



# Security Council

Seventy-second year

**8042**<sup>nd</sup> meeting

Monday, 11 September 2017, 6 p.m.

New York

*Provisional*

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*President:* Mr. Alemu . . . . . (Ethiopia)

*Members:*

Bolivia (Plurinational State of) . . . . .	Mr. Llorentty Solíz
China . . . . .	Mr. Liu Jieyi
Egypt . . . . .	Mr. Aboulatta
France . . . . .	Mr. Delattre
Italy . . . . .	Mr. Cardi
Japan . . . . .	Mr. Bessho
Kazakhstan . . . . .	Mr. Umarov
Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Nebenzia
Senegal . . . . .	Mr. Seck
Sweden . . . . .	Mr. Skoog
Ukraine . . . . .	Mr. Vitrenko
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . .	Mr. Rycroft
United States of America . . . . .	Mrs. Haley
Uruguay . . . . .	Mr. Rosselli

## Agenda

Non-proliferation/Democratic People's Republic of Korea

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*The meeting was called to order at 6.10 p.m.*

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **Non-proliferation/Democratic People's Republic of Korea**

**The President:** In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of the Republic of Korea to participate in this meeting.

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

Members of the Council have before them document S/2017/769, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the United States of America.

The Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:*

Bolivia (Plurinational State of), China, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Russian Federation, Senegal, Sweden, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Uruguay

**The President:** The draft resolution received 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 2375 (2017).

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

**Mrs. Haley** (United States of America): I thank you, Mr. President, for calling this meeting and allowing us to take this vote.

The images from space of North-East Asia at night show brightness and prosperity surrounding a dark, lonely space that is North Korea. Those images are a good illustration of where the North Korean regime is today. It is alone. It is dark. And it is getting darker.

North Korea's neighbours, its trading partners and the entire international community are united against its dangerous and illegal actions. Today's resolution 2375 (2017) builds on what were already the deepest-cutting

sanctions ever imposed on North Korea. We have been down this road before. The Security Council has expressed its condemnation and has imposed sanctions. But today is different. We are acting in response to a dangerous new development — North Korea's test on 3 September of what it claims was a hydrogen bomb. Today we are saying that the world will never accept a nuclear-armed North Korea. And today the Security Council is saying that if the North Korean regime does not halt its nuclear programme, we will act to stop it ourselves.

Over the years, we have learned many things about the North Korean regime. We have learned that it does not care about being a part of the community of decent, law-abiding nations. It has violated every United Nations resolution against it. We have learned that the North Korean regime does not care about its own people. It has denied them the most basic necessities in order to finance its weapons programme. And we have learned that half-measures against the regime have not worked.

Previous efforts to bring North Korea to the negotiating table have failed. It has repeatedly walked back every commitment it has made. Today the Security Council has acted in a different way. Today we are attempting to take the future of the North Korean nuclear programme out of the hands of its outlaw regime. We are done trying to prod the regime to do the right thing. We are now acting to stop it from having the ability to continue to do the wrong thing. We are doing that by hitting North Korea's ability to fuel and fund its weapons programme. Oil is the lifeblood of North Korea's effort to build and deliver a nuclear weapon. Today's resolution reduces the oil provided to North Korea by almost 30 per cent, by cutting off more than 55 per cent of the supply of its gas, diesel and heavy fuel oil. Furthermore, today's resolution completely bans supplies to North Korea of natural gas and other oil by-products that could be used as substitutes for the reduced petroleum. That will cut deep.

Moreover, a large portion of North Korea's revenues comes from exports — revenues that it uses to fund its nuclear programme. Last month, we adopted resolution 2371 (2017), which bans its coal and iron exports. Today's resolution bans all of its textile exports. That is an almost \$800 million hit to its revenues. With these new, stronger sanctions added to those adopted last month, more than 90 per cent of North Korea's publicly reported exports are now fully banned. Moreover, the

resolution also puts an end to the regime's ability to make money from the 93,000 North Korean citizens it sends to work overseas and whom it taxes heavily. This ban will eventually starve the regime of an additional \$500 million or more in annual revenues. And beyond the \$1.3 billion in annual revenues that we will cut from North Korea, new maritime authorities will help us stop it from obtaining funds by using ships to smuggle coal and other prohibited materials around the world. Furthermore, the resolution prohibits all joint ventures with the regime, resulting in a significant amount of lost revenue. But more important, the regime can no longer obtain the foreign investments, technology and know-how that are critically needed for its commercial industries.

Finally, today's resolution imposes asset freezes on the most crucial entities of the North Korean regime, affecting both the military and the Government itself. In short, these are by far the strongest measures ever imposed on North Korea. They give us a much better chance of halting the regime's ability to fuel and finance its nuclear and missile programmes. But we all know that those steps will work only if all nations implement them completely and aggressively.

Today's resolution would not have happened without the strong relationship that has developed between President Trump and Chinese President Xi Jinping, and we greatly appreciate the fact that both teams are working with us. We have seen additional encouraging signs that other nations in Asia have stepped up to the plate. The Philippines has cut off all trade with Pyongyang. Thailand has drastically cut its economic ties to North Korea. And States much farther away are also doing their part. Mexico recently declared the North Korean Ambassador to its country persona non grata. Along with the strict enforcement of sanctions, those are important steps towards complete international unity. They make it clear that all nations can act to deny North Korea the funds to build its nuclear arsenal.

Today is a solemn day in the United States. It is the sixteenth anniversary of the terrorist attacks that killed nearly 3,000 innocent people, most of them in this very city. It hurts as much today as it did 16 years ago. We will never forget the victims of 11 September. And we will never forget the lesson that people who have evil intentions must be confronted. That day, the United States saw that mass murder could come from a clear blue sky, on a beautiful Tuesday morning. But

today the threat to the United States and the world is not coming out of the blue. The North Korean regime has demonstrated that it will not act on its own to end its nuclear programme. The civilized world must do what the regime refuses to do. We must stop its march towards a nuclear arsenal with the ability to deliver it anywhere in the world. We must do that by cutting off the fuel and the funding that support it.

We do not take pleasure in further strengthening sanctions today. We are not looking for war. The North Korean regime has not yet passed the point of no return. If it agrees to stop its nuclear programme, it can reclaim its future. If it proves that it can live in peace, the world will live in peace with it. On the other hand, if North Korea continues its dangerous path, we will continue with further pressure. The choice is theirs.

**Mr. Bessho** (Japan): Japan welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 2375 (2017). We would like to express our great appreciation for the leadership of the United States, which has made it possible for us to adopt the resolution today. We also thank other members of the Council for their support.

By swiftly adopting resolution 2375 (2017) today, after North Korea's ballistic missile launch on 29 August that flew over Japan, as well as its sixth nuclear test on 3 September, the Security Council has sent a clear signal to North Korea and the international community as a whole that North Korea's continuation of its nuclear and missile development can never be accepted.

We recently adopted resolution 2371 (2017) unanimously, on 5 August, in response to the two ballistic missile launches of intercontinental range in July. The resolution was intended to be very impactful, with the expected effect of reducing the revenue of the North Korean regime by approximately \$1 billion a year.

The resolution we have adopted today will strengthen sanctions against North Korea to an unprecedented level, further reducing the resources that the North Korean regime uses to continue its illicit programmes. The ban on textile exports from North Korea is expected to reduce its revenue by around \$800 million. The resolution also requires countries not to provide work authorizations for North Korean workers, who have been an important source of revenue for the North Korean regime. In addition, the oil supply that flows into North Korea is expected to be cut by approximately 30 per cent. This is intended to have

a great impact on North Korea's continuation of its weapon of mass destruction programmes.

Today's resolution is an urgent call on the North Korean regime to change its behaviour. The Security Council will not back off in the face of North Korea's persistent provocations, which challenge its repeated resolutions. It is the collective will of the international community that we continue to put maximum pressure on North Korea so that it shows seriousness and takes concrete action towards the goal of denuclearization.

We should bear in mind that the Security Council has repeatedly expressed its determination to take further significant measures in the event of a further launch or nuclear test by North Korea. This is again clearly stated in paragraph 31 of the resolution. A peaceful, diplomatic solution, which we all want, is in the hands of the North Korean regime. If North Korea wants peace and security, it needs to take concrete measures for the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, comply fully with the relevant Security Council resolutions and the joint statement of the Six-Party Talks, and thus come back to the dialogue table.

In the meantime, all Members of the United Nations must show their renewed commitment to rigorously and thoroughly implementing the existing Security Council resolutions, including resolutions 2371 (2017) and 2375 (2017). Japan will continue to work very closely with the Security Council member and all other Member States to reach a solution to the problems related to North Korea.

**Mr. Delattre** (France) (*spoke in French*): France welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 2375 (2017), which reinforces the sanctions imposed by the United Nations against North Korea. I thank the Permanent Representative of the United States, Nikki Haley, and her team, as well as every member of the Council, for their commitment to that end.

The tragic anniversary of 11 September 2001, which we are commemorating today, leads me once again to express our deepest sympathy to our American friends and to all countries that have been affected by terrorism. This commemoration and the solemnity surrounding it also call on us to rise collectively to the responsibilities of the Council with respect to the crucial question of war and peace and the conditions of peace. That is the question that brings us here today to discuss North Korea, and it is why, on behalf of France, I should like

today to deliver three messages of a political nature in the form of three requirements.

The first requirement is that of clear thinking in the face of the evolution of the threat. Let us not deceive ourselves. Following this year's intercontinental ballistic missile launches, and then the nuclear test of unprecedented scale on 3 September, the threat has changed in dimension and even in nature. From regional, it has become global; from virtual, it has become immediate; and from serious, it has become existential. The threat now compels and brings us together. It demands a strong and united reaction of the Security Council, for which France has called from the beginning and without reservation.

The second key requirement today is that of firmness. In the face of the regime's irresponsible headlong dash and its contempt for its international obligations, it was more than ever necessary to act quickly, in unison and with resolve. It was essential to respond to this attack on the norms of peace and security and the legal system on which they are based. The resolution that we have just adopted constitutes an important and necessary step in that regard in order to maximize the pressure on the North Korean regime.

In a significant and targeted manner, this robust resolution reinforces and expands several important aspects of the the sanctions regime. In particular, I would refer to the very strong reinforcement of the constraints on the sectors of the economy that directly fund the North Korean regime, such as textiles and North Korean workers. I refer also to the important restrictions imposed on oil exports to North Korea. Finally, the resolution strengthens the tools available to us to prevent the circumvention of sanctions, especially in the maritime field. The latest report (S/2017/742, annex) of the United Nations Panel of Experts established pursuant to resolution 1874 (2009) confirms that the North Korean regime is becoming increasingly innovative in avoiding the sanctions imposed on it. Let us know how to make our sanctions correspondingly inventive.

This is not a mere show of resolve. The sanctions are neither a leitmotiv without purpose nor an end in themselves. Our united, firm and unequivocal response today has a dual objective. On the one hand, we must resist the unjustifiable attitude of Pyongyang and avoid any signal of impunity with regard to the flagrant violation of our decisions; and, on the other hand,

we must maximize the pressure on the North Korean regime in order to lead it back to its obligations and to reason.

In that context, the third requirement, logically and chronologically, is that of diplomacy, to which the determination we express together today will, we hope, pave the way. France's conviction is that maximal resolve today, in the form of a strengthening of sanctions, is our best leverage for promoting a political settlement tomorrow. Contrarily, anything that could be perceived by the North Korean regime as an admission of weakness or the expression of divisions among us would encourage it to pursue its provocations and would objectively heighten the danger of a resort to extremes. Simply put, the great resolve that we are expressing together today is our best antidote to the risk of confrontation and our best chance to open a path to the diplomatic process, which we believe must be founded on the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula.

We are therefore not closing the door to dialogue, and we never will. It is the North Korean regime that is showing its obstinacy by rejecting dialogue through its irresponsible and unacceptable attitude. So long as North Korea remains deaf to our entreaties and continues to heighten its threat with provocation upon provocation, we will have no other choice than to step up pressure in response. That is the sole solution to bring North Korea to the negotiating table and to open up the path to the necessary political and diplomatic way out of this matter.

For France, these are the three necessary demands that should guide us: clarity as to the existential nature of the threat, maximum resolve to respond to it, and diplomacy as the way forward — all, we hope, towards a political solution to resolve the North Korean nuclear crisis. The security of us all is at stake. For the sake of the future of the backbone that is the entire non-proliferation regime, France calls upon all the actors concerned to together follow this demanding path.

**Mr. Rycroft** (United Kingdom): Just over a week ago, North Korea sent a brazen message of provocation, a message of belligerence — a sixth nuclear test, carried out once again in clear contempt for the Security Council, the region and the international community. Today, through the unanimous adoption of resolution 2375 (2017), we have sent a message of our own in response. Through this vote we have made clear that we will not stand idly by in the face of such

aggression, that we will not be intimidated or cowed, that we will match North Korean provocations with clear, targeted consequences.

Today we have enacted strategic measures that, together with existing obligations, add up to the most stringent United Nations sanctions regime placed on any nation in the twenty-first century. We have enacted measures today that show our determination to act. This resolution does three big things. First, it will curtail gas, petrol and oil imports. Secondly, it will ban all textile exports, thereby taking hundreds of millions of dollars from revenues that the North Korean regime uses to fund its nuclear and missile programmes. And, thirdly, it will end future work authorizations of North Korean overseas labourers, stopping a sickening industry built on modern slavery and used to divert funds to the regime. Therefore, make no mistake: we are tightening the screw, and we stand ready to tighten it further. Until the regime sees that diplomacy, not duplicity, is the way forward, we must use all of our diplomatic tools to bring pressure to bear on Pyongyang.

Some observers doubted that the Council would be willing or able to react speedily or in unison, or even at all, to this new provocation. With this resolution we have shown that we are united in condemning this illegal and reckless act, and that we are determined that the North Korean regime change course. The unanimous agreement today of the States around this table is a powerful step. We now call on all States to redouble their sanctions implementation, while taking note of the decisions that we have made today under international law.

North Korea is engaged in a dangerous policy of provocation. Our role as a Council, and as an international community, is to constrain them so that they change course. Sanctions are a vital part of that effort. It is the regime that bears full responsibility for the measures that we have enacted today. It is their continued, illegal and aggressive actions that have brought us here. Such actions are in no way a proportionate response to the legitimate defensive military exercises of South Korea and the United States.

There is a way out. Diplomacy can end this crisis. First, North Korea must change its reckless course. There must be an end to the tests, an end to the provocations. Until North Korea changes course, we must maintain the maximum pressure possible. Through this resolution today, we have done just

that. The onus now falls on Pyongyang to do the right thing — to step back from confrontation and to step towards de-escalation.

**Mr. Vitrenko** (Ukraine): Ukraine welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 2375 (2017) in response to the sixth nuclear test conducted by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We commend the strong leadership of the United States, which made the adoption possible.

I would like to take this opportunity to express Ukraine's solidarity with the people and the Government of the United States as they commemorate the sixteenth anniversary of 9/11. I am proud that Ukraine was able to contribute to the Security Council's response to that horrific terrorist act back in 2001 as a non-permanent member of the Council, including by providing our Permanent Mission's premises for the Council's urgent consultations.

North Korea's advancing nuclear and ballistic missiles programmes remain the most significant proliferation global challenge at the global scale. Moreover, the increasing militarization has already severely impacted, and continues to threaten, the livelihoods of the population of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Besides continuously diverting resources from acute human needs to fuelling its nuclear arsenal, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has succeeded in evading sanctions. We therefore fully support imposing new robust measures against the North Korean regime, along with strengthening the existing conditions and restrictions. Our decision today clearly proves that the Council remains united and decisive in its response to the growing nuclear threat on the Korean peninsula, as well as in its intention to avoid affecting the people of North Korea.

I wish to reiterate the key importance of the full and comprehensive implementation of all of the Council's resolutions related to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, by all States Members of the United Nations, in order to avert the risk of further provocations and curb the rampant nuclear and missile ambitions of Pyongyang.

Ukraine voted for this resolution, trusting that any responsible member of the international community must spare no effort in restoring respect for international law and finding solutions to counter the greatest threats to global peace and security.

**Mr. Rosselli** (Uruguay) (*spoke in Spanish*): Uruguay voted in favour of resolution 2375 (2017) and welcomes its unanimous adoption. In the 21 months that we have been a member of the Security Council, this is the fifth resolution we have adopted to impose sanctions on North Korea. This is also the fifth time that my delegation has stressed that the Security Council's action and the unity of its members are crucial in order to counter the grave threat to international peace and security posed by the repeated violations by North Korea of the Council's resolutions. As well, this is the fifth time that my country maintains that nuclear tests and ballistic missile launches exacerbate instability on the Korean peninsula and tension in the region and constitute ongoing provocations of the international community. And, too, this is the fifth time that Uruguay reiterates the urgent need that the Government of North Korea respect the resolutions of the Security Council and halt its nuclear and ballistic missiles programmes. Uruguay once again urges that country, for the fifth time, to wholly, verifiably and irreversibly abandon its nuclear programme and immediately end all related activities, including launches involving ballistic missile technology, and other provocative acts.

Sanctions are simply a means of bringing the Government of North Korea to the negotiating table. It is necessary to work towards a sustainable, results-focused dialogue as soon as possible. Resolving the North Korean conflict will be made possible only through dialogue and diplomacy and within the framework of an international strategy that includes a firm commitment by all countries to ensure the appropriate and effective implementation of the sanctions put in place by the Security Council.

Lastly, and again for the fifth time, we reaffirm our unwavering commitment to continue working towards a peaceful, diplomatic and political solution in order to denuclearize the Korean peninsula.

**Mr. Cardì** (Italy): Italy welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 2375 (2017). We thank the United States for leading the process with an appropriate sense of urgency and for conducting negotiations in a spirit of transparency — that is appreciated given the constraints imposed by the grave situation provoked by North Korea.

The resolution comes at a unique moment of threat to international peace and security with very serious challenges to regional stability. Just one week ago,

the Security Council met (see S/PV.8039) to condemn the sixth nuclear test carried out by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regime, following a series of increasingly reckless missile launches. We reaffirm our strong condemnation of those irresponsible acts.

All such actions taken together reveal a cycle of unprecedented, deliberate and escalatory provocations by North Korea, directed against the international community as a whole and aimed at undermining the foundations of the global non-proliferation regime, as well as the authority of the Council. We reiterate our deepest concern about the advancement of the North Korean nuclear and missile programme, which constitutes an unacceptable threat of a global nature.

Today we stand united once again by taking action to protect our collective security and ensure that the North Korean regime's threats do not go unanswered. The resolution adopted today is a balanced text that provides for a strong, comprehensive package of restrictive measures, while taking into account humanitarian concerns and the need to achieve the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula through a negotiated process. Those measures are a reflection of the gravity of the current situation and they constitute a proportional and appropriate response.

However, the resolution is not only about stronger sanctions. It also signals the political path through which, if it so chooses, North Korea can revert to international legality and a different pattern of relations with the international community, in order to resolve the situation peacefully.

We fully share the call of the resolution on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to immediately cease all nuclear and missile-related activities and to make credible progress on its obligation to denuclearize and open the way to a peaceful solution through meaningful negotiations.

We also fully share the concern for the humanitarian situation in the country and the need to ensure that these new sanctions do not have an adverse impact. We must not forget that the people of North Korea are, first and foremost, victims of the regime's self-isolating ambitions. The international community must therefore continue to provide assistance for those in need.

Finally, as Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1718 (2006), we will continue to maintain a sharp focus on the full and

effective implementation of the sanctions regime by the whole membership of the United Nations.

**Mr. Liu Jieyi (China):** On 3 September, while defying the general opposition on the part of the international community, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea conducted yet another nuclear test. The Chinese Government strongly opposes and condemns such an act.

China is consistently committed to denuclearizing the Korean peninsula, ensuring peace and stability on the peninsula and resolving the issue through dialogue and consultation. The Security Council's adoption of resolution 2375 (2017) today reflects those three commitments and the united position of the international community in opposing the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's development of its nuclear and ballistic missile capabilities and preserving the international non-proliferation regime.

China urges the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to earnestly heed the expectations and will of the international community to halt the country's nuclear and missile development, effectively abide by and implement the Council's resolutions, stop any further nuclear and missile tests and effectively work towards denuclearization. At the same time, the resolution reiterates the need to maintain peace and stability on the peninsula and in North-East Asia. It also commits to resolving the issue through peaceful, diplomatic and political means and supports the resumption of the Six-Party Talks, as well as the commitment voiced in the statement of 19 September 2005, while also emphasizing the importance of de-escalating tension on the peninsula. All parties should effectively and comprehensively implement the relevant provisions set out in Security Council resolutions. The nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula must be resolved peacefully. Comprehensive measures must be taken to balance the legitimate security concerns of all parties.

China has made unremitting efforts towards denuclearization and maintaining peace and stability on the peninsula. On 4 July, China and Russia issued a joint statement on the issue of the Korean peninsula, based on China's proposal of a dual-track approach of promoting the denuclearization of the peninsula through a suspension-for-suspension approach.

China calls on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to halt its nuclear and missile activities, and on the United States and the Republic of Korea to

suspend their large-scale military exercises, in line with Russia's proposal for a step-by-step approach. China and Russia have formulated a road map for the solution of the Korean peninsula issue. The joint Chinese and Russian initiative is realistic and feasible. It aims to tackle both the symptoms and root causes of the problem, so as to advance the peaceful settlement of the Korean peninsula nuclear issue and maintain the peace and stability of the peninsula. In that vein, we hope to obtain a positive response and backing from relevant parties.

We hope that the United States will incorporate the following four "don'ts" into its relevant policies regarding the Democratic People's Republic of Korea: don't seek regime change; don't incite a collapse of the regime; don't seek an accelerated reunification effort of the peninsula; and don't send its military north of the thirty-eighth parallel.

China is a close neighbour of the Korean peninsula. We have been consistently committed to its denuclearization and are against any war or chaos on the territory. The strengthening of military deployment on the Korean peninsula and the goal of denuclearization and reaching peace and stability run counter to each other.

The deployment of the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense system severely undermines the reaching of a strategic balance. It also undermines the strategic security interests of the countries in the region, of which China is part. China strongly urges the relevant parties to halt its deployment and remove all related equipment. At present, the situation on the peninsula is sensitive, complex and grave. The relevant parties should remain calm and avoid a rhetoric or action that could aggravate the tensions. The priority at present is to comprehensively and strictly implement the relevant Security Council resolutions, and the parties concerned should resume talks and negotiations sooner rather than later, endeavour to advance the denuclearization process and maintain peace and stability on the peninsula. The Council should shoulder its historical responsibility in this regard.

China will continue to advance dialogue and consultations, work together with all relevant parties and make a positive and constructive effort to ensure that an appropriate settlement is reached at an early date so as to resolve the current issue on the peninsula, attain denuclearization and ensure long-term peace and stability on the peninsula.

**Mr. Skoog** (Sweden): The persistent disregard for global norms and the consistent defying of Security Council resolutions by North Korea puts millions of people at risk. Its actions represent a threat not only to the region but to all of us. This is indeed a clear threat to international peace and security. For this reason, Sweden welcomes the adoption today of resolution 2375 (2017). In the face of North Korea's destabilizing actions, it is important that the Council once again stand united and determined to address the most dangerous crisis we are facing today.

Sweden reiterates its condemnation of North Korea's recent nuclear test. We once again urge North Korea to heed the Council's decisions and the call of the entire international community that it cease provocations, fulfil its international obligations, engage in meaningful dialogue and abandon its nuclear weapons and missile programmes in a complete, verifiable and irreversible manner.

The strengthened sanctions adopted today aim to add further pressure on the North Korean regime and to contribute to a change in behaviour. To achieve that end, the sanctions must be implemented in full. More efforts are needed in this regard. Recommendations by the Panel of Experts to the sanctions Committee must be implemented. All States Members of the United Nations have a responsibility to do their utmost to ensure that the sanctions regime works.

Sanctions alone, though, will not resolve the situation on the Korean peninsula, nor is there a feasible military option to end the crisis. The solution must be a peaceful, diplomatic and political one. We welcome the call in the resolution for further work to reduce tensions so as to advance the prospects for a comprehensive settlement. Therefore, in parallel with the tightened sanctions adopted today, we must urgently undertake intensified, creative diplomatic efforts to decrease tensions, increase confidence and prevent escalation, paving the way for dialogue on a peaceful and comprehensive solution.

It is clear that in order to achieve the longer-term objective, there is a pressing need for regional security arrangements. The United Nations should provide additional support, especially with regard to confidence-building activities in the region, and we should explore how the good offices of the Secretary-General can contribute. The continued provocations by North Korea, as well as the current

confrontational rhetoric, are dangerous and risk leading to unintended consequences. In the immediate term, while tensions are running high, lines for direct inter-Korean communication are critical so as to avoid misunderstanding and miscalculations. As a member of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, we call on North Korea to resume contact at the border station in Panmunjom.

While the North Korean regime invests in expensive weapons programmes, it shows utter disregard for the well-being of its own people, who continue to suffer from serious human rights violations and the grave humanitarian situation. It is important to underline that none of the measures adopted today or in previous resolutions should prevent or make more difficult the ongoing efforts of the United Nations and its partners to provide life-saving humanitarian assistance. It is also important to note that as the harsh North Korean winter approaches, more support and humanitarian efforts are likely to be needed.

**Mr. Nebenzia** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Russia does not accept the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's claim to become a nuclear State and has supported all Security Council resolutions demanding an end to the nuclear and missile programmes of Pyongyang, with a view to the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. We have therefore supported and are supporting the sanctions contained in the resolutions aimed at compelling the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to meet the demands of the Security Council.

This applies fully also to the demands contained in resolution 2371 (2017), even though when it was adopted we underscored that the measures involving financial and economic pressure on the leadership of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea had basically been exhausted and that any further restrictions would be tantamount to attempts to suffocate its economy, including the placing of a total embargo on the country and provoking a deep humanitarian crisis. In other words, what we are talking about here is not just cutting off the channels that allow for banned nuclear and missile activities, but, rather, inflicting unacceptable damage on innocent civilians.

At the same time, we proposed a reasonable and realistic alternative to the ultimatum logic of the sanctions, which has proved unworkable time and again. The alternative consisted of the following: beginning

implementation of not just the sanctions-related parts of the aforementioned resolutions of the Security Council, but also those of the provisions calling for a peaceful political and diplomatic settlement of the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula through dialogue and negotiation. Such provisions are contained in all of the relevant Security Council resolutions. Ignoring them would represent a direct violation of the consensus agreements reached in the Council.

Furthermore, the authors' unwillingness to include in the resolution the idea of using the good offices and mediation potential of the Secretary-General, as well as the refusal to reaffirm the statement made by the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Tillerson, on the "Four Nos" — that there are no plans to start a war, effect regime change, force the reunification of the two Koreas or violate the 38th parallel — all give rise to very serious questions in our minds to which we have not yet received answers.

Russia, as was underscored by President Putin on 5 December in China, firmly denounces the recent provocative step taken by Pyongyang, that is, the test carried out on 3 September. We are convinced, however, that dissipating the threat looming from the Korean Peninsula could be done not through additional sanctions but exclusively through political means. That is exactly the approach that was proposed by Russia and China in the joint statement dated 4 July, which set out a joint roadmap on a step-by-step move towards a settlement, starting with de-escalation, a bilateral lowering of tensions and then the implementation of confidence-building measures and the creation of conditions for the resumption of negotiations. We believe that it would be a serious mistake to underestimate this Russia-China initiative. It remains on the table at the Security Council, and we will insist on its consideration.

We supported resolution 2375 (2017) today because despite our belief that there is no future in endless pressure and refusals to talk, it would be wrong not to react strongly to nuclear tests.

At the same time, we underscored immediately that the reaction of the Security Council needed to be thought through and had to take into account the humanitarian aspects of the situation in North Korea, the legitimate interests of its civilians and the specific aspects of the bilateral relationships between Pyongyang and its

foreign partners that have nothing to do with nuclear or missile tests but would meet the needs of civilians.

In the course of working on the draft resolution, many of our colleagues stated that it was a prologue to efforts to achieve a political settlement. We would like to see proof of that in the very near future. We call upon all Council members and United Nations Member States to undertake specific efforts — not in word but in deed — to find a political and diplomatic settlement of the issue of the Korean Peninsula.

**Mr. Seck** (Senegal) (*spoke in French*): The delegation of Senegal welcomes the unanimous adoption by the 15 members of the Security Council of resolution 2375 (2017) on non-proliferation in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It also commends the constructive spirit that has prevailed in the negotiations on and the adoption of this resolution, whose penholder is the United States delegation.

As the Security Council has the primary responsibility in maintaining international peace and security and in accordance with the many resolutions that it has adopted on this issue, the Council had to take action by adopting supplementary measures that considerably bolster those that are already in force. Strong reactions are logical as the regime of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea continues to pursue an illegal military regime, in flagrant violation of Security Council resolutions and of non-proliferation resolutions. Its nuclear programme is furthermore a direct threat to aviation security and the safety of millions of people who live, work and travel throughout the region, as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea gave no warning or notice concerning the launches and tests of a hydrogen bomb on 3 September, which caused an earthquake that was felt in neighbouring countries.

The Senegalese delegation wishes to underscore that this set of targeted measures, taken quite rightly in response to the challenge posed by the ballistic missile programme of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, must be pursued in the framework of global and political strategies to encourage the parties to engage in dialogue with a view to the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, with the support of the international community. I therefore reiterate once again my country's support for a peaceful settlement of this issue.

I call on the Council to remain unified with regard to the resumption of the six-party talks in order to achieve a verifiable denuclearization of the Korean

peninsula that will ensure the peaceful coexistence of countries and peoples of the region. Fortunately, the strong point of today's resolution is that paragraphs 28, 29 and 30 of resolution 2370 (2017) pave the way for a commendable political solution. We must now rise to the challenge of implementing this resolution. As the Permanent Representative of Italy stated during consultations, in his capacity as Chair of the Committee pursuant to resolution 1718 (2006), there remains much to be desired in its implementation.

**Mr. Aboulatta** (Egypt) (*spoke in Arabic*): Egypt voted in favour of resolution 2375 (2017), based on its unwavering principled commitment to the credibility of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) regime and the credibility and role of the Security Council in maintaining international peace and security. Egypt wishes to set an example on how to seriously deal with any threat to the NPT regime without double standards.

Egypt, once again, calls upon the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to put an end to its continued violations of Security Council resolutions. We call upon it to return to the NPT as a non-nuclear State. We call upon it to heed the repeated calls to return to dialogue and negotiations on the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula with a view to sustainable peace between the two Koreas. Egypt urges the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to immediately cease any action that would undermine regional security in north-east Asia or international peace and security. We do this out of our understanding of the nature of North Korea's repeated violations of Security Council resolutions as they threaten international and regional peace and security. They are a serious threat to regional security in North-East Asia.

Egypt reaffirms its condemnation in the strongest possible terms of all violations by North Korea. We support a continued role for the Security Council in assuming its responsibility. Egypt again calls on all stakeholders to seek a peaceful settlement of the situation in the Korean peninsula, in accordance with the provisions of Security Council resolutions, including a revitalization of the Six-Party Talks. This would break the current impasse which fuels tension and escalates the conflict. Egypt reaffirms the need to bear in mind the humanitarian considerations and needs, as we implement the stringent measures adopted today.

In conclusion, Egypt welcomes all constructive ideas and initiatives aimed at resolving this crisis, whose negative repercussions are far reaching and extend beyond the region of North-East Asia, through negotiations. Egypt supports a key role for the United Nations in these efforts in promoting diplomacy and a political path and calls for unity among the international community and the Security Council as we address this crisis with the wisdom it requires.

**Mr. Umarov** (Kazakhstan): Kazakhstan welcomes the unanimous resolve of Council members in urging North Korea to stop its nuclear programme by adopting resolution 2375 (2017), which entails a tougher and broader sanctions regime.

We deplore the fact that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea continues to tirelessly violate Security Council resolutions which inevitably leads to greater consequences for the country and its leadership. Despite the urgent appeals and rejection by the world community of its provocative actions, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea consistently continues to develop its nuclear missile potential, which poses a threat to peace and destabilizes the situation in the East Asian region and globally. In that regard, we are talking not about a virtual threat, but rather a real threat to the people of the neighbouring countries and beyond.

After a series of launches of improved ballistic missiles, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea once again shocked the planet with its horrible nuclear test. The irresponsible policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea negatively affects the global process of nuclear non-proliferation and undermines collective efforts to ensure a nuclear-weapon-free future of the planet. As a country seriously affected by nuclear tests, Kazakhstan is strongly opposed to such heinous violations. We are strongly convinced that, in the twenty-first century, there is no place for nuclear tests.

Proceeding from its principled position, Kazakhstan supports the new resolution in the hope that it will send a clear and strong message to Pyongyang that the world does not accept the nuclear policy of North Korea. We hope Pyongyang will hear the call and act accordingly. The resolution envisages tough sanctions as the means to persuade Pyongyang to change its course in favour of a nuclear-weapon-free future. At the same time, it also leaves room for a resumption of dialogue — if North Korea really wants it.

Once again, we call upon the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to heed the message of humankind and seek the path of prudence and dialogue.

**Mr. Llorentty Solíz** (Plurinational State of Bolivia) (*spoke in Spanish*): Once again, Bolivia expresses its strongest condemnation of the nuclear and ballistic-missile tests carried out by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We once again call on that country to abandon its nuclear and ballistic-missile programme in a comprehensive, verifiable and irreversible manner and to comply with the provisions of the relevant Security Council resolutions. As part of the world's first declared nuclear-weapon-free zone — in line with the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean, better known as the Treaty of Tlatelolco — Bolivia voted in favour of resolution 2375 (2017). In doing so, we were motivated by our calling as a pacifist State and by our rejection of the development and manufacture of nuclear weapons as constituting a grave violation of the relevant international treaties on the subject, of human rights and of the right to life itself.

We believe that sanctions must not be an end in and of themselves. They must be used to draw the parties to the negotiating table, while always taking into account, in this case, the humanitarian situation of the population of North Korea. Sanctions alone will not resolve the problem. Were there to be a lack of political and diplomatic solutions, we would be facing a collective failure on the part of the Security Council.

In that regard, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 27 of resolution 2371 (2017), Bolivia proposes that the Security Council begin working as soon as possible to bring the parties back to the negotiation table and resume the Six-Party Talks. We urge avoiding any provocative or unilateral acts or any other act beyond the framework of international law or the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We reiterate once again our support for the Chinese dual suspension initiative, which seeks to enable a simultaneous freeze on actions on the Korean peninsula, as well as for the Russian-Chinese initiative and road map, which currently is the only concrete proposal to resolve the situation.

Lastly, Bolivia urgently calls on all the parties concerned to rule out any type of military solution or threat of the use of force and to return to negotiations to reach a peaceful, diplomatic and political solution

that will result in the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula.

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

We welcome the unanimous adoption of resolution 2375 (2017), which we believe is an appropriate response by the Security Council following the series of provocative actions by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that represent a dangerous escalation of the situation on the Korean peninsula. The most recent action by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has made the situation even more dangerous. It is absolutely vital that we continue to maintain Council unity with regard to this very serious matter, which easily has the potential to get out of hand with all of the consequences that that possibility implies. The resolution just adopted is very mindful of that in underscoring its concern that developments on the Korean peninsula could have dangerous, large-scale and regional security implications. We are pleased that it is this awareness that explains the unity within the Council we continue to see. That was amply demonstrated in the result of the negotiations, of which this resolution is an affirmation.

We believe that there is no military solution to the crisis on the Korean peninsula, and we hope that this resolution and the unity among Council members will facilitate the search for a comprehensive diplomatic solution, which is sufficiently stressed in the resolution. All efforts should be made to ensure that that happen sooner rather than later, as the alternative to a peaceful solution of the crisis is — to put it mildly — hardly a viable option.

Let me conclude my brief comments by expressing appreciation for the flexibility demonstrated by all those who played an active part in the finalization of this resolution and for the wisdom that is so manifest in the final product.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I give the floor to the representative of the Republic of Korea.

**Mr. Cho Tae-yul** (Republic of Korea): First of all, I would like to thank you, Sir, for convening today's meeting to follow up on our discussion (see S/PV.8039) last week concerning North Korea's sixth nuclear test, on 3 September. I very much appreciate the opportunity to participate in this important discussion.

The Republic of Korea welcomes and fully supports the adoption of resolution 2375 (2017), which introduces new robust sanctions measures against North Korea in response to its most powerful nuclear test to date, conducted in defiance of the repeated warnings of the international community. We appreciate the leadership of the United States, which was crucial in bringing about this resolution. We know how difficult it is to secure such a significant negotiated outcome within the time frame of one week. Our appreciation also goes to the other members of the Security Council, especially China and Russia, for their cooperation, without which the adoption of today's resolution would not have been possible.

The unanimous adoption of this resolution in such a swift manner reflects not only the sense of urgency on the part of the Security Council in addressing the North Korea nuclear problem, but also the true gravity of the situation on the Korean peninsula caused by that unjustifiable act in flagrant violation of international norms and obligations. The resolution includes the strongest measures ever against North Korea. Not only will the oil supply to North Korea be substantially reduced, but North Korea will also lose two of its largest income sources, namely, textile exports and overseas labourers. We believe that those measures, if fully implemented, will significantly undercut North Korea's capability to pursue further nuclear-weapon development. The resolution also sends a clear message to Pyongyang that enough is enough. Continuing on the wrong path will only deepen its isolation, seriously endanger its political stability and hinder its economic development. That is surely not what North Korea desires, but is what it will certainly face if it does not change its course immediately.

By introducing the most biting and robust measures in this new resolution, the international community has reaffirmed its unwavering commitment to remain united in stopping North Korea's further pursuit of nuclear weapons. Our goal is not to bring North Korea to its knees, but to achieve a peaceful solution to the North Korean nuclear issue. Under the current circumstances, whereby North Korea categorically rejects any kind of dialogue with any country in the world, there are simply no viable options, other than scaling up sanctions, to make Pyongyang return to the negotiating table for denuclearization. Strong economic sanctions are undoubtedly the only diplomatic means available to that end under the present circumstances.

So as to make North Korea wake from its delusion of becoming a nuclear-weapon state, I call on all the members of the international community to fully and thoroughly implement the measures in all the relevant

Security Council resolutions, including resolution 2375 (2017), adopted today. Pyongyang will then feel the real pain of sanctions this time around.

*The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.*