



General Assembly

Eleventh Emergency Special session

19th plenary meeting
Thursday, 23 February 2023, 3 p.m.
New York

Official Records

President: Mr. Kőrösi (Hungary)

The meeting was called to order at 3 p.m.

Agenda item 5 (continued)

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

Draft resolution (A/ES-11/L.7)

Draft amendments (A/ES-11/L.8 and A/ES-11/L.9)

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

Mr. Nakano (Department for General Assembly and Conference Management): I will address the additional co-sponsorship for all three draft documents: A/ES-11/L.7, A/ES-11/L.8 and A/ES-11/L.9.

First, I should like to announce that, since the submission of draft resolution A/ES-11/L.7, and in addition to the delegations listed in the document, the following countries have become sponsors of the draft resolution: Antigua and Barbuda, Belize, Cabo Verde, Chile, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Jamaica, Myanmar, the Niger, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Samoa, Singapore, Suriname, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay and Vanuatu.

Next, I should like to announce that, since the submission of draft amendment A/ES-11/L.8, and in addition to the delegations listed in the document, the

following country has become a sponsor of the draft amendment: Nicaragua.

Finally, I should like to announce that, since the submission of draft amendment A/ES-11/L.9, and in addition to the delegations listed in the document, the following country has become a sponsor of the draft amendment: Nicaragua.

The President: Delegations wishing to make a statement in explanation of vote before the voting on the draft resolution or either of the draft amendments under this agenda item are invited to do so now in one intervention. Before giving the floor for explanations of vote before the voting, may I remind delegations that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. Doualeh (Djibouti) (*spoke in French*): We would have liked today's vote to be on a draft resolution celebrating the end of a war and the advent of a lasting peace. Instead, we are witnessing a continued deterioration of the security situation, an escalation of the conflict and violence that threatens to be even more deadly given the war rhetoric and military resources deployed. That scenario is further clouded by the threat of nuclear weapons and the likelihood of a nuclear accident.

We were shocked and puzzled as to the reasons that provoked the war. A year later, we remain confused as to why the conflict continues without the clear prospect of a way out of the crisis either through direct negotiations

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or through third-party mediation. Peace has become a controversial notion, subject to suspicion.

Draft resolution A/ES-11/L.7, which is before this meeting of the eleventh emergency special session today, seeks to clarify the means of achieving a just, comprehensive and lasting peace. That is why it deserves our support, for, despite that bleak horizon, we must never give up, and we must work tirelessly to promote a just and lasting peace on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations and international law. Violence must give way to dialogue and diplomacy.

(spoke in English)

International peace and security can be achieved only through the compliance of all States with their obligations under the United Nations Charter. Chief among those are the obligations to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of other States, as described in Article 2, paragraph 4, and to refrain from the threat or use of force. Wars of aggression cannot be tolerated, and neither can efforts to acquire territory or change borders by force of arms.

All such flagrant violations of basic international norms must be called out, denounced, resisted and opposed by all law-abiding States. Djibouti did that one year ago, and we are doing so again today. There can be no fatigue when it comes to violations of the Charter and other fundamental breaches of the international order. That is the reason that Djibouti will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us today.

Mr. Muhammad Bande (Nigeria): In the recent past, the global community has endured many disasters, the most acute ones being in Ukraine, Pakistan, Türkiye and Syria. The causes and the remedies vary. Yet all have been accompanied by the loss of thousands of lives, properties and displacement. Many countries, entities and individuals have stepped up in support of human beings who found themselves in such conditions. That is the kind of solidarity that the United Nations advocates, provides and organizes.

Nigeria continues to express concerns over the ongoing war against Ukraine and regrets the inability of the international community to broker peace between the Russian Federation and Ukraine, both of which are members of the General Assembly. The humanitarian crisis is worsening, and cities and towns in Ukraine are being destroyed. Even beyond Ukraine,

we can hardly point to a country that is unaffected by the consequences of the war.

Nigeria is committed to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law. It abhors violations of the Charter.

Despite the continuation of aggression against Ukraine, Members of this Organization must prioritize ending the war and, thereafter, working towards sustainable peace between the Russian Federation and Ukraine. Nigeria commends the efforts of the Secretary-General and the Republic of Türkiye in ensuring grain supplies to countries that needed them most and in ensuring humanitarian access. We should deepen that approach by focusing on stopping the war, preventing further loss of life and the destruction of towns and cities, causing terrible displacement. Countries and entities that have influence on the two countries need to work with the United Nations to achieve that objective. We all have some responsibility in that regard.

It is Nigeria's firm belief that the cause of peace in our world will be eminently enhanced if, among other things, we overcome the desire to invade and occupy and the tendency to assume it right that some countries are merely security zones or zones for control by others. Our Charter has long guided us, even with some of its structural limitations. Of all the elements of the Charter of our Organization, the most important ones are the principles of respect for the sovereignty of States and the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes.

While Nigeria strongly believes in the need to hold all parties accountable for the crimes committed, we register our reservation about paragraph 9 of the text of draft resolution A/ES-11/L.7, entitled "Principles of the Charter of the United Nations underlying a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in Ukraine". The most urgent accountability is for us to use whatever resources, other than violence, that we have at our disposal to ensure that this war stops.

Nigeria is not fully sure that paragraph 9 is really helpful in stopping the war. It may harden positions and make getting to a solution more difficult. In addition, not only are the mechanisms for the investigations and prosecutions unclear in the text, but it is also not difficult to see how the Assembly will be bogged down for years to come over which acts of aggression by some other Members should be treated in the same manner or which ones should be prioritized. It is in the

light of those and other considerations that Nigeria will vote in favour of the draft resolution but expresses its reservations about paragraph 9. We may well decide at an appropriate time to have a focused and honest, if difficult, discussion about accountability in all cases of unilateral action, occupation and settlement against sovereign States, with a determination to put an end to such acts and achieve genuine reconciliation. The solidarity that we have seen in recently giving comfort to victims in Ukraine, Türkiye, Syria and Pakistan should give us hope that that is both necessary and possible.

In conclusion, in line with the Charter of the United Nations, particularly concerning the inviolability of borders and the peaceful settlement of disputes, Nigeria will vote in favour of the draft resolution. While expressing reservations about paragraph 9, Nigeria affirms what we all signed up to, and, in view of the consequences of the war in Ukraine for Ukrainians and for the rest of the world, we urge focused attention first on the cessation of the war.

Mr. Rai (Nepal): My delegation is deeply distressed by the year-long conflict, death and devastation in Ukraine. It has posed an extreme danger to international peace and security. The sorrows and ramifications of the conflict are untold, be it death and devastation in Ukraine, the disruption of the global supply chain, food insecurity or inflation worldwide.

Peaceful coexistence, mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aggression, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, are the fundamentals of Nepal's foreign policy. The United Nations Charter unequivocally stipulates that all Member States shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

Furthermore, the Charter says that all Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered. The security and stability of one and all countries are founded on those very principles.

Nepal's position has been clear from the very beginning of this conflict. Based on the foundation of the United Nations Charter and international law, Nepal has stood for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine and the protection of its civilians. Nepal

has clearly pronounced that no solution can be reached through hostilities and conflict.

As provided for by the United Nations Charter, dialogue and diplomacy are the tools for resolving disputes and differences. As a peace-loving country, Nepal reiterates its call for the immediate cessation of hostilities and the creation of conditions for dialogue and diplomacy.

We urge that all the efforts by the parties in conflict, as well as by the international community, be channelled to create conditions for peace. Draft resolution A/ES-11/L.7, entitled "Principles of the Charter of the United Nations underlying a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in Ukraine", is before us today. The draft resolution could have articulated the primacy of negotiation and dialogue and created conditions for just and lasting peace in Ukraine, which we believe is fundamental to the achievement of durable peace in Ukraine.

Nevertheless, we believe that the draft resolution is intended to protect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Ukraine and to bring about peace in Ukraine.

In that context, with the firm belief in the United Nations Charter and the settlement of international disputes through peaceful means, my delegation will support the draft resolution that is before us.

Ms. Joyini (South Africa): South Africa continues to express its deep regret that the war in Ukraine, which tomorrow marks its first anniversary, continues to destroy innocent lives and critical infrastructure, as well as displacing millions. This is a war of which the impact has resonated across the globe, affecting the livelihoods of the most vulnerable and heightening the current debilitating global food, fuel and financial crises.

South Africa wishes to stress its unwavering belief in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We believe that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States should be sacrosanct. That also applies to Ukraine.

We also affirm through our resolve that urgent actions are needed to end the war. However, it is a sad indictment of our efforts that we, as the international community, have been unable to come up with concrete proposals to create the conditions to do so. As South Africa has stated before here in the General Assembly,

diplomacy and dialogue are the only path that will lead to a sustainable and peaceful resolution of the conflict.

Today we consider yet another draft resolution on the war in Ukraine, which comes amid an influx of arms to the region, perpetuating greater acts of violence and increased human suffering. Together with the threat of nuclear war, that makes peace seem less attainable.

Over the past year, the Assembly adopted a series of resolutions on Ukraine. As we asked the Assembly before: are our ways and actions focused on the maintenance of peace or on creating further divisions that make the attainment of immediate peace less likely?

While we support the focus of current draft resolution A/ES-11/L.7, on the principles of the Charter and international law, it certainly brings us no closer to laying the foundations for a durable peace and bringing an end to the devastation and destruction. What we need is a firm and unequivocal commitment to peace from all parties.

Mr. Chindawongse (Thailand): Thailand reiterates its unequivocal adherence to the Charter of the United Nations, both in letter and spirit, as well as to international law, as the non-arbitrary point of reference for standards of conduct of nations.

Thailand upholds the people's right to live in safety, with their basic well-being universal and non-negotiable. Humanitarian considerations must not be politicized or discriminatory.

We urge the United Nations to dispense its best and most earnest effort in preventive diplomacy to safeguard those basic human rights around the world, and not to become a part of the morality play that turns very complex situations into simple binaries of good and evil, followed by finger-pointing and condemnations.

The utmost effort should be made to create conducive environments for engagement and dialogue to settle disputes once they erupt, rather than adding fuel to the fire. The Hippocratic oath should apply in all United Nations endeavours — "First, do no harm".

On the one-year anniversary of the war in Ukraine, we urge all members of this organ to do the right thing by the world at large and by the 8 billion people who are simply bystanders but who are bearing the brunt of the war in very many different ways. For the peace settlement process to start, we must try to understand the root causes of the conflict in an objective and non-myopic manner, devoid of power and morality-

play elements. The world is vast and rich enough for countries with diverse ideologies and political forms of Government to coexist peacefully, if we learn to respect differences and heed our respective existential.

More weapons escalate fighting. More fighting exacerbates human suffering. More sanctions intensify human pain and have never led to regime change. Condemnations bear no positive weight on altering behaviour or conduct.

Thailand calls on all parties to step up diplomatic efforts to engage in dialogue to achieve a peaceful negotiated settlement as a way out of the Ukraine conflict. The war in Ukraine represents an unprecedented and most dangerous challenge, which threatens the geopolitical, financial, economic, security and collective balance of the world at large.

It was said that diplomacy is the continuation of war by other means. Wars cannot be settled by the deployment of more lethal weapons, not unless total destruction and human casualties are the only objectives and the only option available. Wars can be settled only by engagement and dialogue and by pragmatism, not ideology, and not by the winner-takes-all mindset. As in Isaiah 1:18, it is now time for all nations to come and "reason together".

Ms. Ferreira (Angola): Draft resolution A/ES-11/L.7, which we are about to adopt, is being discussed at a time when, over a period of more than 12 months, the conflict in Ukraine has claimed incalculable human lives and caused multiple losses of material goods. We consider document A/ES-11/L.7 to be progress in view of the fact that the international community is showing clear signs of support for the process of seeking a peaceful solution to the conflict and making efforts to bring the parties closer together for a lasting peace in the eastern European region.

Meanwhile, as the General Assembly is the mostly representative organ of our Organization, we think that it is important that the intergovernmental process be inclusive. It is therefore imperative that the document include everyone's contribution so that Ukraine and Russia can coexist peacefully, in a more stable stronger region and an increasingly peaceful world.

Angola will abstain in the voting. We are of the opinion that paragraph 9 is not conducive to creating an environment conducive to the start of peaceful negotiations. We do not see difficulties with the other paragraphs.

The Republic of Angola defends the notion of accountability for crimes committed by any of the parties. However, we do not think that this is the right time to include such a paragraph in the draft resolution or to undermine the Secretary-General's efforts and initiatives to promote a lasting and comprehensive peace between the two countries.

We would like to reiterate that the Republic of Angola is of the opinion that conflict resolution between Russia and Ukraine can be achieved only through dialogue. The General Assembly must therefore maintain its interest in preserving the principles of peaceful coexistence among Member States,

Mr. Costa Filho (Brazil): Brazil has decided to vote in favour of draft resolution A/ES-11/L.7, which is before us, because of the urgent need for the General Assembly to reaffirm its unwavering commitment to upholding the core principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, while underscoring the need to reach peace.

We commend the facilitators for the inclusive negotiations. In our view, the most important element of the draft resolution is the call for the international community to redouble its diplomatic efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace in Ukraine.

We also appreciate the important humanitarian element of the draft resolution, including the call for full adherence by all parties to their obligations under international humanitarian law. Every possible measure must be adopted to minimize the suffering of the civilian population.

It is high time to start peace talks rather than fuel the conflict. Brazil considers the call for the cessation of hostilities in paragraph 5 as an appeal to both sides to halt violence without preconditions. No alleged difficulties to implement our call to stop hostilities, as set forth in that paragraph, must be seen as an obstacle to starting negotiations. This draft resolution must be construed as an important step towards paving the way for peace.

The conflict, which started a year ago, has imposed immense suffering on civilians. It also entails a number of consequences for many countries, especially in the developing world, due to its impacts on food, fertilizer and energy prices. The time has come to open up the space for dialogue and to begin reconstruction. Brazil stands ready to participate in the efforts for a lasting solution to this conflict.

Mr. Abd Karim (Malaysia): Malaysia has been closely following the ongoing conflict in Ukraine. We are deeply concerned over the increase in civilian casualties and in the number of displaced persons, as well as the destruction of civilian infrastructure, which continues to this day.

In any armed conflict, it is always the affected civilians — men, women, the young and the old — who suffer the most. As such, we urge all parties to fully comply with their obligations under international humanitarian law and international human rights law.

At the same time, Malaysia wishes to see an immediate end to the hostilities and the start of peaceful negotiations. Malaysia believes that, for meaningful dialogue and negotiations to begin, all sides must take the legitimate security concerns of both Ukraine and Russia into consideration given the complex geopolitical context. Those must be addressed through dialogue and peaceful means, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the rule of law.

Malaysia has upheld, and will continue to uphold, the principles of respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States. Staying faithful to those principles, Malaysia will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Malaysia regrets what we see as the inability or unwillingness of the Security Council to discharge its primary responsibility to maintain international peace and security. The General Assembly has adopted six resolutions related to the ongoing conflict, but the situation on the ground remains the same, if not worse. In that regard, Malaysia calls on all the parties concerned to take immediate steps to de-escalate in order to prevent further loss of lives and destruction. Today we have heard calls and appeals for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace from fellow delegations. Malaysia strongly echoes these calls and appeals.

Finally, Malaysia wishes to register our disappointment over the fact that there were no open-ended discussions with Member States at large. We feel that there should be more open-ended consultations so that the larger membership of the United Nations would be able to engage with the penholders to add their views, especially since this is the sixth draft resolution on the issue. Malaysia reiterates its commitment to the peaceful settlement of disputes, guided by the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter

and international law in the interests of maintaining regional and international peace and security.

Dame Barbara Woodward (United Kingdom): I will be brief. Before we vote on the main draft resolution (A/ES-11/L.7), allow me to address the draft amendments proposed by Belarus (A/ES-11/L.8 and A/ES-11/L.9). They have been put forward by a State that has facilitated Russia's invasion, that provided the staging ground for the early attempt to topple Kyiv, and that is among a small number of States that have consistently voted against upholding Ukraine's rights under the United Nations Charter.

The draft amendments attempt to create a false equivalence between Russia, which the General Assembly and the Secretary-General have made clear is engaged in a full-scale invasion, and Ukraine, which is exercising its right of self-defence against that aggression. Put simply, these draft amendments are an attempt to undermine the Charter. They are not aimed at peace, but at defending the aggressor. They are not proposed in good faith.

We therefore urge Member States to vote against these draft amendments so we can move to vote in favour of the draft resolution that genuinely seeks a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in Ukraine, in line with the United Nations Charter.

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

I wish to address the question concerning the majority required for the adoption of the draft resolution.

In the light of Article 18, paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Charter of the United Nations, is there any objection to taking action on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.7 by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting?

I see no objection. The two-thirds majority of members present and voting is therefore required for the adoption of draft resolution A/ES-11/L.7.

The two thirds majority of members present and voting is therefore also required for the adoption of the draft amendments A/ES-11/L.8 and A/ES-11/L.9. Before proceeding to take a decision on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.7, in accordance with rule 90 of the rules of procedure, the Assembly shall first take a decision on draft amendments A/ES-11/L.8 and A/ES-11/L.9 one by one.

We first turn draft amendment A/ES-11/L.8.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour:

Belarus, Cuba, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Mali, Nicaragua, Russian Federation, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Zimbabwe

Against:

Albania, Andorra, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Cabo Verde, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cyprus, Czechia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Estonia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gambia, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Kiribati, Kuwait, Latvia, Liberia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malawi, Maldives, Malta, Marshall Islands, Micronesia (Federated States of), Monaco, Montenegro, Myanmar, Netherlands, New Zealand, North Macedonia, Norway, Palau, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Samoa, San Marino, Sao Tome and Principe, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, Spain, Suriname, Sweden, Switzerland, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Türkiye, Tuvalu, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Zambia

Abstaining:

Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burundi, China, Congo, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Egypt, El Salvador, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Libya, Malaysia, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Namibia, Nauru, Nepal, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Philippines, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, South Sudan, Sri Lanka, Tajikistan, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, Uzbekistan, Yemen

The draft amendment was rejected by 94 votes to 11, with 56 abstentions.

The President: We turn next to draft amendment A/ES-11/L.9.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour:

Angola, Belarus, China, Cuba, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Honduras, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Mali, Nicaragua, Russian Federation, Syrian Arab Republic, Zimbabwe

Against:

Albania, Andorra, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Cabo Verde, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cyprus, Czechia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Estonia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gambia, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Kuwait, Latvia, Liberia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malawi, Maldives, Malta, Marshall Islands, Micronesia (Federated States of), Monaco, Montenegro, Myanmar, Netherlands, New Zealand, North Macedonia, Norway, Palau, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Samoa, San Marino, Sao Tome and Principe, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Suriname, Sweden, Switzerland, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Türkiye, Tuvalu, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Zambia

Abstaining:

Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burundi, Colombia, Congo, Djibouti, El Salvador, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Libya, Malaysia, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Namibia, Nauru, Nepal, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Philippines, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Saudi Arabia, South

Africa, South Sudan, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tajikistan, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, Uzbekistan, Yemen

The draft amendment was rejected by 91 votes to 15, with 52 abstentions.

The President: Since draft amendments A/ES-11/L.8 and A/ES-11/L.9 were not adopted, we shall proceed to take a decision on draft resolution A/ES-11/L.7, entitled "Principles of the Charter of the United Nations underlying a comprehensive just and lasting peace in Ukraine".

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour:

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

States of America, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Yemen, Zambia

Against:

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

Abstaining:

Algeria, Angola, Armenia, Bangladesh, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Burundi, Central African Republic, China, Congo, Cuba, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guinea, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Mozambique, Namibia, Pakistan, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tajikistan, Togo, Uganda, Uzbekistan, Viet Nam, Zimbabwe

Draft resolution A/ES-11/L.7 was adopted by 141 to 7, with 32 abstentions (resolution ES-11/6).

The President: Before giving the floor in explanation of vote after the voting, may I remind delegations that explanations are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. Pedroso Cuesta (Cuba) (*spoke in Spanish*): By virtue of its firm commitment to the Charter of the United Nations and international law, Cuba defends the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and the self-determination of peoples. We are unequivocally opposed to the use or threat of the use of force, and we support the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

Almost a year ago we warned before this General Assembly that history would hold the United States Government accountable for the consequences of an increasingly offensive military doctrine beyond NATO's borders that threatens international peace, security and stability (see A/ES-11/PV.3). Today in Ukraine, instead of easing tensions, the confrontation on the ground is being exacerbated by the increasing flow of arms, aggressive rhetoric and unilateral sanctions that contribute to extending the conflict.

Cuba abstained in the voting on resolution ES-11/6 because it considers that the resolution does not promote or contribute to dialogue and negotiation with the participation of all parties involved with a view to achieving a real and lasting peace. Fulfilling this objective is now the most urgent priority.

We cannot continue to stoke a conflict that every day causes deaths and injuries and great material damage. We reject any attempt to manipulate resolution ES-11/6 in future as a legal basis to justify the eventual creation of tribunals for national and international prosecutions. The General Assembly does not have a mandate to do that.

Cuba will continue to advocate tirelessly for a serious, constructive and realistic diplomatic solution to the current crisis in Ukraine by peaceful means and with unrestricted adherence to the norms of international law that guarantees the security and sovereignty of all, as well as regional and international peace and security.

Mr. Mahmoud (Egypt) (*spoke in Arabic*): Egypt voted in favour of resolution ES-11/6 pursuant to its firm commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, especially those related to the peaceful settlement of international disputes and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States Members of the United Nations. That stance is resolutely and consistently reflected in Egypt's firm positions on all international resolutions.

Accordingly, Egypt would like to affirm the following. First, today's vote coincides with the one-year anniversary of the outbreak of the crisis in Ukraine, whose humanitarian and economic repercussions have affected everyone, and not simply the warring parties. Developing countries, including Egypt, are suffering directly from this ongoing crisis, which has severely affected their economies through its negative impacts on food security and energy security as well as its disruption of supply chains. Unfortunately, the international community continues to be lax in seriously addressing the economic and social challenges posed to developing countries resulting from the crisis and has failed in working together to arrive at an appropriate solution thereto.

Secondly, Egypt reaffirms the need to work urgently on resolving the Ukrainian crisis at the earliest opportunity. We would recall the sincere appeal made by the Egyptian President Abdel Fattah Al Sisi at the inauguration of the twenty-seventh session of the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in Sharm El-Sheikh in which he underlined the need to end the Ukrainian war and look for the means to urgently settle it.

Thirdly, Egypt had hoped that the resolution adopted today would propose mechanisms to resolve the crisis and launch serious and comprehensive negotiations without preconditions with a view to settling it. Egypt would like to urge all relevant international parties to actively search for the appropriate mechanism to expeditiously resume negotiations on ending the dispute — one that would address the root causes of the crisis and guarantee a response to the security concerns of all parties and safeguard their respective national security in an equal, fair and sustainable manner.

Fourthly, Egypt once again urges all parties that are involved directly or indirectly in the crisis to avoid any escalation and refrain from taking any measures that would prolong the crisis or exacerbate it, with a view to stopping the bloodshed and the human suffering in the conflict zone and to ending the humanitarian impact of the crisis that has affected innocent people on continents thousands of miles away from the conflict.

In conclusion, Egypt hopes that the current crisis will serve as a reminder to everyone internationally of the need to stop using double standards in dealing with situations of this kind, in accordance with international law. We emphasize that using double standards will lead only to the erosion of international law and the toppling of the entire system of international legitimacy.

Mr. Madut Agok (South Sudan): South Sudan takes the floor in explanation of vote after the voting. South Sudan voted in favour of the resolution ES-11/6 just adopted.

Since the inception of the conflict a year ago, South Sudan has maintained and continuously cast a vote in abstention. As a country that emerged from the longest civil war on the African continent and is implementing a peace agreement that many in this Hall helped to deliver, we join the vote in favour of the resolution for the singular reason that this conflict needs to stop. Its devastation has been experienced far and wide. Therefore, through our vote, we strongly call for a peaceful and speedy settlement through a negotiation mechanism agreed upon by the parties to the conflict. It is our considered belief that there is no military solution to a conflict that has led to the destruction we have witnessed.

Mr. Nasir (Indonesia): One year after the war began in Ukraine, we are no closer to peace. Death, suffering and destruction continue to mount. The impact of the war has gone beyond the borders of the countries in

conflict. Indonesia voted in favour of resolution ES-11/6 because we believe that upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law, including the peaceful resolution of disputes, respect for human rights and the rule of law, are fundamental to resolving the ongoing conflict in Ukraine.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, we deeply regret that critical elements that we constructively suggested in the drafting process are missing in the final draft. In this regard, we believe that the resolution adopted today may not have achieved the intended goal, which is to help bring the countries at war closer to peace. The resolution is missing the spirit needed to realize peace in Ukraine, and it does not call on the international community to create the conditions conducive to ending the war. Most notably, the resolution is missing the call for the two parties in conflict to pursue dialogue and diplomatic means and enter into direct peace negotiations. Ultimately, the two parties themselves are the ones that can and must prevent a further downward spiral and end the war. We are also concerned that the resolution failed to avoid a zero-sum-game approach to resolving the underlying problem. Such approach will only deepen the divide between the conflicting parties.

The General Assembly is the most inclusive organ of the United Nations. Its resolutions reflect the collective voice and statement of 193 States Members of the United Nations. It is therefore fundamental that its resolutions be factually correct, accurate, inclusive and balanced. General Assembly resolutions are not social media content. The credibility of our august institution is put on the line if resolutions put forward by the General Assembly spin factual information. The resolution adopted today was leaning very closely in this direction.

We must continue to work towards a world where aggression and violence have no place and where the principles of international law and human rights are respected. We must not apply double standards in addressing situations of conflict in all parts of the world, whether it be the war in Ukraine, in Palestine or in any other part of the world. Indonesia stands ready to support all efforts aimed at achieving peace and stability, and we call on the international community to do so as well.

Mr. Tlalajoe (Lesotho): Lesotho is taking the floor in explanation of vote after the adoption of resolution ES-11/6, entitled “Principles of the Charter of the United Nations underlying a comprehensive, just and

lasting peace in Ukraine". We must always remember that we come together as peace-loving States that accept the obligations contained in the United Nations Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out those obligations.

In everything we do, pursuing international peace and stability should be our goal. Needless to say, Article 2, subsection 3 of the United Nations Charter enjoins all Member States to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered. Based on this premise, Lesotho disassociates itself from the seventh preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 5 of resolution ES-11/6.

The resolution clearly states the principles to be followed to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in Ukraine. However, the conflict in Ukraine shows no signs of abating. Lesotho firmly believes that respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Member States, as enshrined in the United Nations Charter, is sacrosanct and must be upheld by all Member States at all times for the attainment of sustainable international peace. Lesotho's vote was therefore motivated by a genuine desire for peace.

The situation in Ukraine raises serious concerns, with political, economic and security ramifications for Europe and the rest of the world. The manner in which the resolution is framed creates further distance between the warring parties and does not indicate any immediate steps for diplomatic solution or endeavours that would hasten a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

Allow me to conclude by reiterating that Lesotho would like to see the international community constructively support the parties in the search for sustainable peace.

Mrs. Kamboj (India): India continues to remain concerned over the situation in Ukraine. The conflict has resulted in the loss of countless lives and in misery, particularly for women, children and the elderly, with millions becoming homeless and forced to seek shelter in neighbouring countries. Reports of attacks on civilians and civilian infrastructure are also deeply concerning. We have consistently advocated that no solution can ever be arrived at that comes at the cost of human lives. In this context, our Prime Minister's statement that this cannot be an era of war bears repetition. Escalation of hostilities and violence is in no one's interest. Instead,

an urgent return to the path of dialogue and diplomacy is the way forward.

India's approach to the Ukraine conflict will continue to be people-centric. We are providing both humanitarian assistance to Ukraine and economic support to some of our neighbours in the global South under economic distress, even as they stare at the escalating costs of food, fuel and fertilizers, which has been a consequential fallout of the ongoing conflict.

The overall objective of today's resolution seeking a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in line with the United Nations Charter is understandable. We also note the emphasis on increasing support by Member States for diplomatic efforts to achieve peace, as well as support for the Secretary-General's efforts to promote a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in Ukraine. However, reports from the ground portray a complex scenario, with the conflict intensifying on several fronts.

Today, as the General Assembly marks a year of the Ukrainian conflict, it is important that we ask ourselves a few pertinent questions. Are we anywhere near a possible solution acceptable to both sides? Can any process that does not involve either of the two sides ever lead to a credible and meaningful solution? Has the United Nations system, and particularly its principal organ, the Security Council, based on a 1945 world construct, not been rendered ineffective to address contemporary challenges to global peace and security?

India remains steadfastly committed to multilateralism and upholds the principles of the United Nations Charter. We will always call for dialogue and diplomacy as the only viable way out. While we take note of the stated objectives of today's resolution, given its inherent limitations in reaching our desired goal of securing lasting peace, we were constrained to abstain in the voting on it.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): Pakistan abstained in voting on resolution ES-11/6. I wish to explain the reasons for our abstention.

Pakistan is deeply concerned by the conflict in Ukraine, which has caused and is causing immense human suffering in Ukraine and massive damage to its infrastructure, economy and society. We acknowledge the considerable effort made by the resolution's sponsors to moderate its tone and language. Pakistan fully supports the resolution's call for respect for the principles of sovereignty, sovereign equality and

territorial integrity of States and non-acquisition of territory by the threat or use of force. States cannot be torn apart by the use of force. Pakistan regrets that these principles have not been universally applied and respected, for instance, in the situation of foreign occupation and the ongoing attempt to illegally and forcibly annex Jammu and Kashmir.

Pakistan also endorses the resolution's call on Member States and international organizations to redouble their support for diplomatic efforts aimed at achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in Ukraine. While the hostilities continue, there is an ever-present danger of a further military and geographical escalation of the war. There is therefore an imminent threat to global peace and security.

While my delegation agrees with and endorses the principles and general provisions contained in resolution ES-11/6, there are some provisions that are not consistent with Pakistan's principled position on some of the elements covered in it. As a country that has seen and suffered the consequences of prolonged conflict in our neighbourhood, we attach the highest possible priority to an immediate cessation of hostilities and resumption of a dialogue to achieve a just and durable solution through direct or indirect negotiations, mediation or other peaceful means. In that regard, we see an important role for the United Nations and the Secretary-General, among others, under Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter of the United Nations for efforts aimed at de-escalation, renewed negotiations and sustained dialogue for a peaceful diplomatic solution.

Consistent with our position on resolution ES-11/6, we also abstained in the voting on the draft amendments proposed to the resolution by Belarus in documents A/ES-11/L.8 and A/ES-11/L.9.

Pakistan continues to hope that in a constructive approach, the parties will soon accept a mutual and speedy cessation of hostilities. We also hope for a resumption of dialogue on a durable settlement of the conflict, based on the principles of the Charter and past agreements, and bearing in mind the legitimate security interests of all States.

The President: We have heard the last speaker in explanation of vote after the voting.

Some delegations have asked to exercise their right of reply. I would like to remind members that statements in right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for

the first intervention and five minutes for the second, and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. Kim In Chol (Democratic People's Republic of Korea): My delegation is taking the floor to exercise its right of reply in response to the provocative statement made yesterday by the representative of South Korea (see A/ES-11/PV.17). We categorically reject South Korea's outrageous outburst, which merits no comment. However, now that South Korea has provoked us, let me say a few words.

We reiterate that we have never recognized the Security Council's unlawful resolution 1718 (2006) imposing sanctions on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and which was cooked up by the United States and its vassal forces. We want to once again make it clear that we have never had any arms dealings with Russia and have no plan to do so in the future. South Korea's reckless remark is intolerable, as it is simply aimed at trying to tarnish the image of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea by fabricating non-existent stories, and is a grave provocation that has to be countered.

It is clear that if the United States had not infringed on Russia's legitimate security interests and accelerated NATO's gradual eastward advance, the present situation in Ukraine would not have arisen. The United States and other Western countries are currently wrecking global peace and regional security, while handing Ukraine military hardware worth astronomical sums of money in total disregard for Russia's security concerns. We would like to draw Member States' attention to the fact that the Secretary General of NATO flew to South Korea in January to pressure it to deliver passive military support to Ukraine. It is an open secret that South Korea is seeking to supply Ukraine with ammunition and weaponry in the face of mounting pressure from the United States. It is only a matter of time before South Korean military hardware turns up on the battlefield in Ukraine.

South Korea's allegation is aimed at distracting the attention of the international community from its criminal record. We have already made it clear that we will not deal with South Korea, which should be aware that if it continues to provoke us groundlessly, far from alleviating its security-related unease, it will find itself facing an extreme security crisis.

We want to take this opportunity to stress that the courageous people of Russia have the will and capability

to defend their country's security and territorial integrity without any outside military support.

Mr. Mathur (India): I am taking the floor today to say that this time India has chosen not to respond to Pakistan's mischievous provocations. Our advice to the representative of Pakistan is to refer to our numerous past replies. Pakistan has only to look at itself and its own track record as a State that harbours and provides safe haven to terrorists with impunity. Such an uncalled-for provocation is particularly regrettable and certainly misplaced at a time when after two days of intense discussions, we have all agreed that the path of peace can be the only way forward for resolving conflict and discord.

Mr. Ajmal (Pakistan): In exercising our right of reply, we would like to make the following points.

India continues to state a factually incorrect position in this forum year after year. Jammu and Kashmir is an internationally recognized disputed territory and not an integral part of India, as has been claimed. Repeating a mistaken position does not make it acceptable at any point. The focus of today's debate is on people and on the crisis at hand. And one of the inalienable rights of the people enshrined in the very first Article of the Charter of the United Nations is the right to self-determination.

In the case of the Kashmiri people, the right to self-determination has been recognized and promised to them by the Security Council through its relevant resolutions. For more than seven decades, through force and fraud, India has prevented the Kashmiris from exercising that right and holding a United Nations supervised plebiscite to enable them to determine their destiny. India has imprisoned the entire Kashmiri leadership, illegally detained thousands of Kashmiri youths, as well as women and children, summarily executed young boys, violently put down protests and burned down entire neighbourhoods and villages.

Jammu and Kashmir, illegally occupied by India, remains the most militarized zone in the world. Almost 900,000 security forces have been deployed by India to curb the Kashmiri people in their legitimate struggle. But such measures have served only to intensify their struggle for their right to self-determination. Even in the face of the worst atrocities, as evident from the thousands of unknown, unmarked mass graves in Jammu and Kashmir, its innocent people remain firm in their claim to their right to self-determination.

Pakistan will keep exposing India's brutalities and informing the international community of the plight of the Kashmiri people.

Mr. Kim Dongjoon (Republic of Korea): My delegation is speaking in right of reply to make a few comments about the remarks by the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

I will be brief but very clear. We believe that his statement distracts from the very reason we are all here, which is about our desire for international peace and stability, our respect for justice and international law and our commitment to the core principles and values of the Charter of the United Nations. My delegation believes that everyone here knows which country is violating its duties under the Charter and international law. Needless to say, it is the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We would also like to reaffirm that any arms trade with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea constitutes a blatant violation of Security Council resolutions.

Mr. Kim In Chol (Democratic People's Republic of Korea): My delegation feels compelled to take the floor a second time to respond to the statement by the representative of South Korea.

We will not repeat our position, but we want to take this opportunity to firmly condemn South Korea's attempt to incite a fratricidal confrontation in this forum. We condemn in the strongest terms the fact that the Security Council is being transformed into a tool for implementing the hostile policies of the United States and South Korea and other vassal forces, without mentioning a single word about the joint military exercises of the United States and South Korea now taking place in and around the Korean peninsula. They represent a serious infringement on the security interests of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We warn South Korea that if it continues with its baseless accusations in support of the United States' hostile policy towards the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, it will inevitably face a major security disaster. South Korea must bear in mind that its continued submissiveness to the United States will lead to its self-destruction.

The President: In accordance with the terms of paragraph 11 of resolution ES-11/6, which we just adopted, the eleventh emergency special session is temporarily adjourned.

The meeting rose at 4.10 pm.