to refer explicitly to the Charter of the United Nations in any resolution. The truth is that it is hard to conceive why the amendments proposed by the European members of the Security Council have not been adopted. Who would actually disagree on wording that the Security Council should impose a swift end to the conflict? Who would disagree that the Security Council urges a just, lasting and comprehensive peace between Ukraine and Russia? Who would disagree that the solution should be in line with the United Nations Charter — as a whole, not selectively — and with the principles of the sovereign equality and territorial integrity of States? It is hard to conceive why we cannot agree on those basic fundamental principles of international law. And if the Security Council Chamber is to be meaningful, we need to reiterate, at every possible occasion, the fundamentals of the United Nations. That was actually the message delivered a few hours ago by the General Assembly through its adoption of resolution ES-11/7, on advancing a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in Ukraine.

The country I have the honour to represent today has consistently been an ardent proponent of peace. It is therefore evident that during any peace undertaking henceforth, Greece will support — as best it can — efforts could that lead to a comprehensive, fair and lasting peace and guarantee a better future for the people of Ukraine.

Ms. Machon (Denmark): I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing, and I welcome the participation of Ukraine in our meeting today.

Exactly three years ago, as the Council met in an emergency meeting and the Secretary-General appealed directly to President Putin (see S/PV.8974), Russia launched its full-scale invasion of Ukraine, in clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations and in continuation of what it started in 2014. What followed continues to be a long and brutal war, one that continues to cause tremendous human suffering, with hundreds of thousands killed, almost 13 million people in

humanitarian need and millions displaced. Attacks on homes, hospitals, schools and critical energy infrastructure continue unabated. Just this weekend, cities across Ukraine were bombarded by massive drone attacks.

We gathered in the General Assembly this morning, in solidarity with Ukraine, to adopt the resolution submitted by Ukraine (General Assembly resolution ES/11-7) and to confirm our commitment to the United Nations Charter. Denmark voted in favour of the resolution and so did a great number of Member States. Let there be no doubt — and we have said this before — no one wants peace more than Ukraine. Today the international community reiterated that call for lasting peace in Ukraine based on the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, in full respect of Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is simply astounding that today, in the twenty-first century, we must fight for these basic, fundamental rules that we all agreed to nearly 80 years ago.

What is needed is not just the absence of war, but a just a fair peace that does not reward the aggressor and does not punish the victim. We must not undermine international law, territorial integrity or the sovereignty of an independent country. International law and the United Nations Charter are our strongest safeguards against a world where might makes right. They are principles that all of us have a duty to protect and to defend. They are the very essence of this Organization.

Denmark welcomes conversations about peace for Ukraine and with Ukraine — peace talks that can lead to a comprehensive, just and lasting peace. We need a peace where Ukraine does not have to live in fear and insecurity, a peace where no one wonders which country is next in line, a peace where the right security guarantees will prevent another devastating aggression. This war was imposed on Ukraine, but it has now — first and foremost — become about Ukraine's right to independently decide its own future. Ukraine is a European country, part of the European family, at the heart of Europe. This war is therefore inherently also about European security and freedom. Europe has been supporting Ukraine from day one, and in Europe we are boosting our support for Ukraine even more. We want to ensure that this harrowing war does not repeat itself in the near future.

I repeat the message that the Council heard Ukrainian and European colleagues have voiced on multiple occasions, a message that, sadly, I will be repeating today — nothing about Ukraine without Ukraine. Nothing about European security without Europe. The importance of that message simply cannot be overstated. It is the only way we will succeed in creating a peace that will actually last. I truly believe that this is in the interest of everyone around this table too.

In conclusion, the suffering can end today if Russia stops its illegal full-scale war. The people of Ukraine are counting us on us. We cannot let them down. They cannot look to the United Nations and see their futures compromised, their country carved up, their borders redrawn. They deserve peace and prosperity. Let this be the last year we gather at the United Nations to mark another anniversary of this senseless war. Let 2025 be the year that the war is brought to a just end, for good.

Mr. Žbogar (Slovenia): I would like to thank Under-Secretary-General Rosemary DiCarlo for her briefing, and I want to welcome to the Chamber the Deputy Foreign Minister of Ukraine.

Three years have passed since the Ukrainian people woke to a war being brutally imposed on them. After three years of intense fighting, this war must end. Yes, Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo, it is high time for peace in Ukraine. A ceasefire must be achieved, and sufficient security guarantees for Ukraine ensured. Negotiations for a just and lasting peace must be held with Ukraine and the European Union at the negotiating table. The toll that this war has taken on civilians is unbearable.

Last year, the total number of civilians killed or injured was 30 per cent higher than the year before. That is just one of the signs of how the war expanded and became deadlier throughout the year. In 2024, we witnessed a number of escalations, including the active involvement of Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the war. In recent months, Russia has launched some of its largest air strikes, hitting schools, hospitals, energy infrastructure and residential buildings. The World Health Organization reported that the casualties among health workers and patients nearly tripled, compared to 2023. Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo reminded us of the drone strike on Chornobyl, as part of continuous air and road attacks that seriously endanger the safety and security of Ukraine's nuclear power plants. As the International Atomic Energy Agency has been warning for years now, the situation is dire and could eventually lead to a nuclear accident, the aftermath of which would be felt across the globe.

Each day of the war leads to more violations of international law. We should never forget that this invasion represents a grave violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the very principles this Organization is built on. As members of the Council, we are obliged to identify avenues that will lead to a just and lasting peace in Ukraine. However, without respecting the fundamental principles of sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, there cannot be such a peace.

Slovenia will actively support all meaningful efforts towards peace. We will also continue to support Ukraine in any way possible until a peace deal that brings a just, lasting and comprehensive peace and security to Ukraine and all of Europe is reached.

Ms. Shea (United States of America): I thank Under-Secretary-General Rosemary DiCarlo for her remarks. I also welcome the Deputy Foreign Minister of Ukraine.

At its heart, the Security Council's purpose is to maintain international peace and security, including the peaceful settlement of disputes. That is why it was created. That is why we are all here in the Chamber. The mural on the wall behind me depicts the horrors of war. Let it remind us of our collective responsibility, above all else, to put an end to war and conflict. Over the past 11 years, we have had countless meetings in the Chamber about the Russia-Ukraine war, against the backdrop of this mural. Council meetings have confirmed the horrors of this war — the deaths and injuries to civilians and soldiers; the countless displaced persons, including children; the destruction of infrastructure; the danger to nuclear safety. The United States, as President Trump has made clear, is committed to ending this war. And he has been clear that we must reach a lasting peace.

We are under no illusions. We recognize that it will be challenging to secure an agreement, but the time for Russia and Ukraine to make difficult choices and end the fighting is now. The United States has been in close contact with its Ukrainian counterparts throughout this conflict, and we will continue to do so. In the past week, we have also opened a direct dialogue with Russia. As Secretary Rubio announced following discussions in Riyadh, the United States and Russia have committed to negotiating towards an end to the conflict that is enduring and acceptable to all of the parties engaged. We call on all other Member States to join the United States in pushing for a durable peace that will bring stability to Europe and deter further aggression. And we are proud that the Security Council did exactly that just now, by adopting a historic landmark agreement on Ukraine (resolution 2774 (2025)), the first in three years. After years of destruction and suffering, it is time for all of us to commit to ending this war.

Mr. De Rivière (France) (*spoke in French*): I would like to thank Ms. DiCarlo for her statement.

For the past three years, the Russian Federation has been conducting a full-scale invasion of Ukraine. It is attacking a sovereign State, Ukraine, which posed no threat whatsoever to it and part of whose territory it had already been illegally occupying since 2014.

It was Russia and Russia alone that took the decision, on 24 February 2022, to violate the Charter of the United Nations and go back on the principles that we set ourselves together at the end of the Second World War, in particular the sovereignty of States, independence and territorial integrity. It was Russia that chose to bring war back to the continent of Europe.

For the past three years, Russia has been pursuing its brutal, illegal and unjustifiable aggression against Ukraine, with total disregard for international humanitarian law. It has carried out deliberate strikes against civilians. It continues to target energy infrastructure. It is using sexual violence as a weapon of war. It is carrying out forced transfers and deportations of Ukrainian children. The perpetrators of those war crimes must be brought to justice.

For three years, Russia has been undermining the foundations of the international non-proliferation architecture. It is acquiring drones and ballistic missiles from Iran. It has been procuring weapons, munitions and ballistic missiles from North Korea, in violation of Security Council resolutions. North Korean soldiers are engaged on the Ukrainian front, in support of Russia's war of aggression, which is another violation of international law.

All of us who regularly express our support for the International Court of Justice recall that an order of the Court called on Russia as of 16 March 2022 to suspend its military operations. Russia must put an end to its war of aggression against Ukraine. We all want peace — a comprehensive, just and lasting peace — not an agreement imposed under duress on the party under attack, the Ukrainian authorities and the millions of Ukrainians who have been resisting Russian forces for three years.

For three years, Ukraine has been defending itself against Russian aggression, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The courage of President Zelenskyy and the courage of all Ukrainians inspire admiration and compel us to take action. France will continue to provide Ukraine with the military and humanitarian support it needs for as long as necessary and stands ready to step up those efforts.

Ukraine, a sovereign State, must be free to choose its own alliances and destiny. A settlement of the conflict without Ukraine would be a dead letter. It would confirm the principle of might makes right and pave the way for future wars. Nothing must be decided about Ukraine without Ukraine.

Russia's aggression also represents a direct threat to the entire European continent. Europe, whose security is at stake, must be involved in any negotiations to resolve the conflict. Nothing must be decided about European security without Europeans.

There will be no peace and security anywhere in the world if aggression is rewarded. A peace that lets the aggressor impose his will by force cannot be a solid peace.

If peace in Ukraine is to be lasting, it must be accompanied by strong and credible security guarantees for the Ukrainian people. The President of France, Emmanuel Macron, has brought together several European and international leaders to work on that issue. We will continue to move forward in that direction, together with all the partners interested in peace and security in Europe.

For peace in Ukraine to be just, it must respect the Charter of the United Nations and its principles, and therefore the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine, as the Secretary-General reminded us yesterday.

This morning, for the eighth and ninth times in three years and twice, the General Assembly condemned Russian aggression and called for respect for Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity (see General Assembly resolutions ES-11/7 and ES-11/8). This morning, the universal General Assembly was the compass of law, morality, compassion for the victims, the sovereign equality of States and the defence of the foundations of the international order. The Council must take note and follow that example. It must reiterate its support for the Charter of the United Nations and that there can be no peace without respect for the law and the will of the people. The will of the Ukrainian people must be heard.

Mr. Alfaro de Alba (Panama) (*spoke in Spanish*): Panama expresses its gratitude to Under-Secretary-General Rosemary DiCarlo for her excellent informative briefing and welcomes the authorities who are honouring us with their presence during this meeting.

Three long years have passed since the beginning of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. The conflict, which should have already ended, led to a breach of international peace and security, the effects of which have had not only a regional but also a global impact — compromising food, maritime and economic security.

Panama, faithful to its pacifist tradition, encourages diplomatic and political efforts to reach a peace agreement in Ukraine, through a fair and frank dialogue that will allow the parties to regain peace.

The damage caused by the already long conflict, the deaths of military personnel, the massacre of civilians, the mistreatment of prisoners of war and arbitrary detainees, the multi-billion-dollar cost of the financing and provision of arms to the parties to the conflict by third countries, the incalculable economic costs to the States parties to the conflict and even the risk of a nuclear incident make the continuation of the conflict unsustainable.

It is unfortunate that all efforts to reach agreements to stop the war have been evasive, unsuccessful and frustrating. It is clear therefore that the priority at this time is to put a definitive end to the tragedy without further procrastination.

For that reason, Panama identifies with the echo of the clear and forceful message expressed by the Secretary-General, António Guterres, who in his statement released on 23 February, said:

(*spoke in English*)

“Enough is enough.”

(*spoke in Spanish*)

Panama is a founding Member of this Organization and for 80 years has defended the principles established in the Charter of the United Nations, the cornerstone of international law. We therefore promote respect for the Charter of the United Nations and international law, and for our own historical reasons, we have always rejected and continue to reject aggression by one State against another, as we consider those improper methods of conflict resolution. On the contrary, we firmly believe in multilateralism to enforce the established rules-based order, to prevent armed conflicts and maintain lasting international peace and security, always aimed at the peaceful and diplomatic settlement of conflicts.

Panama has decided to look to the future, and for that reason, we support the efforts of the United States of America in its goal of ending this war with the support of the international community. We hope that the agreements that will be formally concluded to put an end to the armed conflict between Russia and Ukraine will include terms, conditions, commitments and guarantees that are concretely negotiated with the participation of the parties directly and indirectly involved in

the conflict and thus agreed to eradicate the war and its devastating consequences in order to achieve a just, comprehensive and lasting peace for all.

Mr. Hwang (Republic of Korea): I would like to extend my gratitude to Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her comprehensive briefing.

Today marks the third anniversary of Russia's illegal invasion of Ukraine, and the war continues to rage on. The scars left by Russia's aggression are deep: more than 10 million people — 25 per cent of Ukraine's pre-war population — are now displaced, with approximately 7 million Ukrainian refugees seeking shelter abroad. Ukraine has lost control of approximately one fifth of its territory and much of the nation has been devastated, with its power-generation capacity reduced to just one third of its pre-war level. The core tenets of the Charter of the United Nations, largely upheld for 80 years since the founding of the United Nations, have been severely undermined by a permanent member of the Security Council throughout the war. Furthermore, the security dynamics between Europe and the Indo-Pacific region have become increasingly intertwined. In the light of that grave reality, I would like to share the following key points.

First, we believe that there are two goals on which everyone can agree. The first is that this senseless and unlawful war must come to an end as soon as possible, and the second is that we must strive to uphold the fundamental principles of the Charter and international law. Now is the time to mobilize our wisdom and determination to simultaneously achieve both objectives as much as possible.

Secondly, the experience of the three-year-long Korean War teaches that, when full scale armistice negotiations begin, the intensity of the conflict often escalates and casualties on the battlefields surge. Both sides must exercise the utmost restraint, as that outcome would be in no one's interest. All the relevant parties should take that into consideration.

Thirdly, in the process of ending the brutal war, which has geopolitical and economic repercussions extending across the globe, supporters of United Nations ideals and friends of Ukraine must remain united. In doing so, a robust foundation for international cooperation must be established, addressing both post-war security and reconstruction.

Halting the war is not just a global imperative but is also essential for security on the Korean Peninsula. The illegal military cooperation between Russia and North Korea, in blatant violation of multiple Council resolutions, must end immediately. In its mounting desperation, Moscow has turned to Pyongyang not only for an astronomical quantity of weapons but also for manpower. Furthermore, Russia used its veto in the Security Council (see S/PV.9591) to dismantle the Panel of Experts of the Sanctions Committee established pursuant to resolution 1718 (2006), concerning the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in April, enabling Russia to conceal the illegal partnership. In return, North Korea is reportedly receiving military support, involving arms and technological transfers and perhaps also sensitive satellite technologies. But the danger extends beyond such transactions: North Korean troops are now gaining real battlefield experience in ways that pose a direct threat to the Republic of Korea's security.

In conclusion, as a once war-torn nation, the Korean people acutely understand the painstaking path to peace and recovery. To support Ukraine's humanitarian and reconstruction efforts, the Republic of Korea provided \$400 million last year and will continue to contribute a \$2 billion financial package over the next four years. The Republic of Korea reaffirms its commitment to standing with the Ukrainian people as they overcome the current hardship and rebuild their proud nation.

Dame Barbara Woodward (United Kingdom): I start by thanking Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing today.

Today marks the third year of President Putin's full-scale invasion, forced on the Ukrainian and Russian people in clear breach of the Charter of the United Nations. First of all, today of all days, we pause to remember and honour the victims of this war — those who have lost their lives, their homes, their futures, their limbs, their childhoods, their family members and their friends; the millions who have been displaced and the tens of thousands who have lost their lives. They have lost schools, playgrounds, farms, churches and hospitals, while Russian forces have used rape, torture and execution as weapons of war and put nuclear safety at risk. This is a war that Putin said would take three days. Three years on, Ukrainians have paid a terrible price. And the impact of this war is not limited to Ukraine; hunger, poverty and energy insecurity have increased worldwide.

Secondly, as we look forward to peace, let us be clear: no country wants peace more than Ukraine. Ukraine is more than ready for the war to end. But there needs to be a lasting and a just peace with Ukraine's voice at the heart of any talks — a peace that is not just a pause in fighting but a peace that leaves Ukraine secure and free from Russian attack; a peace that shows that aggression does not pay and a peace that ends forever Putin's imperialist ambitions. We have to remember that Putin, by contrast, wants only capitulation. If Russia is allowed to win, we will live in a world in which might is right, borders can be redrawn by force and aggressors think that they can act with impunity. The consequences for peace and security around the world are dire.

Thirdly, a lasting peace must come from strength — strength and courage that Ukraine has shown abundantly in the past three years. But that strength and courage needs to be underpinned by robust security agreements from the outset, because Putin has repeatedly shown that he will break a weak deal. He has long denied Ukraine's right to exist as a free State. The United Kingdom, with our European partners and the United States, will therefore work closely together for Ukraine, and Europe will continue to take responsibility for our continent's security. The United Kingdom is ready to play a leading role to support Ukraine and its right to self-defence and support the negotiation and implementation of a peace agreement — a just and lasting peace agreement that protects Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity and its internationally recognized borders, in line with the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. Ahmad (Pakistan): I would also like to thank Under-Secretary-General Rosemary DiCarlo for her briefing.

We also appreciate the presence of several Ministers, including from Ukraine, which attests to the importance of this meeting.

For three years now, the conflict in Ukraine has caused considerable loss of life, widespread devastation and immense human suffering, as Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo also informed us. The consequences of the conflict transcend borders, affecting the region and beyond. The shock to the global economy has been particularly severe for developing countries. Most ominously, if the hostilities continue, there will be an ever-present danger of further military and geographical escalation, which poses a clear and significant threat to international peace and security.

It is unfortunate and beyond comprehension that, in this age, in today's world, and even as the military humanitarian and economic crisis intensified, the pursuit of peace has remained largely absent and elusive, despite the fact the vast majority of Member States, including the developing world, have constantly desired and advocated for a peaceful settlement to the conflict through dialogue and diplomacy.

Pakistan believes that all the peoples affected by this tragic conflict deserve a better future — a future free from fear, violence and destruction. The international community must redouble its efforts to find a comprehensive and lasting solution to

the conflict, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We remain deeply committed to those principles and have always called for their universal and non-selective application. We believe that the conflict in Ukraine could have been averted through dialogue and diplomacy. It must be brought to an end now, through constructive and inclusive diplomacy. It is encouraging that efforts to bring an end to the conflict have gathered wider momentum recently, including through various high-level contacts.

Pakistan would welcome any initiative that helps the parties towards a just, peaceful and durable settlement of this tragic conflict through constructive and inclusive diplomacy that includes all parties and others concerned, with full respect for the Charter of the United Nations, international law and the relevant multilateral agreements, and that is responsive to the legitimate national security interests of all sides. It is in that spirit that Pakistan supported resolution 2774 (2025), which we just adopted. We hope that the resolution — the first of its kind adopted by the Council in three years — will finally provide a path to peace. The pursuit of peace is a collective responsibility that must transcend geopolitical divides. We hope that the Council will shoulder its responsibility and unite behind that objective.

Mrs. Rodrigues-Birkett (Guyana): I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her insightful briefing and welcome the participation of the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, other Ministers and high-level officials in today's meeting.

For the past three years, 24 February has represented a dark moment in history, marking the invasion by Russia of the territory of Ukraine. That action was a violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Regrettably, the Security Council was unable to prevent that invasion and, even after meeting in the Chamber 119 times on this topic since the war began, has been unable to take action to end it. For its part, Guyana has underscored the suffering caused to the people of Ukraine and the Russian Federation as a result of the invasion. We have outlined the growing humanitarian needs and called for human rights violations to cease and for the Russian Federation to withdraw its forces from Ukraine. We have also called for respect for Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Above all, we have called for peace and for the war to end through dialogue and diplomacy premised on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law. We make those calls again today.

Today, after three years, there is a glimmer of hope. The Security Council has taken action for the first time, laying the foundation for peace. We underscore that a sustainable peace must be a just peace. With that in mind and against the backdrop of widening humanitarian needs on the ground, Guyana calls on the conflicting parties to heed the call of the General Assembly made in the resolutions it adopted this morning (General Assembly resolutions ES-11/7 and ES-11/8). We also call on the parties to abide by the decision just taken by the Council (resolution 2774 (2025)) and to bring the conflict to an end. We caution against waiting for all conditions to be perfect before commencing the discussion of the terms for peace. At the same time, we underscore that lasting and sustainable peace cannot be achieved at the expense of justice and international law. We urge the parties to commit to achieving a lasting peace based on those tenets.

In conclusion, Guyana stands ready to work with all members of the Council and the wider international community to bring the war in Ukraine to a peaceful end and to find a sustainable solution.

Mr. Koudri (Algeria) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, please allow me to thank Under-Secretary-General Rosemary DiCarlo for her valuable briefing.

Since the beginning of our term in office, we have repeatedly indicated that escalation is futile and will not deliver peace to any party. We have also repeatedly indicated that polarization will only foment tension and will drive us away from

the prospect of sustainable peace in the region. Accordingly, on this occasion, we reiterate the following points.

First, the time has come to exert the necessary diplomatic efforts in order to ease the tension between the two parties so that we can, as soon as possible, bring an end to the loss of human lives and peoples's suffering. As we have repeatedly indicated, time has proven that the mindset of confrontation and force will not resolve the conflict. In the period to come, let us give diplomacy a genuine chance.

Secondly, we again call on the parties concerned to renounce the mindset of escalation and to engage in a comprehensive and constructive dialogue in good faith. Such dialogue must prioritize the security and safety of the peoples of the region. It must seek to achieve a fair and lasting peaceful settlement of the conflict — a settlement that will lead to a solution based on the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations that takes into consideration the legitimate security concerns of both parties. In that context, we note with appreciation the new dynamics we have recently seen in order to initiate a political dialogue to resolve the war.

Thirdly, the international community must step up its diplomatic efforts to bring the parties closer and secure a comprehensive political process to resolve the crisis. With genuine political will, diplomacy and constructive and comprehensive dialogue, we can achieve concrete progress and find a solution that is acceptable to both parties.

Algeria, whether as a member of the Security Council or through its bilateral and multilateral diplomatic activities, will continue to support any efforts aimed at ending the plight of the peoples of the region and at bringing the war to an end in a peaceful and sustainable manner.

Mr. George (Sierra Leone): I thank Under-Secretary-General Rosemary DiCarlo for her comprehensive briefing. Sierra Leone welcomes the participation of the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine in this important meeting.

At this critical juncture in the devastating conflict, Sierra Leone reiterates its urgent call for good-faith diplomatic efforts by both the Russian Federation and Ukraine to resolve the conflict. That must include the immediate cessation of hostilities, the implementation of a ceasefire, the full withdrawal of all forces and unwavering support for the rights, dignity and future well-being of civilians.

The human costs of the conflict are tragic. Since February 2022, approximately 41,000 women and children have been killed or injured. Widespread destruction has decimated essential civilian infrastructure, including homes, schools, hospitals, markets and water and energy facilities. An estimated 12.7 million people in Ukraine are in desperate need of food, clean water, shelter and heat during the winter, with most of them having lost their loved ones and livelihoods. The risks to lives remain alarmingly high, compounded by reports of unexploded ordnance covering approximately 30 per cent of Ukrainian territory.

In response to the dire situation, we earlier voted in favour of resolution 2774 (2025), submitted by the United States. Although we had concerns about the process and the potential for the instrumentalization of the United Nations and the Security Council, our vote in favour reflects our belief that Ukraine must be at the forefront of any peace process or agreement, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and that the legitimate concerns of all parties must be addressed.

Through our vote and since the onset of the conflict, we have spoken with clarity to affirm the principles in the Charter of the United Nations of sovereignty, territorial integrity and the non-use of force, as well as the peaceful settlement of disputes. Those are not mere aspirations, but they are the legal and moral foundations upon which our collective security rests. Any erosion of those principles threatens

not only Ukraine in that context, but also every Member State, particularly smaller nations whose security depends on adherence to international law.

As an elected member of the Council, Sierra Leone reaffirms its commitment to upholding the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and supporting all efforts towards a just, sustainable and comprehensive peace.

The conflict must not be allowed to persist into a fourth year. The path forward must be one of peace, through diplomacy. The scale of suffering caused by the conflict compels the Council to explore every possible avenue to not only direct our efforts towards the path of peace but also implement resolution 2774 (2025) and ensure that millions of civilians can safely return to their homes and rebuild their lives and communities.

Noting the urgent need for an immediate cessation of hostilities and lasting peace, Sierra Leone underscores the following three points.

First, efforts to achieve peace must involve the good-faith participation of all relevant stakeholders, including both Russia and Ukraine. Only with such engagement can we reach a viable and legitimate political solution. We acknowledge the ongoing efforts of Member States in that regard and emphasize the importance of aligning political and diplomatic actions towards that end. Due consideration must be given to the active roles of external actors in supporting the peace process and its outcomes, including the provisions of any peace agreement. Given the critical role of regional efforts in addressing conflicts of that nature, Sierra Leone believes that any initiative to end the conflict in Ukraine must include the involvement of key European partners, whose positions are integral to securing the long-term stability of the region. We also encourage constructive engagement with international partners who have contributed positively to actions such as prisoner-of-war exchanges and efforts towards de-escalation. Moreover, we stress the importance of ensuring that women and youth are given a meaningful role in the peace process, particularly in decision-making concerning reconstruction and recovery efforts in both Russia and Ukraine.

I now turn to my second and a most crucial point: the integral role of the Security Council in establishing legitimate guarantees for lasting peace. Given the history of challenges surrounding territorial and sovereignty issues, as well as security concerns in that conflict, the Security Council must play a pivotal role in safeguarding any peace agreement. That requires clear actions and objectives to be implemented in phases, particularly concerning national military capacities and armaments, regional security agreements, bilateral defence cooperation and the recognition of fixed borders. The Security Council must legitimize and support practical actions and compromises that are consistent with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and guided by the decisions of the General Assembly and previous resolutions of the Council, including resolutions 2625 (2022), 2417 (2018) and 2573 (2021), which emphasize the protection of civilian lives and infrastructure. In promoting lasting peace, the Security Council should also utilize its mechanisms to monitor and enforce ceasefires and other outcomes.

Thirdly, the peace process must address the humanitarian crisis caused by the conflict, prioritizing the swift resolution of its most urgent aspects. An immediate cessation of hostilities is necessary to ensure the full protection of civilians, allowing them to live safely in their homes, attend school and access markets and hospitals without fear of being killed or injured by attacks. The conflicting parties must cease their attacks on critical civilian infrastructure, especially energy infrastructure, which pose significant risks to regional and global security. Unhindered access must be allowed for the delivery of humanitarian aid across Ukraine and Russia, including to those in isolated or hard-to-reach areas. Furthermore, children forcibly removed or abducted from their homes in Ukraine must be returned to their families and

communities. We also emphasize the importance of adherence to international law, particularly international humanitarian law, in the treatment of prisoners of war (POWs) and civilian detainees. Sierra Leone commends the successful exchanges of POWs in the past and urges the release of all POWs and civilian detainees. We fully support calls for prompt, impartial and effective investigations into all alleged violations of international law, including international humanitarian and human rights law, especially those that result in excessive harm to civilians.

In conclusion, we call on the parties to the conflict to do all they can to reach a peaceful resolution. They must seek practical compromises that balance their immediate and long-term national interests and priorities, in line with Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. Yusuf (Somalia): I would like to begin by thanking Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing and welcoming the representative of the region to this meeting.

My delegation voted in favour of resolution 2774 (2025), known as “The path to peace”, and extends its appreciation to the United States for submitting this important initiative. We commend this timely effort to address the ongoing conflict between the Russian Federation and Ukraine. As the international community observes with deep concern the third anniversary of the situation in Ukraine, my delegation wishes to express its profound solidarity with those affected by the ongoing crisis. The present circumstances underscore the paramount importance of the collective diplomatic engagement.

My delegation expresses its profound concern regarding the devastating humanitarian tragedy unfolding in Ukraine. The relentless conflict continues to exact an unbearable toll on civilian populations, destroying homes, separating families and shattering communities. We witnessed with great distress the ongoing displacement of civilians, the destruction of critical infrastructure and the severe disruption to essential services that sustained civilian life. The humanitarian situation continues to deteriorate, leaving an indelible mark on generations of civilians, who bear the brunt of this crisis. In that context, my delegation calls upon all concerned parties to uphold their obligations under international humanitarian law, with particular emphasis on the protection of civilians and civilian infrastructure.

The facilitation of unimpeded humanitarian assistance remains of paramount importance. My delegation maintains the firm conviction that there can be no military solution to the present situation. A resolution can be achieved only through diplomatic means. In that regard, we call for the cessation of hostilities and the pursuit of dialogue addressing the concerns of all parties in accordance with established international principles.

Drawing from our national experience, my delegation fully appreciates the complexities inherent in achieving peace and reconciliation through diplomatic channels. We encourage all parties to demonstrate the necessary political will to engage in meaningful dialogue. My delegation notes with interest the diplomatic engagement that took place in Riyadh between the delegations of the United States and the Russian Federation regarding the situation in Ukraine, and we support all diplomatic initiatives that could contribute to de-escalation, dialogue and lasting peace in Ukraine.

My delegation wishes to echo the Secretary-General’s appeals regarding the cessation of hostilities. We reaffirm the fundamental importance of a strict adherence the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, particularly regarding the peaceful settlement of disputes and respect for territorial integrity. Somalia remains steadfastly committed to working towards the pursuit of

a peaceful resolution. It is through our collective diplomatic endeavours that we can achieve the shared objectives of establishing a just and lasting peace in Ukraine.

Mr. Nebenzia (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Today we once again see in the Chamber, under rule 37, a sizeable landing party of Ukraine's cheerleaders from Europe, comprised of so-called "ministers" of so-called "foreign affairs", whose names I do not even have time to remember. Frankly speaking, I am not even trying to remember. The only thing we are happy about is the constancy of our Polish neighbours. I remember Radosław Sikorski very well, especially his pithy tweet "Thank you, United States of America", published after the sabotage of the Nord Stream pipelines. Today these ministers will read out their hackneyed cookie-cutter statements in front of the cameras, announcing their unstinting support for Ukraine in its fight "until the last Ukrainian". They should sweep up in front of their own homes and clean up their own blooming garden after the geopolitical hurricane, which felled many of their blooming trees.

We view today's meeting as a blatant attempt to thwart the nascent positive developments, which could bring about a lasting and sustainable resolution of the Ukrainian crisis in the very near future. This has been yet another opportunity to see that the Kyiv regime and its sponsors in European capitals are interested not in peace but rather in pursuing war "until the last Ukrainian".

Meanwhile, recent Russian-American contacts at the highest levels have generated momentum. Equally important is the fact that recently, thanks to the new open-minded policy of the Trump Administration, the details are becoming known of what really happened and continues to take place in Ukraine under the Zelenskyy regime. Those details are surfacing now. It has also become far clearer to many why the Ukrainian crisis turned into an armed conflict three years ago, despite all the persistent and consistent years-long efforts by Russia to prevent that scenario.

The world sees that the entire anti-Russian Ukraine project was financed from the very beginning by the West, as we have repeatedly pointed out in the Chamber. This unflattering fact was exposed upon the termination of the activities of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), which, from 2021 to 2024, spent \$30.6 billion on Ukraine — 21 per cent of all its spending abroad. In 2024, assistance from USAID was 3 per cent of Ukraine's gross domestic product. Independent Ukraine simply did not and does not exist. The Agency paid for the activities of the Ukrainian State apparatus, trained Ukrainian judges and exerted direct influence on the Ukrainian judiciary. Ukraine's Parliament operated on American funding. USAID allocated \$25 million for public events and the work of secretariats of parliamentary commissions. Apparently, that is precisely how we should understand the meaning of the Ukrainian word *nezalezhnost* — independence. We also understood how much freedom of speech really costs in Ukraine. Up to 90 per cent of the Ukrainian media turned out to be financed through USAID, which spent about \$5 million for so-called "public opinion leaders" to make an appearance on social networks. It also paid tens of millions of dollars to United States and world celebrities who travelled to Ukraine to speak out in support of the Kyiv regime.

Therefore, this whole picture, which compelled many to believe in the universal popularity of the erstwhile comedian, turned out to be a lie. At the same time, USAID started shaping buying up Ukraine and shaping its political landscape long before the events of three years ago. For example, the Agency allocated more than \$100,000 to finance a television show that helped to facilitate Zelenskyy's victory in the 2019 election. Immediately thereafter, organizations financed by the Agency prohibited Zelenskyy from supporting the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, from holding a referendum on the format of negotiations with Donbas and the principles of a peaceful settlement, from reviewing the language law, from rehabilitating politicians of the Yanukovich era and returning them to politics and from restoring

access to Russian television. Being aware of all of this, we are not surprised by the fact that Zelenskyy, who was elected with three quarters of the vote, immediately abandoned his campaign promises for establishing peace in the east of the country, protecting the Russian language and rectifying relations with Russia — those who bought his country lock, stock and barrel simply forbade him to do so.

In that context, we would like to draw the attention of our colleagues to one aspect of how USAID shamelessly shaped the political landscape in Kyiv. Last week, American lawyer Robert Amsterdam spoke about the direct participation of the State Department and the Agency in the creation of the schismatic so-called “Orthodox Church of Ukraine”. This was done in an extremely cynical manner, with virtually no regard to democratic values. These confessions once again demonstrate how, through the efforts of unscrupulous officials, religion in Ukraine has been essentially relegated to a tool for fighting political opponents.

A significant role in that process, as it became clear, was played by the then-Head of the CIA and by the Special Adviser on International Religious Freedom, who not only turned a blind eye to egregious violations of the rights of believers, arbitrary arrests of clergy and violent seizures of churches in Ukraine, but they also did everything possible to encourage such travesties. Moreover, Washington’s emissaries travelled all over the Middle East and North Africa, compelling local Orthodox Churches there to recognize the illegitimate, non-canonical Orthodox Church of Ukraine. We now know for a fact that all the means in the arsenal of Biden’s diplomacy were used to that end, including blackmail, threats, pressure and arm-twisting. Obsessed with the desire to destroy the canonical Ukrainian Orthodox Church and fracture the unity of Orthodox followers in Russia and Ukraine, they were hardly bothered by the fact that their actions undermined religious freedom in Ukraine. As Council members all remember, we have repeatedly drawn the attention of the Security Council to the situation around the persecution of canonical orthodoxy in Ukraine. In response, we heard only trite mantras about “Russian propaganda”. Are representatives going to repeat them again at this meeting or will they summon the courage to at least voice concerns about that information?

We welcome the fact that the Trump Administration that has taken power is enabling those experts to speak out who had been previously prevented from doing so because their assessments of the situation in Ukraine, including with regard to religious freedom, were at odds with the Western mainstream. Vice-President J.D. Vance has publicly condemned the persecution of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and a number of Republicans in Congress have requested an investigation into the interference of United States agencies in Ukraine’s religious processes. We consider that a very important, albeit belated, turn of events.

The former occupant of the White House let his Kyiv underlings get away with everything, even with the murder of American citizens. Last week, thanks to former Verkhovna Rada deputy Oleksandr Dubinsky, who we know is held in detention, new details emerged regarding the death in the Kyiv regime’s torture chambers of independent United States journalist Gonzalo Lira. In our statements, we repeatedly drew the attention of our Council colleagues to his tragic death and highlighted the need to ensure that the Kyiv regime respected human rights and fundamental freedoms. That was all in vain. Council members did not concern themselves with his fate, nor that of tens of thousands of other political prisoners in Ukraine. And at that moment, he could still have been saved had the Biden Administration at least done something about it.

According to the personal correspondence of the late United States blogger, which Dubinsky has in his possession, the Ukrainian security officers not only beat Mr. Lira but also extorted money from him while he was in the Kharkiv detention centre. After receiving \$70,000 from him, the beatings and abuse only intensified.

The Register of Court Decisions of Ukraine contains a decision of the Dzerzhynsky District Court of Kharkiv, dated January 2024, during a hearing in which Mr. Lira's lawyer requested that Mr. Lira be transferred to house arrest for medical reasons, but the Office of the Prosecutor, representatives of Ukraine's security forces, judges and the medical unit of the Kharkiv pretrial detention centre continued to unanimously claim that his life was not in danger. Just a few weeks later, he was dead because he was not provided with timely medical assistance for his injuries from the said beatings. All the documents attesting to the extortion by the Security Service of Ukraine are available.

I wish to emphasize that it was the publication of the objective materials containing criticism of the Zelenskyy clique and the Biden Administration that cost Gonzalo Lira his life. And that is precisely why he was tormented to death on Zelenskyy's orders. At that point, no Western officials, including from the United States, said anything whatsoever about it. They were unable to summon the courage not only to condemn that additional crime by the Kyiv regime, but even to somehow comment on what had occurred. Western politicians, like our Western colleagues on the Security Council, simply pretended that nothing happened and only redoubled their efforts to accuse Russia of "aggression", while reaffirming their unwavering support for the Kyiv regime, and that was done to shift the media's attention. In other words, the death of a United States citizen was viewed by the former President Biden's team as nothing but collateral damage.

There are tens of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands, of similar cases involving Ukrainian citizens who oppose Zelenskyy's regime. At our previous meeting, we already talked about how, in 2022, Ukrainian Security Service officers tortured Artem Dmytruk, Verkhovna Rada deputy, to extract evidence and a confession of treason from him (see S/PV.9839). We urge all those who continue to defend the Zelenskyy regime to recognize once and for all that the concentration camps and secret prisons of the Ukrainian Security Service, where the inconvenient were tortured and then murdered, are not fabrications nor Russian propaganda. That is the reality in which Ukrainians have to live today.

Unfortunately, we cannot help Gonzalo Lira, but we can still help release those who are being held illegally, on spurious charges, by the Ukrainian clique. We call on all responsible Governments and international organizations to condemn Zelenskyy's criminal actions and to demand the release of all those who are still alive and can still fight for the truth. Among them is 70-year-old human rights activist Olena Berezhnaya, whose case we have mentioned at Security Council meetings on numerous occasions. It is our common duty to demand the release of Olena Berezhnaya and many others who are enduring illegal persecution and torture. If Council members fail to understand that and are willing for political reasons to turn a blind eye to the crimes of the Kyiv regime, then their lamentations about the importance of freedom of speech and respect for human rights, which they prioritize in every other situation without exception, are worth nothing.

In our statements in the Council, we have also repeatedly exposed the rampant corruption in Ukraine which has permeated all segments of society under Zelenskyy. We pointed to the glorification of those responsible for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Jews, Poles, Russians, Roma and Ukrainians during the Second World War. We provided information on the massive violations of human rights. We disclosed instances of outright theft of Western assistance and the resale on the black market of weapons coming from the United States and Europe. We pointed to the illegitimacy of the Kyiv ringleader, who had trampled on his country's Constitution in order to cling to power.

Today we can hear about all those things from senior politicians in the United States as well, and we can read about it in the Western media. That, of course,

inspires hope. The chances are increasing that he who exacerbated the Ukrainian crisis, transforming it into an active conflict, who violated basic Ukrainian laws, who betrayed the interests of the country, who rejected realistic scenarios for a peaceful settlement of the conflict and who soaked his country in blood for his own profit will be duly punished.

Western sponsors of Zelenskyy's regime are still trying to shield him and pin all the blame for the Ukrainian crisis on Russia, attributing to our country all imaginable and unimaginable crimes, while, of course, turning a blind eye to what the Kyiv regime is perpetrating and covering up for their bankrupt and thievish client. However, as today's vote on resolution 2774 (2025), submitted by the United States, has shown, it is becoming increasingly difficult for them to cover that up, because the facts do not support them. And more and more facts that are inconvenient for the Kyiv regime and its puppeteers are coming to light now. We urge those in Europe who still have common sense and who can summon the courage to distance themselves from the crimes of the Zelenskyy clique to do that as soon as possible before it drags all its supporters into the abyss, as was prophetically predicted by Polish President Andrzej Duda.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I now give the floor to the representative of Ukraine.

Ms. Betsa (Ukraine): I would like to thank the Chinese presidency for convening this meeting. I am also grateful for the briefing by Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo.

At the outset, I would like to express our profound gratitude to all United Nations Member States that, just hours ago, supported the relevant General Assembly resolution ES-11/7 and demanded, on the third anniversary of the full-scale invasion by the Russian Federation of Ukraine, the swift achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace for Ukraine, consistent with the Charter of the United Nations.

At the same time, we cannot say the same regarding resolution 2774 (2025), adopted by the Security Council. In our view, that document lacks the basics. It lacks the qualification of the war as an aggression by one Member State against another Member State. It also does not reflect the core principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

Three years ago, Russia started a full-scale invasion against Ukraine. For three years Ukraine has fought for freedom, for its independence, but also for the freedom of the entire democratic world. Today more than 600,000 Russian troops are deployed on our territory — three times the number that invaded in 2022. Despite all odds, Ukraine's defence forces continue to stand firm, even as the disparity in military strength remains stark. That disparity exists because, since regaining independence in 1991, Ukraine has consistently pursued disarmament, reducing the vast military arsenals it inherited from the Soviet era. We took seriously the provisions of the United Nations Charter, setting peace-loving as a fundamental criterion for membership in this Organization. We envisioned our region as an area of peace and prosperity. Without hesitation, we chose to become a non-nuclear State. We gave up the world's third-largest nuclear arsenal in the hope of making the world a safer place. And while we do not regret the moral righteousness of that decision, we have learned a very harsh lesson from the Memorandum on Security Assurances in Connection with Ukraine's Accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons: a deal without viable and effective security guarantees is a bad deal.

Meanwhile, Russia did the opposite — not only preserving Soviet-era stockpiles but significantly expanding them. As a result, today Russia is capable of striking Ukrainian front-line positions and residential areas with thousands of guided aerial bombs every month. In 2024 alone, Russian aviation launched 40,000 such bombs — imagine that figure — on peaceful Ukrainian cities and civilians.

Moreover, Russia continues to escalate its weapons production, including of ballistic and cruise missiles. Each month, Russia is capable of producing 40–50 Iskander missiles, 30–50 Kalibr missiles and around 50 Kh-101 missiles. Those weapons do not stay in stockpiles; they are immediately deployed against Ukraine. But even that has not been enough for Moscow. That is why Russia engaged Iran and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its war against my country, thus internationalizing this conflict. What started as arms supplies has escalated further, with North Korean military units appearing in Europe and fighting against a European nation. I am pleased to note that today's adopted General Assembly resolution ES-11/7 references the involvement of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in this terrible war.

Since the start of the full-scale invasion, Russia has suffered staggering losses: hundreds of thousands of soldiers, over 10,000 tanks and 22,000 artillery systems, 370 aircraft and more than 12,000 multiple-launch rocket systems. The Black Sea fleet has lost 28 vessels, including its flagship. What remains of it is now forced to seek refuge, not even in the occupied ports of Crimea, but in Russian ports themselves.

These outcomes are the result of two factors: the resilience of the Ukrainian people and the solidarity and support of international partners. We feel that support, and we are deeply grateful for it. Russia attacks both of those pillars because, despite all of its advantages, it has failed to break Ukraine on the battlefield. It is trying to crush our spirit, primarily through terror. That is why it targets critical infrastructure and residential buildings. That is why Russian soldiers are executing Ukrainian prisoners of war en masse. Those execution-style killings must be investigated by international organizations, and all those responsible must be brought to justice.

Russia seeks to undermine global solidarity with Ukraine. Its vast propaganda machine spreads aggressive disinformation, attempting to discredit our country and sow doubt about Ukraine's ability to preserve its independence. Now Russia is pushing an entirely unworkable principle — “negotiating about Ukraine without Ukraine” — and packaging its harmful narratives in an appealing guise to that end. And let me be clear in that regard, on behalf of Ukraine: there can be nothing about Ukraine without Ukraine, and nothing about Europe without Europe.

Let me assure the Council that Ukraine wants peace more than anyone, but not any peace. As President Volodymyr Zelenskyy stated, we need comprehensive, just and lasting peace, with clear security guarantees. Otherwise, it will not work. To achieve that, we must intensify diplomatic efforts to establish a comprehensive, just and lasting peace based on the principles of the United Nations Charter. It is in the interest of all humankind to secure such a peace this year.

What Russia needs is not peace, but a temporary pause in hostilities. Such a pause would not bring peace; it would merely serve as a prelude to a larger war. Moscow needs time to replenish its losses, learn from its mistakes and fine-tune its military economy.

For three years, Ukraine has been saving time for others by withstanding the Kremlin's war machine. Our efforts and sacrifices must not be in vain. For that to happen, alliances built on shared values must be strengthened, not undermined. NATO and the European Union are indispensable elements of regional security, and Ukraine is eager to be a part of them — not only as a security recipient, but also as a security provider. And the Security Council, which bears the primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security, must live up to its mandate.

Those responsible for the crime of aggression must not enjoy impunity. Sovereignty and territorial integrity within the internationally recognized borders must be respected by all. We will continue to defend ourselves and strive for a fair and

just peace that is consistent with the United Nations Charter. We know how to contain Russia, and our military has mastered the art of modern technological warfare.

However, to sustain this fight, we will need more help from other countries. We need arms, air defence, technology, investment, tougher sanctions on Russia, the transfer of frozen Russian assets to Ukraine and, of course, political and moral backing. We must be mindful of the fact that this is an existential war. This is an existential war for the entire democratic world, for our democratic principles and values.

Russia has repeatedly tried to dismantle the rules-based order and our security architecture. It is impossible to stop aggressors by appeasing them. Appeasement does not work. Russia must implement the demands of the international community and withdraw its troops from the territory of Ukraine. Those responsible for the crime of aggression, war crimes and crimes against humanity must be brought to justice. We remain committed to the establishment of a special tribunal for the crime of aggression against Ukraine, in order to hold the Russian Federation accountable.

Let me reiterate: this war is existential. It is not only about Ukraine; it is not only about Europe; it is not only about the region — it is about our global architecture, the rules-based order and the entire democratic world.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I now give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland.

Mr. Sikorski (Poland): I address the Council today not just as the Foreign Minister of the democratically elected Government of Poland, but also on behalf of the High Representative of the European Union, Ms. Kaja Kallas, to present the view of the European Union on Russia's illegal and unprovoked war against Ukraine.

As has already been said, no one wants and needs peace in Ukraine more than the Ukrainians. No one has a larger stake in European security than us Europeans. And no one has greater power to end this conflict than the Russians — all it needs to do is stop the killing and leave the territories it illegally occupies. Only with those facts in mind can we work to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace for Ukraine, consistent with the Charter of the United Nations.

On this tragic anniversary, our thoughts go out to the countless Ukrainians who have suffered. Their resilience is a testament to the unbreakable spirit of people who seek nothing more than their rightful place in the community of free nations. We must never forget the crimes committed by Russian troops in Borodyanka, Bucha, Irpin, Mariupol and many other places across Ukraine. The perpetrators must be held accountable.

We should also acknowledge the far-reaching repercussions beyond Ukraine's borders. Russia's war has disrupted global food and energy markets. It has affected countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia, thousands of kilometres away from Ukraine, as well as the people of Russia. The Russian Government has spent at least \$200 billion of their taxpayers' money on the war. It will likely cost Russia over \$1 trillion in previously anticipated economic growth by the end of next year.

Imagine how many kindergartens, schools and hospitals could be built for Russians — or, for that matter, for countless other people around the world — with such a fortune. But instead of building them, the Kremlin prefers to bomb them in Ukraine, while treating Ukrainians and its own people as collateral damage. As of January, approximately 170,000 Russian soldiers have been killed; 600,000 more have been wounded.

Russia's enablers must also be called out. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is not only providing Moscow with weapons but also with troops. Iran is sharing its Shahed drones.

The right way forward remains: Russia should immediately, completely and unconditionally withdraw all of its forces from Ukraine's territory.

We, as Europeans, will continue to stand side by side with Ukraine to achieve a just and lasting peace, peace through strength — the only kind the Kremlin respects.

Finally, I would like to dedicate to the Security Council a maxim authored by my predecessor, the Foreign Minister of Poland, a survivor of Auschwitz and of Stalinist prisons, Professor Władysław Bartoszewski: "When you are in doubt as to how to behave, behave with decency". *Slava Ukraini*.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I now give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Latvia.

Ms. Braže (Latvia): I have the honour to address the Council on behalf of three Baltic States — Estonia, Lithuania and my own country, Latvia. I thank the presidency of the Council for convening this meeting, and I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her comprehensive briefing detailing Russia's attacks and crimes in Russia's aggression against Ukraine.

Today marks three years since Russia launched a full-scale, illegal and unprovoked invasion of its sovereign neighbour, Ukraine. Three years ago, Russia, a permanent member of the Security Council, blocked the Security Council from taking action mandated by the Charter of the United Nations to uphold international peace and security (see S/PV.8979). Three years ago, the International Court of Justice ordered Russia to stop its military activities in Ukraine. It has not complied. Three years on, as we stand, Ukraine has stopped Russia — a nuclear-armed State of 140 million — from realizing its imperialist goals. It has failed to break the resolve of 40 million Ukrainians protecting their homeland.

The Baltic States welcome all efforts to bring a just, comprehensive and lasting peace for Ukraine — a peace that is rooted in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, a peace that guarantees Ukraine's sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and freedom to choose its alliances and future, a peace that stops the brutal Russian aggression for good, with no opportunities for resurgence.

In principle, peace is easy to achieve. Russia needs to stop fighting — that will be the end of the war. If Ukraine stops fighting, that will be the end of Ukraine.

Russian aggression against Ukraine began in 2014 with Russia's illegal occupation and annexation of the Crimean peninsula of Ukraine and the launch of direct military intervention in eastern Ukraine.

Russia has waged a brutal colonial war aimed at destroying Ukraine's statehood, language, identity and seizing its resources and territory in violation of the Charter of the United Nations and international law.

The Baltic States' support of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine, within its internationally recognized borders, is unwavering and unconditional. It reflects our conviction that the self-defence of Ukraine is also the defence of our common global security and common future where might does not make right. Borders must not be altered by force, and we will never recognize the illegal annexation of Crimea, Donetsk, Luhansk or any other region of Ukraine. And the aggressor has no prerogative to decide which options Ukraine, a sovereign nation, may consider in shaping its future.

Ukraine has the right to exercise self-defence, clearly provided for in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. Therefore, countries providing aid to Ukraine, including military aid, are not party to the conflict.

We emphasize that only Ukraine's victory can ensure lasting security and put an end to Russia's imperialist aggression. We strongly believe that a rushed ceasefire will not lead to sustainable peace; instead, it will embolden Russia, and maybe others, encouraging further expansion and putting global security at grave risk. We must defend the principles of the Charter of the United Nations to save succeeding generations from the scourge of further wars.

Ukraine has endured unimaginable suffering, as documented in the briefing by Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo —thousands of lives lost, millions of people displaced, entire cities destroyed to rubble, its natural environment permanently damaged while constant attacks are carried out against its energy infrastructure. The atrocities endured by the people of Ukraine leave deep scars that will persist for generations. And still, Ukrainians stand strong and resilient. Their democracy is thriving and their Parliament is working. And they are defending their land and values, which also uphold the Charter of the United Nations and global security. We must remain united and determined in providing long-term support to Ukraine.

Global efforts to provide aid, assist in reconstruction and support displaced populations are a priority, because that is not an isolated, localized war, nor is it just a European issue. Its consequences are felt across the globe, affecting the food security and energy security in some of the world's most vulnerable regions. According to several estimates, the war that Russia launched against Ukraine has cost approximately 2 per cent of the global gross domestic product. Injustice and impunity in one place embolden efforts to undermine international law elsewhere. Therefore, Russia must be held accountable for its aggression against Ukraine. Failure to act will undermine the prospects for a just and lasting peace not only in Ukraine, but also elsewhere.

The so-called root causes that we heard about today of the war are Russia's imperial, colonial ambitions. Those are the root causes. Russia seeks to restore its imperial sphere of influence and change the international order. Russia wants to decide the future and choices of sovereign countries and peoples — not only in Europe but on other continents as well. We should not let it happen.

We call for action by all countries, parliaments, Governments and societies to significantly increase assistance to Ukraine — political, economic, humanitarian and military — all types of assistance, because we must stand with Ukraine in that existential fight, in line with the Charter of the United Nations. Then a lasting and just peace can be achieved. *Slava Ukraini*.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I now give the floor to the representative of Finland.

Mr. Rajala (Finland): I have the honour to address the Council on behalf of the Nordic countries: Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and my own country, Finland.

The United Nations was built on the shared understanding that no effort should be spared in the pursuit of peace. Yet today we mark the third anniversary of arguably the most egregious violation of the Charter of the United Nations since its adoption — Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine.

Russia's aggression against Ukraine affects us all. It has brought about growing economic instability and soaring food prices in countries far from the battlefields. It has required attention and resources that could have otherwise been used to support people in need elsewhere. Most critically, it has undermined our system of collective security, enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

Russia is trying to destroy and dominate a democratic neighbouring country and alter borders by using force. Russia attacks international law and the fundamental principles of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all States. It is therefore

existential for us all to uphold these principles, as enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, with its brutal and relentless warfare, continues to cause immeasurable human suffering. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, almost 7 million people have become been displaced in Ukraine, and 3.7 million have been forced to flee from their homeland.

Russia's systematic attacks against Ukraine's critical infrastructure deepen the plight of civilians every passing day. Civilians' access to water, electricity and heating is severely limited amid freezing winter weather. We are appalled by the ill treatment of thousands of children, who have been unlawfully deported or transferred by Russia. These children must be immediately returned to their families.

Russia must comply with its obligations under international humanitarian law, including by ending its attacks against civilians and civilian infrastructure, and ensuring humanitarian access. It is untenable that, more than 75 years since the adoption of the Geneva Conventions, the laws of war are being violated at every turn by Russia.

The Nordic countries are committed to seeking full accountability for the numerous violations of international law. Russian leadership must be held accountable for the atrocity crimes committed in Ukraine and for the crime of aggression.

The General Assembly took a decision this morning to support just and fair peace in Ukraine. The Nordic countries are proud to have voted in favour of both of the important resolutions (General Assembly resolutions ES-11/7 and ES-11/8).

We know Ukrainians as people who want peace. They wish to go on with their lives and keep building their beautiful, brave nation. We also know Ukrainians as people who love freedom — the freedom to speak their mind, elect their leaders and choose their international alliances. It is the duty of the Council to advance both of those goals so that Ukraine can live in peace and uphold its full sovereignty, in accordance with the United Nations Charter. Like all peace-loving nations, Ukraine deserves peace, one that is comprehensive, just and lasting. Ukraine must be part of any negotiation for peace.

Russia's aggression against Ukraine undermines not only security in Europe, but also stability across the world. Any solution for a lasting peace will necessitate strong European involvement. Without it, there is a high risk that the peace will be short-lived. We all have a collective interest to prevent the resurgence of violence and destruction, in Ukraine or anywhere in the world.

The Nordic countries support the search for a just peace. In the meantime, we remain determined to continue our significant military, economic and humanitarian assistance to Ukraine. In conclusion, we reaffirm our unwavering commitment to support Ukraine, as long as needed.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I now give the floor to the representative of Czechia.

Mr. Hulicius (Czechia): Eighty years ago, after the Second World War, our wise predecessors enshrined in Article 2, of the Charter of the United Nations, the very basic principle of peaceful coexistence among nations. They prohibited the use of force by any State against the territorial integrity or political independence of another State. And on 24 February 2022, Russia violated that very fundamental principle of international peace when it launched its full-scale invasion of Ukraine, escalating a conflict it started with the occupation of Crimea and Donbas in 2014.

Since then, it has been shamelessly attempting to steal the territory of a neighbouring State through a war of aggression. And for that, Russia must be

called to account, not rewarded — for all the victims of the Russian massacres in Bucha, Irpin, Mariupol or Borodyanka. For all the victims of this unprovoked and unjustifiable war, Kremlin must be held accountable and bear responsibility for the destruction and suffering it deliberately caused in Ukraine. This war is not only about Russia and Ukraine. It concerns us all. The ultimate victory of Ukraine means the victory of the rule of law and respect for others, while its defeat would allow lawless brutality to prevail. The consequences would reverberate around the world for many years to come, undermining the very foundations of this Organization and security globally.

Czechia remains committed to supporting Ukraine's desire for peace — a peace that respects Ukraine's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders, a peace that clearly distinguishes between the victim and the aggressor, a peace that is just and lasting. If Russia and its President, Mr. Putin, claim that their wish to end this war is sincere, then there is one simple way to prove it — send Russian soldiers back home. The solution to this war is that simple.

My country has its own tragic experience with imperialism and expansionism, also at the hands of Russia. We therefore feel strong solidarity with Ukraine and its people, and we will stand side by side with them for as long as it takes until a just peace, in line with the United Nations Charter and agreed by Ukraine — not imposed on it — is restored.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I now give the floor to the representative of Romania.

Mr. Hristea (Romania): Romania welcomes your decision, Mr. President, to convene today's meeting. I would also like to join previous speakers in expressing our gratitude for the briefing delivered by the Under-Secretary-General.

While it marks a bleak anniversary, today's meeting keeps the situation in Ukraine on the Council's agenda. The Council must absolutely remain seized of this matter since this organ was envisioned as the guarantor of international peace and security, and it acts on behalf of the whole United Nation membership.

Ukraine remains very important for the global community because of the complex impact of this war at the global level, including the dramatic worsening of food insecurity. Romania has demonstrated its solidarity with Ukraine and with the Ukrainian people. We firmly support Ukraine's independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty. We have welcomed Ukrainians fleeing the war and granted temporary protection status to more than 230,000 people. We have facilitated the transit of over 55 million tons of Ukrainian grains to global markets, and we have provided emergency energy support for Ukraine upon request. Since day one of the start of the war, we have advocated a just, sustainable and inclusive peace in Ukraine, based on the Charter of the United Nations and international law. Any resolution presented at the United Nations on Ukraine must be based on that idea. Any peace talks must include Ukraine. Since peace in Ukraine impacts European security, any solutions affecting the European security architecture should be drafted with the Europeans at the table.

It is obvious that any post-conflict arrangements will have systemic implications for the entire Black Sea region. Considering the importance of ensuring security and freedom of navigation in the Black Sea and Romania's geographical position, my country's is legitimately interested in the parameters of a future peace in Ukraine. For the reasons stated above, Romania has also been advocating and supporting measures to consolidate the resilience of our neighbour, the Republic of Moldova.

Last but not least, a just peace cannot be attained without justice and without holding accountable all those responsible. Romania is part of the effort to establish

the best possible international tribunal for sanctioning the aggression committed against Ukraine, in violation of a fundamental norm of international law — the prohibition of the use of force. Ukraine is therefore entitled to the strongest reply, in terms of judicial accountability. This should serve as an example of compliance with the United Nations Charter and as discouragement from any such future actions from any other State.

There are three brief points that I would like to add in conclusion, and they reflect the spirit of the Chinese presidency signature event, organized last week, on practicing multilateralism (see S/PV.9861). First, the Council, which, according to the Charter, acts on our behalf, should precisely act and defend the United Nations Charter because the illegitimate and brutal attack against Ukraine continues now, three years after it was launched. Secondly, the Council should act and defend the United Nations Charter because the aggressor, the Russian Federation, is a permanent member of this organ. Thirdly, the Council should act and defend the United Nations Charter because, with every passing day, this aggression is further undermining rules-based multilateralism, violating the United Nations Charter and international law, including international humanitarian law.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I now give the floor to the representative of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Ms. Schouten (Kingdom of the Netherlands): I would like to thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing.

In the cold light of day, three years after Russia's large-scale, unprovoked and illegal full-scale invasion against Ukraine, we face a bleak and hard reality — if we do not act now, we are confirming that might makes right. We cannot have the aggressor impose a deal on the victim. This is an aggressor that continues to intensify its attacks on civilians and civilian infrastructure.

Saturday's large-scale drone attacks do not show an intention by Russia to end this war. We cannot let the blatant violations of the Charter of the United Nations and the violation of Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity stand. That would create a dangerous precedent for the future, undermining the principles of international law and the sovereignty of all nations.

Ukraine needs to be an equal partner in the negotiations — nothing about Ukraine without Ukraine. And since the security of Europe is directly impacted, Europe should also be involved. Only inclusive negotiations can lead to a just and lasting peace.

This war must end, not just for the sake of Ukraine and Europe, but also for the sake of the world. Russia's aggression has had devastating and long-lasting consequences for food security, the environment and nuclear security. The Kingdom of the Netherlands calls on all countries that are enabling Russia's aggression to stop providing Moscow with a lifeline to prolong its unjust war. We call on all Member States to help find a just, lasting and comprehensive peace for the Ukrainian people in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

Changing borders by force must not be rewarded. We must uphold the Charter. Otherwise, we will be living in a world where might makes right.

The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.