



# Security Council

Seventy-seventh year

*Provisional*

**9080**<sup>th</sup> meeting  
Tuesday, 28 June 2022, 3 p.m.  
New York

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<i>President:</i>	Mr. Hoxha . . . . .	(Albania)
<i>Members:</i>	Brazil . . . . .	Mr. De Almeida Filho
	China . . . . .	Mr. Zhang Jun
	France . . . . .	Mr. De Rivière
	Gabon . . . . .	Ms. Koumby Missambo
	Ghana . . . . .	Mr. Agyeman
	India . . . . .	Mr. Raguttahalli
	Ireland . . . . .	Ms. Byrne Nason
	Kenya . . . . .	Mr. Kiboino
	Mexico . . . . .	Mr. De la Fuente Ramírez
	Norway . . . . .	Ms. Juul
	Russian Federation . . . . .	Mr. Polyanskiy
	United Arab Emirates . . . . .	Mrs. Nusseibeh
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . .	Dame Barbara Woodward
	United States of America . . . . .	Mr. Mills

## Agenda

Maintenance of peace and security of Ukraine

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*The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.*

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **Maintenance of peace and security of Ukraine**

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

On behalf of the Council, I welcome His Excellency Mr. Volodymyr Zelenskyy, President of Ukraine.

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

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

I now give the floor to Ms. DiCarlo.

**Ms. DiCarlo:** When I last briefed the Council, on 5 April (see S/PV.9011), it hardly seemed possible that the devastation being wrought on Ukraine and its people could get any worse. In the 10 weeks since, countless more Ukrainian civilians have been killed in indiscriminate attacks. Cities and towns continue to be levelled, and much of the country's arable land has been terribly disfigured by shelling. This horrific conflict, an open source of instability in Europe, shows no signs of abating. The depravity of the war was again on full display yesterday following a missile strike in Kremenchuk, in the central Poltava region. Hundreds of people, perhaps even some trying to get some respite from the daily horrors of the war, suffered one of the most shocking attacks of the conflict when a shopping centre was hit by what are reported to be Russian missiles. It has been reported that some 18 civilians were killed and 59 injured, and the final toll may be much higher. That incident, which should be investigated, was the most recent in a new wave of air strikes and missile attacks in Kyiv, Chernihiv, Odesa, Mykolaiv, Kharkiv and other cities far from the front lines, with many civilians killed or injured.

At the moment, the most intense fighting is in and around the towns of Sievierodonetsk, Lysychansk and Sloviansk in the Donbas. Heavy fighting is also reported around the cities of Kharkiv and Kherson. In

scenes reminiscent of the two World Wars, large-scale artillery duels are devastating industrial areas, with thousands of civilians forced to hide in basements or flee for their lives. Large military casualties are claimed on both sides.

Civilians continue to pay too high a price in this war. As of 26 June, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights recorded 10,631 civilian casualties in Ukraine, with 4,731 killed and 5,900 injured. Those are statistics based on verified incidents. The actual numbers are considerably higher. Most of the civilian casualties recorded were caused by explosive weapons with a wide-impact area. Many of those weapons are inherently indiscriminate when used in populated areas, and therefore result in increased civilian casualties and devastating humanitarian effects.

Earlier this month the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on Ukraine concluded its first mission to the country, including visits to Bucha, Irpin, Kharkiv and Sumy. Although only in the initial stages of its work, the Commission received information and visited sites that

“may support claims that serious violations of international human rights law and international humanitarian law, perhaps reaching war crimes and crimes against humanity, have been committed”.

The work of the Commission of Inquiry, the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court and other fact-finding efforts are essential to establishing accountability for the crimes and atrocities committed during this war. That work must lead to justice. It is imperative for the people of Ukraine. It is also crucial if we hope to be able to prevent such violations in the future, wherever they threaten to occur.

Since 24 February, more than 8.8 million people across Ukraine have received some form of humanitarian assistance or protection services. At least 16 million people are in need of such aid, and the needs are increasing, especially ahead of winter. Humanitarian partners are working on a winterization assistance plan and revising the flash appeal, which runs through August, to cover needs through the end of 2022. Women in particular are facing immense hardship when it comes to health, safety and access to food. A rapid gender analysis by UN-Women and CARE in April revealed that women are increasingly becoming heads of households and leaders in their communities as men are conscripted. They must be

included in formal decision-making processes related to humanitarian efforts, peacemaking and other areas that directly affect their lives.

Perilous conditions are hampering efforts by humanitarian partners to reach civilians and to access the support they need. One statistic sheds light on that concern. Since 24 February, the World Health Organization has recorded 323 attacks on health-care facilities and personnel, resulting in 76 deaths. We want to send a strong reminder to all parties of their obligations under international humanitarian law. All adequate measures must be taken to protect civilians and civilian infrastructure.

Ukraine is suffering the largest human displacement crisis in the world today. Since the start of the Russian invasion, more than a quarter of the country's population — 12 million people — have been forced from their homes. Within Ukraine, more than 7.1 million remain displaced by the war. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimates that there are more than 5.2 million refugees present across Europe, and more than 3.5 million refugees from Ukraine have registered for temporary protection or similar national protection schemes in Europe. The United Nations remains committed to providing support to Government-led responses in host countries.

Also, given the increasingly protracted nature of the conflict, we must not neglect Ukraine's long-term recovery and rebuilding needs. Using early socioeconomic assessments, the United Nations Development Programme launched a new resilience and recovery programme to support the Ukrainian Government's emergency response and its commitment to public services and to keeping the economy running, as well as to help assess priority needs in order to deliver for the people of Ukraine.

The war is having devastating consequences, not only on the country and the immediate region, but far beyond Ukraine's borders. As the Secretary-General noted on 8 June during the launch of the second brief of the United Nations Global Crisis Response Group on Food, Energy and Finance, the war is exacerbating the greatest cost-of-living crisis in a generation. Price shocks in the global food, energy and fertilizer markets are escalating in a world that is already grappling with the coronavirus disease pandemic and climate change. What is essential above all in order to address that multi-dimensional threat is strong

political will across the multilateral community and a comprehensive approach.

We have run out of words to describe the senselessness, futility and cruelty of the war. As the Secretary-General warned, for those on the ground every day brings new bloodshed and suffering. For people around the world, the war, together with other crises, is threatening to unleash an unprecedented wave of hunger and destitution, leaving social and economic chaos in its wake. No country or community will be left untouched. The cycle of death, destruction, dislocation and disruption must stop, for the sake of Ukraine, Russia and the entire world.

**The President:** I thank Ms. DiCarlo for her briefing.

I now call on the President of Ukraine.

**President Zelenskyy** (*spoke in Ukrainian; English interpretation provided by the delegation*): First of all, let me thank the Albanian presidency for promptly convening this meeting at Ukraine's request and for the opportunity to address the Security Council.

Unfortunately, the United Nations does not currently have a legal definition of the term "terrorist State" agreed on by all Member States. Nevertheless, the war that Russia is waging on Ukraine demonstrates not only the meaning of that concept, but also the urgent need to enshrine it legally at the level of the United Nations and to punish any terrorist State.

Russia's full-scale war of conquest against my country began 125 days ago, but let us take a look at recent events from just the past few days. On Saturday, 25 June, 62 Russian missiles struck our cities. On Sunday, 26 June, 10 more rockets were launched, one of which hit an ordinary residential building in the capital city of Kyiv, demolishing its three storeys. Another rocket exploded in the yard of an ordinary kindergarten. On Monday, 27 June, there was a missile strike in Kremenchuk. Those who carried out that strike could not have been unaware of the fact that they were directing a missile at an ordinary shopping centre — one of the many malls that can be found anywhere in the world. So far, 18 people are reported to have been killed, but unfortunately there may be more. Another 50 people are wounded, and dozens are missing. Fragments of bodies have been found, with people's limbs, hands and feet ripped off. If the Russian State claims that none of those victims suffered because of its missile strike, I suggest that the United Nations send either a

Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations or a plenipotentiary commission to the site of that terrorist act in Kremenchuk, so that the United Nations can independently determine all of the information and conclude that it was indeed a Russian missile strike.

Yesterday the Russian army also used rocket artillery on a queue of people lined up for water in the city of Lysychansk, in the Luhansk region. They were ordinary, peaceful people, none of whom were serving in the military — just people queueing for water. Eight of them were killed, including a 15-year-old boy named Danylo. The oldest victim was 68 years old. I want Council members to hear the names of the four women killed in the strike — Viktoriya, Iryna, Olena and Liudmyla.

Kharkiv suffers brutal Russian strikes almost every day. Just yesterday 9 people were killed, 29 were wounded, 5 children among them. I want members to know their names: Hlib, 12 years old; Oleh, 8 years old; Mykhailo, 11 years old; Hryhoriy, 9 years old; and Artem, 10 years old. It was a Russian artillery strike on ordinary residential buildings. Today, at 5 o'clock in the morning, the Russian army also carried out a strike at Mykolaiv and the city of Ochakiv, in the Mykolaiv region. Three people were killed in Ochakiv: a 6-year-old girl, whose name was Yeva; a man named Mohammed, who was 76 years old; and a woman named Halyna, who was 50 years old. Among the wounded there is a baby who is only three months old. He was born after the beginning of this full-scale Russian invasion. His name is Volodymyr and his condition is very grave; he is now in intensive care. I emphasize that he is a baby. A 3-month-old baby.

Today two more missiles hit the city of Sloviansk, in Donbas, the long-suffering and tormented region that Russia has subjected to humiliation since 2014. Just a few hours before my address to the Council today, two missiles hit the Odesa region. The city of Dnipro was also targeted, and one of the missiles destroyed a car service station — not a military station, but a regular car service station. I have a question for the Council: who here does not agree that that is terrorism? If any organization in any part of the world acted like Russia, which is killing Ukrainians, if any country killed peaceful civilians, that would definitely be recognized as terrorism. Such an organization would become an enemy of all humankind. Deeds that are punished at the level of ordinary criminals and criminal organizations

cannot go unchecked at the State level if the State has become a terrorist. There are daily acts of terrorism, with no time off for weekends. They are working as terrorists every day.

The Charter of the United Nations confers on the Security Council the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Chapter II, Article 6, clearly states that a Member of the United Nations that persistently violates the principles of the Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. Although Russia is violating fundamental principles of the United Nations and the international legal order, it is still not being held to account at the global level. It still remains in United Nations agencies and even enjoys the privileges of the seat it occupies — the seat of a permanent member of the Security Council — which Russia occupies only thanks to the short-sightedness of politicians at the end of the Cold War.

Russia does not have a right to take part in any discussions or voting with regard to the war in Ukraine, which is unprovoked and nothing but a colonialist venture on Russia's part. I urge the Council to deprive the delegation of this terrorist State of its powers. It is possible, necessary and fair. Russia does not have the right to remain on the Security Council, and that path is not as arduous as some may believe. We need only exercise some consistency and the appropriate political will. That is the only logical way for the Charter to work and be respected by all Members of the Organization. Furthermore, the Organization is now strong enough to bring the terrorist State to account. Chapter VII of the Charter allows for the establishment of a special international tribunal to investigate the actions of the Russian occupiers on Ukrainian soil. The word "genocide" has been used repeatedly. Everyone here has seen what the Russian occupiers did in our city of Bucha. Everyone can access the information on the numbers of mass graves that appeared around the city of Mariupol alone after the Russian army razed it to the ground. It was a city of 500,000 residents, and now it lies in ruins.

In the case of the genocide in Rwanda, the Security Council established an international tribunal within six months of the start of the genocide. More than four months have passed since the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine began, and more than eight years since the start of Russia's war against Ukraine in Donbas and the

occupation of Ukraine's Crimean Peninsula, which has been repeatedly condemned in the General Assembly.

We need to act urgently and do everything possible to make Russia stop its killing spree, the murders of children, people, everyone. We need to hold it to account for its terrorism, or it will expand its terrorist activity to other countries in Europe and Asia — the Baltic States, Poland, Moldova, Kazakhstan. Many nations have already heard threats from Russian officials and State propagandists. I am grateful to all the diligent and civilized States that share our position and are helping to defend the international legal order. This meeting of the Security Council was convened following the Russian missile strike in Kremenchuk, but it should never be adjourned. It would have to continue around the clock, day after day, to give us enough time to discuss every terrorist act of the Russian State.

The Charter gives us all the tools to influence any violator of the rules of the Organization, any aggressor, any terrorist State. I urge the Council to take advantages of those tools. It is imperative to deprive the Russian delegation of the opportunity to manipulate the United Nations. It is imperative to make it impossible for Russia to stay on the Security Council as long as its terror continues. It is imperative to establish a tribunal to investigate everything that the Russian military has done to Ukrainians. It is imperative to determine a legal definition of the term "State terrorism" at the United Nations level. All of Russia's actions must receive a legal assessment and global sanctions for their destruction of the international legal order.

I thank the Council for its attention. I want to add just one more thing. Countries around the world may vary in their attitudes and viewpoints, but they are similar in the way they commemorate victims — not just members of the military, but every person and child who dies as a result of the tragedy of war. Usually those who are killed unjustly are treated with respect and sympathy. It is only the killers themselves who do not commemorate those whom they have killed. I would like to ask the Council — and I will be very grateful — to commemorate all the Ukrainians who have been killed in this war, all the adults, the children, the tens of thousands of people. I ask the Council to commemorate them with a minute of silence.

*The members of the Security Council observed a minute of silence.*

**President Zelenskyy** (*spoke in Ukrainian; English interpretation provided by the delegation*): I thank the Council. This is a great honour for us. I thank the Council for its support.

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

I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her update. It was again a troubling one on this issue. A senseless war of aggression that could and should have been avoided has entered its fifth month, with 125 days of widespread destruction, mounting civilian casualties and continued pain inflicted on millions of people across Ukraine. Millions of others all over the world have found themselves victims as collateral damage of a war that has nothing to do with them, a war that is weaponizing everything: energy, trade, communication and, mainly, food.

Let us remind ourselves that on 29 March, five weeks after the start of its war of choice in Ukraine, Russia announced its withdrawal of forces from the Kyiv area. The reason given then was that it was a goodwill gesture to favour negotiations between the parties. The truth proved to be very different. The attempt to take Kyiv failed spectacularly. Negotiations went nowhere. War intensified instead. Russia has continued its massive assault on Ukraine, threatening Europe, running against every human effort made since the Second World War to build global peace through the international rule of law. As the war shifted ferociously to the east, life returned to some sort of normalcy in Kyiv until missiles again started to fall from the sky. That was an unmistakable message — Russia can hit at will, anywhere, anytime, just because it can. Last Sunday, nearly 1,000 people found themselves under a Russian air strike that hit a shopping mall in the city of Kremenchuk in central Ukraine. According to reports, dozens of people lost their lives and dozens more were injured. What possible justification can be provided for dropping missiles on a commercial centre in the very heart of an urban area? What can possibly explain such blatant, indiscriminate brutality against civilians? We have heard Russia's continual denial of the targeting of civilians so many times, but overwhelming evidence such as this proves the contrary again and again.

Have we forgotten that Kyiv was deliberately targeted last April as the Secretary-General was visiting the city? The reports of this now speak of deliberate attacks in protest against the meeting of the



Group of Seven (G-7). But if that were the case, why should civilians, including children, pay the price of such despicable symbolism? Indiscriminate attacks on civilian infrastructure and innocent civilians constitute war crimes. We all know it. Those who decide to attack shopping centres, shelters, schools, hospitals, kindergartens and apartment buildings are well aware of possible civilian casualties. They know they are committing war crimes when their responsibility is to protect civilians. They must pay for those actions.

This aggression is not limited to Ukraine. Zealous commentators for State propaganda, as well as senior State officials, fill the airwaves with worst-case scenarios involving the deployment of weapons of mass destruction, including — as we have heard more than once — nuclear sabre-rattling. We are seeing a dramatic increase in cyberwarfare and advanced disinformation attacks. On top of that, the current food-insecurity crisis continues to spread around the world. Global food prices are now at an all-time high. That is the parallel war that Russia is waging against the world. It has transformed the war in Ukraine from a local act of aggression into an acute international challenge. We know that millions of tons of grain are piled up in Ukraine. Of those, 8 million tons are said to be in the occupied areas, and Russia is reportedly stealing it from Ukraine. A meticulous and professional investigation by the BBC has shown how this is being carried out in Donbas — and not just where grain is concerned but also other Ukrainian assets. Russia has already occupied 20 per cent of Ukrainian territory, but its appetite has increased.

This war is paralysing Ukraine. It is destroying its industries, roads, schools and health system along the way. It is killing civilians. It is punishing its youth and it is destroying the fabric of a society. It is also testing the resolve of all who truly believe in the rules-based international order and respect for the Charter of the United Nations. This is therefore no time to stand aside. International support for Ukraine and its people is a moral and solidarity issue. It is choosing to stand on the right side, the side of law, of rights, of life and of dignity. One day this war will be over, but the way it will end matters to all of us. If we want to preserve the rule of law, we must make sure that everyone knows the cost of aggression against another country. We welcome the recent commitments of the G-7 to a new package of coordinated actions aimed at increasing pressure on

Russia over its war in Ukraine. We also welcome the latest decision of the European Union.

Let me end with this. This war must stop, with a full and immediate withdrawal of Russia's forces and military equipment from the entire territory of Ukraine. The sooner that happens the better for all — Ukraine, Russia and the entire world.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

**Mr. Mills** (United States of America): I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her compelling, if ultimately heart-breaking, briefing.

I thank President Zelenskyy for addressing the Security Council again today. While we were honoured by his presence, I think we are all horrified by the circumstances under which we are meeting. We express our deepest condolences to him and to the people of Ukraine for the horrors they continue to suffer on a daily basis, including the senseless attack by Putin's forces that destroyed the shopping centre in Kremenchuk. America stands, as always, united with Ukraine. It would already be an outrage if yesterday's attack was a horrific exception. But it is not even that. The attack fits into a cruel pattern, one where the Russian military kills civilians and destroys civilian infrastructure in Ukraine. The Kremlin has demonstrated time and time again that it is trying to subjugate Ukraine — its sovereignty, its people and its spirit. Putin keeps trying to intimidate and divide Ukraine's partners. We have shown, and will continue to show, that our support for Ukraine is resolute.

I expect that in a moment the representative of the Russian Federation will try to obfuscate, avoid responsibility and blame others for this tragedy. But no one here will be fooled. We all see the grim reality for what it is, and the reality is that Russia's war of choice has led directly to the destruction of crowded malls, grocery stores, theatres, hospitals and schools — and the innocent civilians inside them. Make no mistake, there is ample, publicly available evidence that Russia, and Russia alone, is responsible for these attacks. And make no mistake — deliberate and indiscriminate attacks on civilians and civilian objects constitute war crimes.

The United States has previously assessed that members of Russia's armed forces have committed war crimes in Ukraine. Let me be clear: war crimes. The

evidence is mounting, and it cannot be ignored. We have seen too many credible reports of the bombing of schools and hospitals, like the maternity hospital in Mariupol, the killing of aid workers, the targeting of civilians attempting to flee for their lives — or standing in line for water, as the President just reminded us. We have seen the forced relocation of thousands of Ukrainian civilians and the brutal execution-style murder of those going about their daily business in Bucha. We call on all fellow Council members, including those who are failing to condemn what is in front of them, to speak the full truth. We all have a responsibility to make clear the moral culpability that Russia holds in this war of choice. There is no such thing as “both sides” when it comes to these recent attacks.

The international community must hold those who perpetrated and ordered these crimes to account. Justice must be served. Justice must come for Russia’s military and political leadership as well as for its military rank-and-file who commit war crimes or other atrocities. The United States supports all international investigations into these crimes, including those being conducted by the International Criminal Court, the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. We have welcomed the International Criminal Court’s decision to open an investigation into atrocity crimes committed in Ukraine. And together with our European Union colleagues, we are supporting the Ukrainian national authorities — specifically the Office of the Prosecutor General — as they investigate and prepare to prosecute war crimes cases.

At the same time, the world has come together to say enough is enough. Just yesterday, leaders of the Group of Seven countries reaffirmed their solidarity and unwavering commitment to Ukraine’s sovereignty. Our leaders made it clear that we will help Ukraine defend itself and choose its own future, free from external pressure or influence. The United States and the world will continue to support Ukraine for as long as it takes. We will not rest until Russia ends this cruel and senseless war.

How many more attacks will there be before those on the Council who continue to tap dance around Russia’s culpability demonstrate that they care more about the protection of civilians than protecting their own interests, and start speaking of the steps Russia needs to take to resolve the crisis that it started?

Russia started this war. Russia is the one committing atrocities against civilians. And only Russia can end this war by withdrawing its forces from Ukraine and reaching a political settlement with Ukraine’s democratically elected Government. Let us all continue to do everything in our power to see that day soon.

**Mr. De Rivière** (France) (*spoke in French*): I would like to thank Ms. DiCarlo for her briefing. I welcome President Zelenskyy’s participation in this meeting and assure him of France’s full solidarity with Ukraine.

France condemns in the strongest possible terms yesterday’s Russian strike against a shopping centre in the city of Kremenchuk, which is reported to have killed at least 10 people. That unjustifiable attack is only the latest in a long series of others. In recent days, the Russian army has been deliberately shelling Ukrainian territory and targeting residential areas and civilian infrastructure, far from the combat zones. That is taking a heavy toll, with Russia’s missiles having killed several and injured dozens in Kharkiv, Lysychansk and the city centre of Kyiv.

Since the beginning of the war, Russia has chosen to target the civilian population, killing children, humanitarian workers and journalists. It continues to relentlessly destroy civilian infrastructure. That is a tactic of war aimed at terrorizing the Ukrainian people and weakening their morale. In doing so, Russia continues to violate the most basic principles of international humanitarian law and, as the International Court of Justice made clear on 16 March, it has flouted the Charter of the United Nations and its founding principles.

Let me be clear: war criminals will be brought to justice. France will continue to support the work of international, regional and national jurisdictions and mechanisms to ensure that the acts committed in Ukraine, some of which could constitute war crimes and crimes against humanity, do not go unpunished. We renew our call for cooperation with the International Criminal Court and other investigation mechanisms and will continue to apply pressure on the Russian authorities to compel them to end the war.

This conflict affects the entire world. It risks pushing one fifth of the world’s population into poverty and food insecurity, and Russia bears full responsibility for that. Its use of hunger as a tool for political leverage is unacceptable. Let me remind Russia that, contrary to what it says, the sanctions that have been adopted

against it are not aimed at food grains, agricultural goods or fertilizers. Russia must stop blocking Black Sea ports in Ukraine in order to enable the flow of food exports. France fully supports the Secretary-General's efforts in that regard.

France calls on Russia to respect its international commitments, cease hostilities, withdraw its armed forces from Ukraine and put an end to this unjustifiable and devastating war. Humanitarian access must be guaranteed, especially in the areas most affected by the fighting. In the face of the historic challenge of the return of war to Europe, the European Union has decided to grant Ukraine candidate status, because today the Ukrainian people are fighting to defend our values and those promoted in the Charter of the United Nations. France, which has already mobilized \$2 billion in economic and humanitarian support, will continue to stand resolutely by the people of Ukraine, whose courage I would like to commend once again.

**Mr. De Almeida Filho (Brazil):** I would like to thank the Albanian presidency for convening this urgent Security Council meeting on the conflict in Ukraine. I also wish to thank Ms. DiCarlo for her briefing.

Brazil has received with deep concern the recent news of air strikes on or near densely populated areas in Ukrainian cities, of which yesterday's attack on the commercial centre in Kremenchuk was the most dramatic example. We deeply regret the loss of human life and the destruction of urban and industrial infrastructure, which will undoubtedly have serious consequences for the already dire humanitarian situation in the country.

Attacks against civilian objects, especially in densely populated areas, encourage a perverse logic of retaliation. We urge the parties to allow an impartial investigation into those incidents and to refrain from actions that could result in further civilian casualties.

Brazil reiterates its call for the parties to respect their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and international humanitarian law, including the observance of the principles of distinction and proportionality. That includes the protection of civilians in all circumstances, the exercise of restraint by military forces and the establishment of mechanisms for evacuating areas directly impacted by operations. We encourage the parties to engage in constructive dialogue in order to achieve that common goal.

Four months after the start of the conflict, it should be clear that there is no alternative to a political solution. It is unreasonable for military operations to be prolonged, with no prospects for an end to the immense human suffering imposed on civilian populations.

We renew our appeal for an immediate cessation of hostilities and the establishment of peace negotiations, without delay or preconditions. The Council is responsible for creating conditions for dialogue. We should redouble efforts to seek solutions that favour peace negotiations and minimize the impacts of the conflict, both in Ukraine and in other affected regions.

**Dame Barbara Woodward (United Kingdom):** I join others in thanking Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing and, while we welcome President Zelenskyy's participation in this meeting, we again deeply regret the circumstances that have brought him here today.

Just over four months since the start of its illegal invasion, Russia's war against Ukraine continues. Russia continues to pummel Ukraine's eastern Donbas region in an effort to seize full control. And over the weekend, Russia launched an intense barrage of cruise missile attacks at targets across Ukraine, including a shopping centre in Kremenchuk, which was hit with more than 1,000 people inside. We heard President Zelenskyy's roll call of the recent dead and extend our condolences to their families and friends.

When the world calls for peace, dialogue and adherence to international law, Russia answers with escalation, missiles and the targeting of civilians — more attacks, more destruction, more death and, as I am sure we will hear again today, more war propaganda, more lies and more disinformation. Neither can we ignore the prominent role of Belarus in acting as a direct staging post for the attacks over the weekend and yesterday.

We praise the extraordinary bravery and resolve of the Ukrainian people in the face of this brutal assault on its sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as its very existence as a country. Ukraine is entitled to defend itself, as any of us would be if our cities, towns and villages were subjected to repeated relentless missile strikes by a foreign army focused on wiping out our existence. We will therefore continue to support Ukraine in its exercise of that right of self-defence and resecuring its privileges and rights under the Charter of the United Nations.



We yet again reiterate the calls of the international community for Russia to end its illegal invasion, withdraw outside Ukraine's internationally recognized borders and enter into dialogue and negotiation. At a time when we are facing the existential threats of climate change and food insecurity following a global pandemic, Russia must end its illegal war and its blockade of Ukraine's ports.

**Ms. Byrne Nason** (Ireland): I would also like to thank the Under-Secretary-General for her briefing, which highlighted the brutality of this unlawful war yet again.

For four months, we have called for an end to the unjustified and unjustifiable war being waged against Ukraine. Yet as each day passes, reports of Russia's violations of human rights and international humanitarian law continue to grow. Civilians in Ukraine continue to pay the highest price. On Monday, Russian forces attacked a shopping mall in Kremenchuk full of civilians going about their ordinary lives. It appears to have been a clear attack against civilians and civilian infrastructure, in flagrant violation of international humanitarian law. Credible media sources have reported that the attack resulted in civilian deaths.

We have heard today about how civilians continue to bear the brunt of Russia's unconscionable war. All allegations of violations of international human rights law and international humanitarian law must be investigated and those responsible must be held to account. Parties to conflict must comply with international humanitarian law, including the obligation to distinguish between civilians and combatants and to attack only military objectives; the prohibitions against indiscriminate and disproportionate attacks; and the obligation to take all feasible precautions in attack. Compliance is not optional.

We know that yesterday's Russian strike on Kremenchuk is not the first on Ukraine's towns and cities. We deplore Russia's use of explosive weapons, including prohibited cluster munitions, in populated areas without regard for civilians.

The United Nations human rights monitoring mission in Ukraine has recorded more than 10,000 civilian casualties, most of which have been caused by the use of explosive weapons. We condemn indiscriminate and disproportionate attacks in all circumstances.

We are committed to ensuring accountability for the atrocious crimes taking place in Ukraine and recognize the important role of the ongoing investigation of the International Criminal Court in helping to pursue that. We must not accept impunity for those inflicting such horrors — not in Ukraine or anywhere else in the world.

We once again call on the Russian Federation to comply with its obligations under international law. There must be full, safe and unhindered humanitarian access for humanitarian personnel to reach civilians, including those who choose to remain in Ukraine and those who are unable to depart, including the elderly — they are not combatants and must be protected in accordance with international humanitarian law. The Russian Federation must allow those seeking to leave their towns and cities in Ukraine to do so safely, to destinations of their own choosing.

Russia can end its aggression if it chooses to do so, but even while it chooses to execute an illegal war it still has obligations under international law and must comply with them. We call again on the Russian Federation to end its war and withdraw all forces unconditionally from the entirety of the sovereign territory of Ukraine.

**Mr. Kiboino** (Kenya): I too would like to thank the Under-Secretary-General, Ms. Rosemary DiCarlo, for her briefing, as well as His Excellency President Zelenskyy for his address.

Kenya stands in solidarity with the people of Ukraine, who are suffering from the multilateral system's failure to bring an end to a war that continues unabated in disregard of the United Nations *raison d'être*, which is to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. And this war's catastrophic impact in Ukraine and across the world is worsening by the day.

We are gravely concerned about the latest developments, especially in the regions of Mykolaiv, Chernihiv, Zhytomyr, Lviv, Odesa and Cherkasy and in the cities of Kyiv, Kharkiv and Kremenchuk. The reported intensified air strikes and missile shelling in those regions and cities are destroying civilian objects, with a growing toll on civilian casualties. Those indiscriminate acts constitute a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, international law and international humanitarian law.

Kenya condemns the disproportionate use of force and the targeting of civilians and objects that are indispensable to the survival of civilian populations,

including residential homes, health facilities, shelters and shopping malls, as well as power and water infrastructure. We are concerned that the continued destruction of critical infrastructure is substantially impeding Ukraine's ability to engage in international trade, including in the export of key commodities, particularly agricultural products and farm inputs such as fertilizer.

In addition, the blockade of Ukraine's access to the Black Sea has disrupted the global food supply chain, which is worsening food insecurity, especially in conflict situations and fragile economies in the global South. Having caused surging inflation rates and a spike in food and fuel prices globally, this armed conflict is undermining efforts to build back from the coronavirus disease pandemic. We commend the Secretary-General for his efforts to address that, including through the establishment of the United Nations Global Crisis Response Group on Food, Energy and Finance. That is a good first step towards establishing instruments that can cushion the most vulnerable from the effects of the conflict.

Of critical importance is the imperative to immediately stop inflicting further suffering on civilians, especially those in vulnerable groups, including women, children and the elderly. We therefore urge the parties to adhere to international humanitarian law, including the four 1949 Geneva Conventions and Protocol Additional I of 1977 thereto, as well as to ensure the protection of the civilian population and detainees.

We call on the parties to shift their focus to an immediate cessation of the war, refrain from any actions that might further escalate the situation and prioritize the use of diplomatic tools to resolve the conflict. That cessation should lay the foundation for a lasting peace settlement that respects the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Ukraine. It should also lead to the design of a European security order that offers lasting security, and not the generation of new wars in Europe or elsewhere.

Finally, I reaffirm Kenya's respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders.

**Mr. Agyeman** (Ghana): At the outset, let me thank Under-Secretary-General Rosemary DiCarlo for her briefing to the Security Council on the prevailing situation in Ukraine and the rise in humanitarian

suffering occasioned by the war. I also acknowledge the virtual participation of the President of Ukraine, His Excellency Mr. Volodymyr Zelenskyy. My delegation reaffirms its unwavering support for the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine.

Ghana is gravely concerned by the reports of the intensification of military bombardments in several regions across Ukraine over the past couple of days, for which the ordinary people, especially women and children, are having to pay the highest price. We remain concerned that residential areas continue to be the target of missile launches and bombardments and regret that such places have increasingly become the arena for combat. In that context, we call for an independent, impartial and transparent investigation into the Kremenchuk mall attack, which occurred yesterday and resulted in several casualties.

Over past four months, the war has continued unabated under conditions that have precipitated considerable human suffering and despair. While the current situation casts a grim outlook for peace, as the purveyors of global peace and security we cannot and must not lose hope of finding peace in the interest of the conflicting parties and the wider international community.

With each passing day, the urgency of finding a peaceful and durable solution to the conflict grows. The snowballing effect of the collateral economic impact on the rest of the international community, especially developing countries, which are already burdened by the impact of the coronavirus disease pandemic and other pressing global challenges, could soon go beyond the reach of easy resolution.

It is therefore our plea that ongoing diplomatic efforts should be given an opportunity to advance the cause of peace and the abatement of this needless war on the basis of a commitment to genuine and unconditional dialogue.

We welcome the positive results that followed the Secretary-General's visits to Kyiv and Moscow during the month of April, which demonstrate for us the utility of the United Nations in such delicate circumstances. We encourage the parties to accept the good offices of the Secretary-General in repairing the broken trust occasioned by the war against Ukraine in order to move forward the stalled negotiations.

We call for an immediate cessation of military engagements in areas populated by civilians and urge the urgent creation of demilitarized humanitarian corridors in all besieged areas, in compliance with the precepts of international law and international humanitarian law. We note the obligation of the conflicting parties to proactively protect civilians and civilian infrastructure from harm. Similarly, aid and humanitarian workers must be afforded equal treatment of protection.

In conclusion, we urge maximum restraint and encourage rhetoric that facilitates a peaceful process. We reiterate our call to the members of the Council to harness all efforts to bring an end to the war and restore peace and stability in Ukraine.

**Mr. De la Fuente Ramírez** (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing. I also thank President Zelenskyy for once again addressing the Security Council today.

As of 24 June, four months have passed since the beginning of this war. Unfortunately, there has once again been an increase in attacks against civilian infrastructure and populated areas in various regions of Ukraine, including Kyiv and especially in Luhansk and Donetsk.

We condemn yesterday's attack on a shopping mall in Kremenchuk, where a large number of civilians were present. The final count is not yet available but to date at least 18 deaths and dozens of casualties have been reported, which is deplorable. Such an attack is contrary to international law and international humanitarian law. We support the call of the Humanitarian Coordinator for Ukraine for the immediate opening of an independent investigation into those events. We also reiterate our support for the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court in his investigations into possible war crimes committed in Ukraine.

The bombings in residential areas in many towns in Donbas, which have destroyed critical communications and services infrastructure, are also unjustifiable. They have seriously affected the provision of essential health services and access to several cities in the region.

We urgently call for the provision of safe and unrestricted access to all personnel providing humanitarian aid. One of the key principles of international humanitarian law is the principle of distinction, the ultimate objective of which is to avoid, whenever possible, the suffering of the population or,

where appropriate, to minimize the harm to them. Failure to respect that principle is a flagrant violation of international humanitarian law.

We can say the same thing with respect to the use of cluster munitions: they are weapons that are prohibited by international humanitarian law. The proliferation of weapons is of great concern. That adds a factor of volatility, since the increasing availability of weapons to the civilian population favours the continuation of conflict.

Let us agree that mediation and dialogue are urgently needed to lead to a total ceasefire. That should be the sole priority of the Council. But it is also a matter of urgency to increase to the extent possible the humanitarian pauses that guarantee the safe and voluntary evacuation of the population and to find mechanisms to facilitate the transport of grains, fertilizers and other basic supplies that are confined by the war in Ukraine, which has intensified the precarious conditions of food insufficiency in many other regions of the world. This war has to end now.

**Mr. Polyanskiy** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Before I begin my statement, I would like to say that we are greatly concerned by the position of the Albanian presidency on the participation of President Zelenskyy in today's meeting. No consultations were held with the members of the Council on this matter. Delegations were essentially presented with a fait accompli at the last possible moment. That violates the current working practices and traditions of the Security Council.

An opportunity was provided to President Zelenskyy to address the Council once before, on an exceptional basis (see S/PV.9011). The United Kingdom presidency assured us at that time that no precedent would thereby be created. We do not see any reason to keep multiplying such exceptions. We have repeatedly reiterated our understanding that representatives of States who wish to speak in the Council must be physically present in the Chamber.

The Security Council should not be turned into a platform for a remote public relations campaign by President Zelenskyy to obtain more weapons from participants in the NATO Summit. That undermines the authority of the Council as the body responsible for collective decisions on the maintenance of international peace and security. The Ukrainian party, at the instigation of our Western colleagues, is attempting to

undermine that authority and turn the members of the Council into a theatre audience.

I wish to draw attention to the fact that, just one week ago, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Central African Republic was refused an opportunity to speak to the Council. The Council should not apply double standards in order to serve the Ukrainian party and its Western backers, discriminating in the process against African States. There should not be any exceptions for anyone.

From the very beginning of the special military operation in Ukraine to end the eight-year war of the Kyiv regime against the civilian population of eastern Ukraine, we were faced with the fact that the true situation on the front line was not the main concern of Ukrainian authorities. They were much more concerned about another front, the information front, to which they zealously applied themselves along with their Western public relations propaganda collaborators.

If someone were to try to count all the false Ukrainian information that has been disseminated to date, there would easily be enough for a weighty tome or even a collection of them. Just take the beautiful but absolutely false myth about the Russian ship to which the brave defenders of Snake Island allegedly refused to surrender and for which they paid with their lives. They were posthumously awarded the title of Heroes of Ukraine by President Zelenskyy. Of course, it later turned out that the entire Ukrainian garrison of the island was alive and well and had safely surrendered to the Russian army. But the myth was not revised, and Ukraine still proudly issues stamps illustrating that patriotic story.

As for the famous ace pilot, the Ghost of Kyiv, who allegedly terrorized the Russian air force and shot down dozens of aircraft, it does not matter that his exploits were illustrated with fragments from computer games or old Internet videos. Later on, however, even Western journalists had to reluctantly admit that story was made up. Yet some Ukrainian propagandists continue to exploit that myth to this day.

Internet videos are a separate issue altogether. At the initial stages of the special military operations, even the BBC was horrified by the number of Ukrainian video fakes. But then, like other Western media outlets, it began to take a more relaxed approach, and even to publish its own, passing off homes in Donetsk that had been destroyed by Ukrainian shelling as buildings in

Kyiv. Ukrainians and their Western handlers quickly understood that whatever was happening on the ground was not important at all in our digital age. What was important was what the Western media was showing.

Taking advantage of the voluntary withdrawal of Russian troops from the Kyiv and Chernihiv regions, Kyiv and Western propagandists brought the world the provocation in Bucha, which was monstrous in its scale and equally monstrous in execution. Despite the glaring inconsistencies, many in the West continue to believe in it, as we heard today. Kyiv authorities use the place where the provocation was carried out as a mandatory stopping point on the itinerary for foreign visitors since it is located close to Kyiv. It is a kind of ominous marketing, which is very convenient for squeezing more arms supplies from sponsors.

Bucha became a turning point in the supply of Western weapons, which was precisely the goal of the Ukrainian authorities. They themselves openly admitted that. As Ukrainian Minister for Foreign Affairs Kuleba said in an interview with the BBC on 4 April, “the Bucha massacre should remove any kind of hesitation and reluctance in the West to provide Ukraine with all necessary weapons”.

Having acquired the taste, the Kyiv successors of the White Helmets then tried to implement something no less ambitious, which is when the shelling of the Kramatorsk railway station occurred. That was designed to cement the global community’s belief in the atrocities of the Russian army. However, it was done so clumsily and unconvincingly that they now prefer not to recall it at all because the involvement of the armed forces of Ukraine in that crime is so obvious.

Then, in the best tradition of Goebbels, the image of the barbaric Russian soldier rapist and marauder began to be implanted in Western minds, exactly as the Nazis did during the final stage of the Second World War. At that point, our soldiers, according to Ukrainian propagandists, began to loot, rape and sow fear with unprecedented cruelty. We all remember how the representative of the Kyiv regime sitting with us today talked with a straight face about how our soldiers steal washing machines and even toilets because they never had such miraculous appliances back home.

Today his followers have adapted and modified that ridiculous tale to the point that our soldiers now allegedly loot electric kettles but forget to take the bases for them because they do not know how to use



them. A similar logic underpins the lie about the theft of Ukrainian grain, which we also heard today. Many in the West believed that. They pitied the poor Ukrainians and hated the Russians implacably, yet they were in no hurry to check the facts while they regularly supplied Kyiv with coveted weapons.

But at a certain point everything started to go wrong for the Ukrainian propagandists. Reports accusing Ukrainian soldiers and nationalists of cruelty and war crimes began to multiply on social media. There were also reports of looting, torture, rape, deliberate shelling of residential areas, placing heavy weapons in residential areas and using civilians as human shields. There were not just dozens of such testimonies, but hundreds and thousands spreading across social networks.

That is how, for example, the myths about the shelling of the maternity hospital and the drama theatre in Mariupol fell apart. In addition, more than 2,500 nationalists from the Azov Battalion, who had already been turned into martyrs and heroes, not only had to surrender outright but also had to release hundreds of civilian hostages, who told the truth about what had been done to them.

Ukrainian Ombudswoman Denisova also let everyone down by going too far in recounting and relishing the details of rapes allegedly committed by Russian soldiers. Our Western colleagues then willingly used those descriptions, including in this Chamber. After being fired, she was forced to admit that she had lied deliberately so that Ukraine would continue to receive weapons. It turned out that there was no evidence for Denisova's lies. Ukraine and Western countries had no evidence.

On top of all that is the video and evidence concerning the liberated and heavily shelled cities of Donbas, as well as the liberated cities where people openly said that if there was anyone that they did fear and blame for what was going on it was the Ukrainian army and Western countries that gave it long-range weapons, allowing it to strike where Ukrainian artillery could not reach before. There were also the military failures caused by the inept actions and betrayal of the Ukrainian command, leaving lightly armed soldiers, including new recruits, to their fates and not allowing them to surrender and save their lives. Instead, they were prevented from surrendering or retreating by detachments of nationalists who shot their own soldiers in the back.

There have been too many such videos from the Ukrainian military lately — and there have been hundreds of Ukrainian soldiers, if not thousands, willing to surrender. It has become increasingly difficult to hide all of that from the Ukrainian and global public. Thousands of soldiers have ended up in the new pocket in the Sievierodonetsk and Lysychansk area, against the backdrop of the upcoming NATO Summit, at which the question of new weapons deliveries to Ukraine will be discussed again. Such weapons may not only be used but may also be sold on the side, under Ukrainian officials' well-known scheme of attributing everything to military losses.

It became obvious that, in order to regain the fading attention of the global community, which was fatigued with regard to Ukraine, a new Bucha-style provocation was needed. The problem was that the Russian army had not retreated from anywhere for a long time, while it only made sense for corpses to be planted or civilians to be shot in the territories that were back under the control of the Kyiv regime. That is apparently when the idea emerged to stage a new type of provocation — an alleged strike on a shopping mall in Kremenchuk.

In reality, no such strike was launched. Russia's armed forces used high-precision weapons to strike hangars containing Western-made weapons and ammunition from the United States and European countries near the Kremenchuk road machinery plant. Those weapons and ammunition had been dispersed throughout the storage area for further shipment to Ukrainian troops in Donbas — that is, for the purpose of shelling residential areas in Donetsk, Luhansk and other cities. The strikes carried out by Russia's armed forces prevented that.

The long-range artillery supplied by the West enables Ukraine's armed forces to reach remote areas of Donbas far from the front lines and to strike civilians for no military purpose whatsoever except revenge and intimidation. On 15 June, Ukraine's armed forces carried out such strikes using 155-millimeter Caesar Howitzers received from NATO countries, killing 6 and wounding more than 30 civilians. Every week, dozens more of the killed and wounded are added to that gruesome statistic.

Yesterday the Ukrainian armed forces used the M142 high-mobility artillery rocket system they received from the United States for the first time in Perevalsk, in the Luhansk People's Republic. We



have not heard a single word today from our Western or Ukrainian colleagues about those strikes against civilians and civilian objects in Donbas, because they simply do not care, as they did not care all those eight years during which the Ukrainian armed forces methodically annihilated the inhabitants of the Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics.

Returning to Kremenchuk, the Amstor shopping mall, which is located some distance away for our target, was not affected by the strikes. That can be seen in the surveillance video. Nothing would have been left of the mall if a missile has hit it. The video posted by Ukrainian bloggers shows that the goods inside the mall were not damaged by the blast — they were still on their shelves and had not even been knocked down. And the houses next to the mall were not damaged either, even the glass in the windows was still intact. That would have been possible only if the rocket had exploded at a considerable distance. However, the detonation of ammunition from the Western weapons that were stored in the storage area caused a fire, which then spread to the shopping centre.

I have gone into such detail today to describe the work of the Ukrainian propagandists in the hope that our Western colleagues in the Council will finally realize just how ridiculous and questionable it looks when they pick up and promote the latest products of Ukrainian agitprop. That includes not only the fakes and staged incidents I mentioned but also the claims that Russia is allegedly preventing the export of Ukrainian grain. Kyiv's sole objective is to garner support in the form of money and weapons from members of the Council.

At the same time, as we warned the Council from the very beginning, everyone should understand that such supplies were and remain military targets for us — as do the mercenaries from the same States. And the facilities where such weapons and mercenaries are stockpiled and stationed also become legitimate military targets — as do the hangars at the Kremenchuk road machinery plant. The Kyiv regime deliberately stores weapons in city centres, near residential areas, thereby endangering its people and turning them into human shields.

Yet members of the Council try to ignore that, undermining the very values they seem to be trying to promote. No matter how much they try to deny the facts and claim otherwise, we have not and are not conducting strikes that target civilians and civilian objects. If they

do not believe us, they can look at eyewitness accounts and listen to the assessments of military experts. They will confirm, for example, that the apartment building in Kyiv that was mentioned today was not damaged by a Russian cruise missile but as a result of the two Ukrainian air defence systems downing their own anti-aircraft missiles above the building. The unwillingness on the part of some members of the Council to acknowledge that does not change the truth.

In conclusion, I would like to once again emphasize that those who supply weapons to Ukraine are only prolonging the agony of the criminal Kyiv regime, which is ready to sacrifice its own population. The sooner they realize that, the sooner the Ukrainian leadership will sit down at the negotiating table with a realistic position instead of citing slogans and phantom pains. We launched a special military operation in order to stop the shelling of Donbas by Ukraine and the threat to both Russia and the residents of southern and south-eastern Ukraine from the territory of the country that was turned against Russia at the behest of a number of Western countries and from its nationalist leadership. And until those goals are achieved, our operation will continue.

**Mr. Raguttahalli (India):** Let me begin by thanking Under-Secretary-General Rosemary DiCarlo for her briefing on the situation in Ukraine. We acknowledge the participation and remarks of the President of Ukraine in today's meeting.

India remains deeply concerned about the situation in Ukraine. The conflict has resulted in much loss of life and countless miseries for its peoples, particularly women, children and the elderly, with millions becoming homeless and forced to take shelter in neighbouring countries.

From the beginning of the conflict in Ukraine, India has consistently called for a complete cessation of all hostilities and advocated the path of peace, dialogue and diplomacy. We support all efforts to alleviate the suffering of the people of Ukraine, especially talks between Ukraine and the Russian Federation. India has also been sending humanitarian supplies to Ukraine and its neighbours, including medicines and other essential relief material.

The reports of civilian deaths in the ongoing Russia-Ukraine conflict are deeply disturbing, and we express our grave concern in that regard. In recent years, critical civilian infrastructure in urban areas has

become an easy target in situations of armed conflict. The issue of the protection of civilian objects in armed conflicts should be considered within the framework of applicable international law. Not long ago, India unequivocally condemned the killing of civilians in Bucha and supported the call for an independent investigation (see S/PV.9011).

The impact of the Ukraine conflict is not just limited to Europe. The conflict is exacerbating concerns about food, fertilizer and fuel security, particularly in the developing countries. It is necessary for all of us to adequately appreciate the importance of equity, affordability and accessibility when it comes to food grains. Open markets must not become an argument for perpetuating inequity and promoting discrimination.

India is committed to working constructively to mitigate the conflict's adverse impact on food security. We welcome the recommendation of the task team of the United Nations Global Crisis Response Group on Food, Energy and Finance to exempt purchases of food by World Food Programme for humanitarian assistance from food export restrictions.

India has been providing financial assistance and supplying food grains to countries that are impacted by the Ukraine conflict. Over the past two months, we have exported 1.8 million tons of wheat to countries in need, including Afghanistan, Myanmar, the Sudan and Yemen. We are also helping our neighbour Sri Lanka to ensure its food security. We are trying to increase the production of fertilizers in India. There is also a need to focus on the availability of fertilizers and to keep their supply chains running smoothly at the global scale. Similarly, efforts should be made to ensure the stability of the global supply of fuel so that it is commensurate with the demand.

We reiterate the importance of our Organization's guiding principles on humanitarian assistance. Humanitarian action must always be guided by the principles of humanitarian assistance — humanity, neutrality, impartiality and independence. Humanitarian measures should never be politicized. Let me conclude by reaffirming that the contemporary global order has been built on the Charter of the United Nations, international law and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States.

**Mr. Zhang Jun** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): The military conflict in Ukraine has already lasted more than four months. With regard to that geopolitical

crisis, which is of great concern to the international community, China has always made its own assessment based on the historical context and the merits of the issue. Chinese leaders have repeatedly pointed out the necessity of respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries; adhering to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations; taking seriously the legitimate security concerns of all countries; and supporting all efforts that are conducive to the peaceful settlement of the crisis.

For some time now, China has joined all peace-loving countries in calling for a ceasefire. We are committed to promoting peace talks and have worked tirelessly to de-escalate the situation, restore peace at an early date, mitigate the humanitarian situation and stabilize the global economy.

It is regrettable and worrisome that the conflict is continuing. The crisis is trending in a protracted and extended direction. The humanitarian situation remains dire. Civilian casualties are increasing, and people are suffering. Multifaceted spillover effects are exacerbating global challenges. We stress again that dialogue and negotiation is the only viable way to restore and consolidate peace. The international community is eager to end the hostilities at an early date. China supports direct negotiations between Russia and Ukraine. We also welcome the Secretary-General's good offices on the issue of grain exports, among other things.

All of us have a vocation to strive for and defend peace. All members of the international community should work responsibly for the proper resolution of the crisis and refrain from taking actions to the contrary. All parties should work in concert to create the necessary environment and conditions for peace talks between the parties.

The facts clearly show that sending weapons cannot bring about peace and that imposing sanctions and pressure cannot solve the security conundrum. Attempts to weaponize the world economy and coerce other countries into taking sides will artificially divide the international community and make the world even less secure. Delaying and obstructing diplomatic negotiations for geopolitical purposes will only add fuel to the fire, intensifying confrontations and amplifying the conflict — and we will inevitably end up hurting ourselves.

The Ukraine crisis has once again sounded an alarm for the world. Security is indivisible. Blind faith in one country's position of strength, the expansion of military alliances and the pursuit of one country's security at the expense of other countries' security will inevitably lead to security dilemmas. NATO's five eastward expansions after the Cold War have not only failed to make Europe more secure but also sowed the seeds of conflict.

That is a lesson worth reflecting on. The Cold War ended a long time ago. It is necessary for NATO to reconsider its positioning and responsibilities and abandon the Cold War mentality based on bloc confrontation; instead, it should strive to build a balanced, effective and sustainable European security framework, in line with the principle of indivisible security.

Like all peace-loving countries and peoples around the world, China is paying close attention to NATO's strategic adjustment and is deeply concerned about the policy implications of its so-called strategic concept. Recently, a number of NATO leaders have portrayed other countries as threats. But the fact is that it is NATO itself that has caused trouble in different parts of the world. We urge NATO to learn its lessons and not to use the Ukraine crisis as an excuse to stoke worldwide bloc confrontation or a new Cold War, or look for imaginary enemies in the Asia-Pacific region and artificially create contradictions and divisions.

We firmly oppose those that advocate NATO's involvement in the Asia-Pacific region or an Asia-Pacific version of NATO based on military alliances. The long-outdated Cold War script must never be re-enacted in the Asia-Pacific region. The kind of turmoil and conflict that afflicts some parts of the world must not be allowed to spread to the Asia-Pacific region. The Asia-Pacific countries share an appreciation of their hard-won peace and prosperity, as well as a wish to focus on mutually beneficial cooperation in pursuit of common development and revitalization. Any attempt to go against the tide of history is doomed to fail.

**Mrs. Nusseibeh** (United Arab Emirates): At the outset, I would like to thank Ms. Rosemary DiCarlo for her detailed briefing. We acknowledge President Zelenskyy's address to the Security Council and his first-hand account of the latest developments in Ukraine.

We meet today following concerning reports of intensified missile strikes across Ukraine in urban

areas, including Kyiv and Kharkiv. In particular, the images in Kremenchuk of a shopping mall — something familiar to all of us in our everyday lives — engulfed in flames are horrifying. That incident has added to the war's immensely high human toll and should be properly investigated. Such incidents are a clear demonstration of why civilian objects are protected under international law. The United Arab Emirates reiterates its unequivocal condemnation of attacks on civilians and civilian objects and infrastructure.

As the conflict now enters its fifth month, women, children and the elderly are disproportionately impacted. More than half of Ukraine's children are now displaced from home, while women, children and the elderly suffer from the ongoing violence and trauma and seek refuge in neighbouring countries. It is well past time that we find parameters for ceasefire negotiations as a starting point to end this war. If the conflict continues unabated, we can expect the tsunami of global ramifications to worsen. People around the world are already suffering, both directly and from the conflict's wider repercussions, which include distorted global trade, the effects of sanctions and increased food prices — threatening a global recession. The most vulnerable, as always, are the worst affected. In that context, I would like to make the following points.

First, the application of international humanitarian law is fundamental to preserving human life. Compliance is both a moral and a legal obligation. We reiterate the importance of respecting the principles of necessity, distinction and proportionality, which are paramount in conflict, as well as the importance of ensuring accountability. Any military operation must be limited to exclusively military objectives, and all precautionary measures must be taken to avoid the direct or indirect targeting of civilians. The fact that the war in Ukraine has so greatly affected heavily urbanized areas with high-density civilian populations only underlines the imperative of applying the principles outlined in the Council's framework on the protection of civilians and civilian objects.

Secondly, the international community should intensify efforts to de-escalate and proactively engage to end this conflict. Almost two months have passed since the Council adopted a presidential statement expressing deep concern regarding the maintenance of peace and security of Ukraine (S/PRST/2022/3). However, the war in Ukraine has continued to escalate. The United Nations Charter outlines many of the tools

that can be deployed to reach a peaceful settlement. But knowing that the tools exist, or that they are at the disposal of the parties, is not enough. The talk needs to be walked, and now is the time to have an actual dialogue on the humanitarian challenges and to prioritize an immediate cessation of hostilities, laying out the contours of a sustainable solution that ends this conflict and ends it on a foundation upon which peace can be built. We encourage the parties to seize this opportunity, and we urge the Secretary-General and others to try to bring the parties together for good-faith negotiations to this end.

Thirdly, helping ease global food insecurity must be a priority. This cannot wait. We must avoid a food catastrophe. We are already facing what David Beasley so vividly described as having to take food from the hungry to feed the starving. Specifically, there needs to be a solution to export grain and fertilizer, which are critical to food systems around the world. We are encouraged by ongoing efforts aimed at allowing ships safe passage to and from key seaports, including Odesa. The Security Council must do everything within its power to support these negotiations, and we look forward to the Council addressing this in more detail.

Finally, the devastation in Ukraine from this war is undeniable. We risk losing a generation of children that has been denied education and opportunity. We need to redouble our efforts to achieve peace and end this human suffering. The Security Council must exhaust all avenues and spare no efforts to this end.

**Ms. Koumy Missambo** (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): I would like to thank the Deputy Secretary-General Rosemary DiCarlo for her briefing. I welcome the virtual participation of President Zelenskyy in today's meeting.

The war in Ukraine has now been going on for more than four months, and its humanitarian and security consequences continue to spread, while the political-diplomatic horizon seems to be shrinking dramatically. The serious humanitarian crisis resulting from the war must be addressed; too many civilians have paid with their lives, and millions of civilians, mainly women and children, have been forced to flee the fighting to other cities in the country or abroad.

Despite the international solidarity in welcoming Ukrainian refugees, and despite the commitment of the United Nations and its specialized agencies to helping them, the humanitarian situation in Ukraine is

worsening as a result of the bombings, the destruction of production and distribution facilities, and the breakdown of value chains. Outside of Ukraine, the consequences of the war are exacerbating food insecurity in countries already suffering from conflicts. In other regions, the spectre of famine is clearly being raised as a likely prospect, as aid workers struggle to provide urgently needed food aid. At the same time, many countries are facing unprecedented economic inflation, which is straining economies.

This bleak picture is not inevitable. It is urgent that this humanitarian crisis be contained and that its effects be rapidly contained. There is still time to avoid chaos. The parties to the conflict must find a consensus for the export of the tons of wheat being held in Ukrainian ports. In this regard, we welcome the actions of the African Union, which we hope will produce results within a reasonable amount of time. Many farmers, especially in Africa, are waiting for agricultural fertilizers for their crops. For those of them who are already facing major climatic challenges, this situation leads to uncertainty that could threaten agricultural production.

We are concerned about the signals we are seeing, which suggest a clear desire to prolong the war. We repeat: the world does not need another long-lasting conflict. That said, war is not a state of lawlessness. Parties to the conflict must respect their commitments under international humanitarian law, refrain from any use of weapons of mass destruction and do everything possible to facilitate unimpeded and secure access for humanitarian assistance. Civilians and civilian infrastructure must not be fired upon. We condemn the artillery fire targeting a shopping mall in central Ukraine yesterday.

The trend towards trivializing the threat of the use of weapons of mass destruction is a matter of concern to my country. As a signatory of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Biological Weapons Convention, we condemn any use or threat of use of weapons with indiscriminate effects. The very existence of such weapons poses a real threat to the peace and security of all of us.

My country continues to believe that the best way to end the humanitarian crisis and the outbreak of violence in Ukraine is to end the conflict. We remain convinced that the international community has the means to bring the protagonists to the table for discussions. We urge the parties to engage in constructive negotiations



in good faith and activate all diplomatic and political channels to find a negotiated and consensual solution to the conflict. Peace and security must remain the objective towards which the initiatives of all parties and the international community converge. We call for the cessation of hostilities in order to envisage a peaceful coexistence.

**Ms. Juul** (Norway): I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for shedding further light on the situation in Ukraine and the continued attacks against civilians by Russian forces. I also welcome the strong testimony of President Zelenskyy, who spoke on behalf of the people of Ukraine.

First, Norway reiterates that Russia's war is in and of itself a violation of international law. The principles of the Charter of the United Nations are clear on the illegality of the acquisition of territory by force. We reiterate our call for Russia to stop its illegal attack on Ukraine immediately.

Secondly, Norway strongly condemns all violations of international humanitarian law and international human rights law. We condemn in the strongest terms the reported killings of Ukrainian civilians, and we call on Russia to immediately end the indiscriminate and deliberate attacks against civilians and civilian infrastructure in Ukraine. The targeting of residential areas, such as the devastating missile attack against a shopping centre in Kremenchuk yesterday, is unacceptable.

Urban warfare and intensified Russian missile attacks against Kyiv, Kharkiv and other cities is causing immense civilian suffering. We reiterate our demand and the demands of international law that the civilian population be protected and that all necessary measures be taken to avoid civilian casualties. International humanitarian law must be fully respected and implemented. We condemn Belarus for facilitating Russia's attack on Ukraine.

Thirdly, violations of international law cannot go unchallenged. All violations need to be investigated, and perpetrators of any crimes must be brought to justice. We support the investigations by the International Criminal Court and the Office of the Prosecutor General of Ukraine and other international investigations.

As the war in Ukraine continues, it is inflicting terrible cumulative harm on the civilian population, undermining prospects for peace and security.

The protection of civilians and human rights is a prerequisite for sustainable peace after conflict. In Ukraine, the best way to protect civilians is clear. It is for Russia to end this war.

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

**Dame Barbara Woodward** (United Kingdom): I do not want to take too much more time, but I wanted to say that the Russian representative can try to claim that nothing is true and make outrageous claims of Ukrainian provocations. Cover-ups are as old as crime itself. But the undeniable fact is that Russian forces are in Ukraine, and there are no Ukrainian forces in Russia. There is one aggressor here. The evidence will catch up with them, and there will be accountability for those crimes.

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

**Mr. Polyanskiy** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): I, too, will be brief and not take up too much of your time, Mr. President. I just wanted to note that such statements sound very convincing coming from the representative of a country that brought the world such provocations as the Skripal and Litvinenko cases, as well as many other incidents that will go down in history as glaring provocations and false-flag operations. They should keep that in mind next time they try to teach us lessons.

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

**Ms. Lõuk** (Estonia): I speak on behalf of the Baltic countries — Latvia, Lithuania and my own country, Estonia.

I thank the Albanian presidency for having organized this briefing and Under-Secretary-General Rosemary DiCarlo for the updates on Russia's full-scale barbaric military aggression against an independent and sovereign country that wishes nothing more than to live in peace and freedom to choose its own destiny — free from foreign interference in its internal affairs.

We warmly welcome President Zelenskyy's participation in this meeting and commend him and the Ukrainian people on their heroic courage and



resistance, for the freedom of their country and for the freedom of us all.

The crime of aggression is a major crime against international law. Putin's regime has unleashed a colonial, neo-imperialist, expansionist war against Ukraine, amplified by the obscene, dehumanizing disinformation campaign against Ukraine and the identity, language, history and right to exist of the Ukrainian people. The Security Council must urgently perform its duties to stop that unfolding catastrophe.

As we have seen over the course of four months — 124 days now — Russia's military, unable to defeat the defenders of Ukraine on the battlefield, is seeking to achieve its aims by terrorizing civilians. We have already seen this too many times: maternity hospitals, schools, kindergartens, residential buildings and now also shopping centres are being targeted indiscriminately and without any remorse. Russia's terror knows no bounds. The shelling of a crowded shopping centre in Kremenchuk as well as numerous other intensified attacks on Ukrainian cities — Slovyansk, Kharkiv and Kyiv — in recent days had no military justification whatsoever, no justification other than to kill, injure and cause extensive human suffering in the hope that the spirit of Ukrainian people will be broken, calls for peace at all costs will grow and that the demands of the aggressor will subsequently be met. That is diplomacy the Russian way, using terror and blackmail.

Those Russian actions represent flagrant violations of international law, including the Charter of the United Nations. Russia has repeatedly ignored the calls by the General Assembly as well as the order of the International Court of Justice to immediately suspend military operations on the territory of Ukraine and withdraw its armed forces from Ukraine. The borders of a country are not to be changed by force; that demand is the heart and soul of the Charter.

The systematic violations of humanitarian law and human rights, deliberate attacks on civilian objects and civilians, executions, sexual and gender-based violence, arbitrary arrests, abductions, enforced disappearances and forced deportations of civilians, including of unaccompanied children to Russia as well as their illegal adoption, committed against the Ukrainian people amount to war crimes and crimes against humanity, and possibly even genocide.

The international community should spare no effort to ensure that those responsible for those atrocity crimes

are held to account. We need collectively to give our strongest support to the ongoing work by the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on Ukraine mandated by the Human Rights Council and the work of the expert missions under the Moscow Mechanism of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, as well as the national investigation by the Office of the Prosecutor General of Ukraine. Justice will be brought to victims and their families.

We are concerned that yet again Russia has resorted to dangerous and irresponsible nuclear rhetoric by announcing its intention to transfer nuclear-capable missiles to Belarus and upgrading Belarus's warplanes to make them capable of carrying nuclear weapons. We urge Russia and Belarus to act in line with their international commitments and cease the destabilizing nuclear sabre-rattling. Any use of weapons of mass destruction is unacceptable and would lead to severe consequences. We herewith strongly condemn the involvement of Belarus as Russia's accomplice in the aggression against Ukraine.

We also strongly condemn Russia weaponizing food to increase food shortages and global hunger and thus destabilize international security. Recent reports have shown that Russian forces have been systematically stealing grain and other products from local farmers in occupied areas of Ukraine. As a result of Russia's military activity, more than 20 million tons of grain are currently blocked in Ukraine. We fully support the efforts of the United Nations to find an urgently needed solution for the export of Ukraine's grain and urge Russia to ensure the free passage of shipping from Ukrainian ports.

Let me reiterate that it is the obligation of each member of the international community to stand up against those who violate the principles and rules of international law, including the Charter of the United Nations; failing that, we risk losing the international rules-based order that we built and have committed to since the end of the Second World War. The fundamental principles of respecting sovereignty and territorial integrity and refraining from the use of force are to be respected by every country and are not up for debate.

We resolutely condemn Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine. We urge Russia once again to immediately stop its indiscriminate attacks against civilians and civilian infrastructure and to immediately

and unconditionally withdraw all its troops and military equipment from the entire territory of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania stand with Ukraine and the Ukrainian people.

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

**Mr. Sakowicz (Poland):** I thank you, Mr. President, for having convened this important meeting. I also take this opportunity to thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing as well as His Excellency President Zelenskyy for his powerful statement.

Irrespective of what we heard again from the Russian representative today, Russia is waging a total war against Ukraine, which, from its very beginning 124 days ago, has been in total lack of respect for international humanitarian law and international human rights law. We have a duty to repeat that over and over again, even though the aggressors themselves keep reminding us about the true character of their actions with every atrocity that they commit.

Yesterday's deadly rocket attack, launched by Russian forces on a bustling shopping centre in Kremenchuk, was just the latest in the long list of those sombre reminders. With the heart-wrenching images still before our eyes, we need to be loud and clear: in the past four days alone, Russia have fired more than 130 missiles on the Ukrainian cities of Kyiv, Kharkiv, Mykolaiv and Odesa, to name just a few.

By deciding to hit objects of no military significance, Moscow wants to cause large human losses, terrorize the civilian population and disrupt the functioning of infrastructure catering to the everyday needs of ordinary Ukrainians. According to cautious estimates provided by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, between just 23 and 26 June more than 120 civilian casualties were confirmed. The shelling of the Amstor mall in Kremenchuk alone killed at least 20 people and injured 60 more. Moscow is not only disregarding humanitarian issues and ignoring international criticism; it wants to show that it will strive to break the resistance of the Ukrainian authorities by all means and at any cost.

With respect to the important topic that we are discussing, Russia continues to disrespect the Council and the Charter of the United Nations. It is particularly cynical that Russia, a permanent member of the Security Council, which has been entrusted with the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, is not only failing to fulfil its basic responsibilities, but acts as an aggressor, in blatant disregard for this Organization and the foundational rules on which the international peace and security mechanisms were built.

It is our duty to work together to collect and preserve the evidence of all violations of human rights and international humanitarian law that have taken place in Ukraine. Poland's position in that regard is clear: all those responsible, directly or indirectly, for committing war crimes in Ukraine should be brought to justice.

Apart from seeking justice, Ukraine has a full right to defend itself and to expect the international community to provide the necessary assistance in that regard. Humanitarian, military and financial aid allows Ukrainians to protect their citizens, secure their basic needs and ensure post-war recovery. For 124 days now, Ukrainians have been bravely putting up resistance to the aggressor's forces, which continue to strive for a territorial grab that may actually never satisfy their appetite for more.

The responsibility for the Russian actions also lies with Belarus, which, since 24 February, has been actively facilitating Moscow's military action by making its airspace, territory and infrastructure available to Russian troops. If it were not for Minsk's support, Russia's aggression would have been limited. The Belarusian leadership should be considered complicit in the crimes committed by Russia in Ukraine.

We once again urge the Russian Federation to stop the war and fully withdraw all its forces from the territory of Ukraine. That is the only way to prevent further deaths of civilians. We also urge Russia to fully respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine, as well as international humanitarian law and international human rights law in particular.

*The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.*