

Security Council Seventy-eighth year

9457th meeting Friday, 27 October 2023, 3 p.m. New York

President:	Mr. Moretti	(Brazil)
President: Members:	Mr. Moretti Albania China China Ecuador Ecuador France Gabon Ghana Japan Malta Mozambique Russian Federation. Switzerland United Arab Emirates United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	(Brazil) Ms. Dautllari Mr. Geng Shuang Mr. Pérez Loose Mr. De Rivière Ms. Koumby Missambo Ms. Oppong-Ntiri Mr. Hamamoto Mr. Camilleri Mr. Fernandes Mr. Polyanskiy Mr. Hauri Mr. Almahmoud Mr. Eckersley
	United States of America	Mr. Kelley

Agenda

Threats to international peace and security

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Provisional

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

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Threats to international peace and security

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

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the following briefers to participate in this meeting: Mr. Adedeji Ebo, Deputy to the High Representative for Disarmament Affairs; and Mr. Randy Credico.

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

I give the floor to Mr. Ebo

Mr. Ebo: I provide this briefing on behalf of the High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, Mrs. Izumi Nakamitsu.

Since the previous briefing to the Security Council on this topic, only two weeks ago (see S/PV.9436), the provision of military assistance to the Armed Forces of Ukraine has continued in the context of the fullscale invasion of that country, launched by the Russian Federation on 24 February 2022 in violation of the Charter of the United Nations and international law.

Over the past months, reported transfers of arms and ammunition to the Ukrainian forces have expanded. Much of the information on transfers of weapons systems and ammunition from Governments is available through open sources. Those transfers have reportedly included heavy conventional weapons such as battle tanks, armoured combat vehicles, combat aircraft, helicopters, large-calibre artillery systems, missile systems and uncrewed combat aerial vehicles, as well as remotely operated munitions and small arms and light weapons and their ammunition. We also take note of reports related to the transfer of depleteduranium tank ammunition to the Ukrainian forces. In addition, we are aware of reports of States transferring, or planning to transfer, weapons such as uncrewed aerial vehicles and ammunition to the Russian armed forces, including for possible use in Ukraine.

In that context, I would like to strongly reiterate that any transfer of weapons must take place within the applicable international legal framework, including relevant Security Council resolutions.

Reports related to the use of anti-personnel landmines and the use and transfer of cluster munitions in Ukraine are disturbing. Reports already indicate significant land contaminated with explosive remnants of war of different types. The process to map that contamination and clear the land safely will be long and will require resources and the support of the international community. I call for an immediate end to the use of those indiscriminate and horrendous weapons, which have lasting and devastating impact on innocent civilians long after conflicts have ended.

I call upon all States that have not yet done so to urgently consider acceding to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction and to the Convention on Cluster Munitions. I also reiterate my call to all relevant parties to abide by their obligations under the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons which May be Deemed to be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects, and not to transfer or use any mines prohibited by its Amended Protocol II.

The supply of weapons and ammunition into any armed conflict situation raises significant concerns about the potential escalation of violence and the risks of diversion. Measures to counter the potential diversion of weapons and ammunition will be key to post-conflict recovery and regional security and stability, as well as to conflict prevention in other regions.

In the New Agenda for Peace, the Secretary-General once again calls on Member States to take concrete measures to address challenges related to diversion — at the regional, subregional and national levels. The prevention of the illicit flow of arms and diversion, as stipulated by target 16.4 of the Sustainable Development Goals, can be effectively achieved only through strong cooperation and coordination by the international community.

As I mentioned many times before, transparency in armaments is a crucial confidence-building measure that can serve to reduce tensions and ambiguities between Member States. I urge Member States to utilize various United Nations instruments to increase transparency, such as the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms, and to prevent diversion through instruments such as the Arms Trade Treaty, the Firearms Protocol and the Programme of Action on Small Arms and Light Weapons and its International Tracing Instrument. In addition, I look forward to the General Assembly's endorsement of the Global Framework for Through-life Conventional Ammunition Management and its operationalization to counter the diversion of conventional ammunition of all types, from small calibre to the largest calibres.

All parties to any armed conflict have a duty to protect civilians in armed conflict and ensure compliance with applicable international law, including international humanitarian law. From 24 February 2022 to 8 October 2023, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights recorded 27,768 civilian casualties in Ukraine, with 9,806 killed and 17,962 injured. The actual figures are likely to be considerably higher. The vast majority of civilian casualties are a result of the use of explosive weapons with wide-area effects, including by shelling from artillery, tanks and multiple-launch rocket systems, cruise and ballistic missiles and by air strikes.

Regrettably, the use of armed uncrewed aerial vehicles against civilians and civilian infrastructure has not ceased. Just like any other weapons or weapon systems, armed uncrewed aerial vehicles must not be used in a manner inconsistent with international humanitarian law. Secretary-General The has unequivocally urged all States to avoid the use of explosive weapons in populated areas, as such use is highly likely to result in indiscriminate harm to civilians, including in Ukraine. Civilians and civilian infrastructure across Ukraine continue to face unrelenting and indiscriminate attacks. Let me say it once again: attacks against civilians and civilian infrastructure are prohibited under international law, in Ukraine and in any other conflict setting. All such attacks must stop immediately.

Before concluding, I would like to reiterate that the United Nations is committed to support all meaningful efforts to bring a just and sustainable peace to Ukraine, guided by the Charter, international law and relevant General Assembly resolutions.

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

I now give the floor to Mr. Credico.

Mr. Credico: I have a speech that I wrote, but I have some eye issues with stigmas in spots. I will therefore have to do what I have done for 50 years as a public speaker, which is to extemporize and make it

shorter. I can speak from the heart and thank everybody on the Security Council for giving me this opportunity to share my thoughts and my experience as it relates to the ongoing conflict in Ukraine and the escalation and the potential of more arms going into Ukraine from the United States Government, which I strongly oppose.

This morning, I saw a lot of women in Kyiv, who are mothers of conscripted Ukrainians on the street — I had not seen that before — asking for demobilization. That is picking up in Ukraine, and I think that it will to continue. Before I introduce myself, first of all, I want to say that I feel very safe and secure in this Chamber, inside this building. But once I have left this building, I will not feel so safe and secure. I will be in a state of panic, as I have been for five months, ever since my name was placed on this Ukrainian assassination list — the Myrotvorets assassination list, to which it was added in April after I returned from a trip to Donbas and Moscow. I am not the only person.

By the way, I take the list very seriously. An article in The Washington Post this week documents 22 people on this list who, according to the latter, have been liquidated. There are a lot of people on this list, including Ray McGovern, who spoke here (see S/PV.9266), Roger Waters, who spoke here (see S/PV.9256) and Faina Savenkova, whom Council members may have seen a couple of weeks ago in a video. She is a 14-year-old who lives in Luhansk. That poor young woman came here, and she spoke against the escalation because some of her friends had been killed and disappeared where she lives. She writes fairy tales, and she is 14 years old. And it is not just her. There are hundreds of individuals, her age or younger, who are on this list. How low can you sink? I hope that somebody is listening in Washington, D.C. They have the clout to put an end to this list.

My name is Randy Credico, and people are probably wondering: what gives him the right to be here? What kind of credentials does Randy Credico have? Well, I will tell everybody who I am. I am Randy Credico. For many years, since I was 19, which is 50 years ago, a political satirist, voice impressionist and comedian, which is what I did. I appeared on a lot of television shows. I even appeared at the Smithsonian, a lot of nightclubs in Las Vegas and many other venues. I am also a civil rights activist. For 15 years, I was the Director of the prestigious William Moses Kunstler Fund for Racial Justice, during which time I received four awards including two from the heroic and saintly Argentine Madres de Plaza de Mayo Línea Fundadora. I am also the host of "Live on the Fly" on WBAI Radio and the Progressive Radio Network. WBAI is part of the Pacifica Network, and it reaches the entire tri-state community and area as far north as Kingston, New York. WBAI is a unique station. It is a free speech radio station, which has been around for 60 years. It takes absolutely no money from hedge funds, corporations or from the Government. It is completely listener supported, which makes it unique. It gives us a lot of freedom and latitude at the station to speak the truth.

Right now, I am supposed to be there, as I have to show that starts at 3 p.m. and ends 5 p.m. at WBAI. But I am not there; I am here. However, they are broadcasting the entirety of this meeting. They will broadcast it for as long as it takes. My audience will hear not just me, but the Ukrainian Ambassador and everybody else on the speakers list. We do not engage in censorship at WBAI, which is a stark contrast to what people hear or see in the mainstream media.

Since 24 February 2022, the public has seen nothing but anti-Russian disinformation and distortions, Russophobia and anti-Russian mass hatred through the lens of the corporate media outlets. And the hysteria has gotten so bad that recently a performance of Shostakovich's Symphony No. 7, the Leningrad Symphony, was cancelled at Lincoln Center. Imagine that: in New York City, they cancelled it.

It has been a year and a half since 24 February 2022. After a year of seeing the same stuff — the same Russophobia on television and their slanted view — it was almost like the mainstream media were an echo chamber of the narrative being pumped out of Washington, D.C., from the Pentagon, the Central Intelligence Agency, the White House and the State Department — I decided that I would go and find out for myself what was going on. I went to the Station Manager and Programme Director, Linda Perry, and said, can I go over there and report for WBAI and get my own view? That was because there were no Western reporters in Donbas. I wanted to go to Donbas and find out what was going on. Nobody was there. They were all in Kyiv. And she said, yeah, here you go. So, I went.

On my way to Russia, I spent two days in Dubai, in the United Arab Emirates. It was a lovely experience — wonderful people, a beautiful city — very hospitable — and great food, at a place called Gal. I ate at a place called Gal, because I thought it was going to be my last meal. I really did. I said this will be my last meal. I really thought I was going to die when I was over there. I thought it was going to be my last good meal. That was because once in Russia, from all that I had heard in the mainstream media, it was gloom and doom, and the Russian economy was dead. There would be long breadlines, soup kitchens and all of that, because of the economic sanctions imposed on Russia by the European Union, the United Kingdom and the United States.

I got there on 2 April and stayed five days in Moscow. While I was in Moscow, I did not see any signs whatsoever of economic decay. It was just the opposite. Store shelves were full. There were cars on the streets. There were so many cars, so much traffic that it looked like the Long Island Expressway during rush hour. That is how crowded it was. The bars were full; the restaurants were full. The bars were three deep. I thought: "I do not see anything here, so now I will go to Donbas".

I hooked up with a couple of French journalists and a Russian half-journalist and translator, and we went on to Donbas. But before we went, I had to take a one-day crash course in first aid. And it was very scary because the first thing they teach you is to be careful when you get to Donbas and Mariupol in Donetsk - be careful not to walk on the grass. Do not walk on the grass because the grass was inundated with what are called "petal", or "butterfly" mines, which are totally banned. I had read prior to my visit that several people had been maimed, including children. A 15-year-old kid had been killed. So that was the first thing — the petal mines. That got into my head - do not walk on the grass. Of course, I did walk on the grass when I got over there, because I am so absent-minded. They also taught us how to put on a tourniquet if somebody lost the leg, and where to put it on the elbow and the knee, so as to not cut off circulation. So this was an awful lot to absorb for me.

Then they started talking about red zones, green zones and yellow zones and the difference between them and all of that. And I have to tell you something, I said "I am not going; this is too much for me; I am not going to go". But I told the guys, I am leaving. Goodbye, guys. Let us say goodbye —

The President: Allow me to interrupt for just a moment. The representative of the United Kingdom has asked for the floor on a point of order.

Mr. Eckersley (United Kingdom): I believe we were asked to this meeting to talk about the inflow

of Western weapons to Ukraine. I wonder if we could maybe focus on that rather than on this anecdotal stuff. We appreciate the briefer, but we are a bit limited for time.

The President: Please continue, Sir, and bring your briefing to a conclusion.

Mr. Credico: Alright, I will do so. I will say that I went down to Donbas. I went by train to Rostov and then by armoured vehicle to Mariupol, Donetsk. I arrived, and this is the point here about what I saw when I was down there.

The very first day I was down there, in Donetsk, what did I see? I saw a university that was shelled with a United States Lockheed Martin high-mobility artillery rocket system (HIMARS) missile. That was the first day I was there, and this happened all week. This is their modus operandi. They hit the university, and then emergency medical services personnel show up to tend to the wounded and carry out the dead. And then 20 minutes later, the same place is shelled again to inflict maximum damage on the people who were there helping. That was the very first day.

The second day I was there, there was an open-air market, similar to what we have. The same HIMARS missiles hit an open-air market, just like the one at Union Square, down the street over here. It was the kind of market, in which women were putting out flowers for the upcoming Easter Sunday at the Russian Orthodox Church. They hit that. And then 20 minutes later — I was there; I reported on it — I saw the HIMARS missile slam into the market and into the back of the market. I got there a couple of hours later, but it was a civilian target that they hit with United States missiles — HIMARS missiles. They did that.

I spoke to the women up front with their flowers. They were elderly women. A lot of people were killed. And I said, "how do you do this?" They were putting the flowers back together again. "How on Earth are you able to do this?" And they said, "this is our land. I am staying here; you can kill me". And everybody said the same thing:

"They do not care about us. They are hitting civilian targets to terrorize us and get us out of here to take our land and our resources. They do not care about us at all."

And this happened the whole time that I was there, including when I was on my way back to New York

City, on Easter Sunday at 5.30 in the morning. They did the same thing. Ukrainian forces, 8 or 9 kilometres away, shelled a Russian Orthodox Church — the biggest one there — at 5.30 in the morning, killing some early worshippers. And then 30 or 40 minutes later, they did it again and killed more people.

That is what we are doing with those HIMARS missiles. That is one of the reasons why I stand up against it and against the acceleration. What do you want next, army tactical missile systems? It is bad enough with these HIMARS missiles. They were targeting civilians, and that was it. And I was scared. And they stayed.

Then I went to Mariupol. Down there, I saw all the damage done. It looked like Dresden. I walked down Nicholas Street, which was totally levelled, including a building that had been bombed by Azov fanatics, or Azov militants. They bombed a 200-unit apartment building. From there, I walked through the rubble and found this little spot, a little oasis — this makeshift little café run by two teenage women, one who I got to know, by the name of Valery. She had relatives and friends who were killed during the liberation of Mariupol and prior by Azov forces that were very brutal throughout that period of time. But they are staying. They are rebuilding. They are not going anywhere. They ended up being at the Azovstal, with Azov Battalion troops firing missiles willy-nilly into civilian-populated areas.

I must say, by the way, that driving to Mariupol, at 90 miles an hour, with this Russian driver in his armoured vehicle, there were these petal mines on both sides. They had not yet been defused, but they were all over the place. They are definitely targeting civilians in Donbas. That is what I saw. I saw a lot more while I was there.

And then the other day, I saw President Biden on television, ostensibly there to talk about the attacks in Israel and the genocide that is taking place in Gaza. That is supposedly why he was there, but he spent only about 30 seconds talking about the matter and used it as a vehicle to hustle the American people into shelling out more money to send more weapons to Ukraine so that they can kill more civilians, just as they have done in Donetsk and in Mariupol. He used that situation, saying that it was going to create jobs. Well, what kind of jobs are we creating here with the money they are asking us to give them? What kind of jobs are they? He said that they are going to create a lot of jobs there. What kind of jobs? What kind of products are they? Toasters? How does it benefit us? Do we have incubators? Do we have sneakers? Do we have Coleman stoves, Carrier air conditioners or television sets? There is no product that benefits the American people there. I said, "How could he use and exploit the tragedy in Gaza to push and hustle for more weapons for Ukraine?"

The President: According to my watch, you have been speaking for about 17 minutes, Mr. Credico. I would like to ask you to conclude your intervention within one minute.

Mr. Credico: At any rate, I strongly urge that this should come to an end. We must end the march of folly before the march of folly ends us.

Let me conclude with the words of President Lula da Silva of Brazil, who said recently that the United States must stop promoting war and start talking about peace. He is right, and most of the world agrees with that. The only way to do that is to end arms shipments to Ukraine.

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

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

Mr. Polyanskiy (Russian Federation) (spoke in Russian): We thank Mr. Adedeji Ebo, Deputy to the High Representative of the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs, for his report. Special thanks go to the representative of American civil society, Mr. Randy Credico, who shared not only the questions that many Americans have for their leadership in the context of the Ukrainian crisis, but also his impressions of his trip to Donbas and his contacts with residents there. I would like to apologize to him for the behaviour of our British colleague. I know that our Western colleagues find it very unpleasant to have to hear about the experiences of people who have actually visited places in Donbas that have been shelled by the Ukrainian military, but he said some very important things for which we thank him. He also mentioned that he almost came under fire in Donetsk. I can now give the Council an illustration of the danger that threatened him.

Right now I am holding in my hands the fragments of several projectiles, one of which was recovered from the site of a high-mobility artillery rocket system (HIMARS) multiple-launch rocket system (MLRS) missile strike against the Kherson oblast administration on 16 September 2022. A meeting of heads of municipalities in the region was being held in the building at the time. Three people died and many of those in attendance suffered injuries and contusions. The second fragment is from the site of a bombing on 22 June using Franco-British Storm Shadow missiles. We can clearly see the inscription, which reads "Made in France". The strike was aimed at a road bridge in the village of Chonhar, which connects the peninsula of the same name with the Republic of Crimea and is therefore of key importance in supplying food and other essential goods. The third HIMARS fragment I am holding was located following the shelling of the Voroshylovskyi and Kuibyshevskyi districts of Donetsk on 31 July, which led to the death of one civilian and injuries to 11 more. Finally, the fourth fragment is from the same type of American ammunition, used in the shelling of Makiivka on 4 July. One person was killed in the attack and 68 were seriously injured, including three children.

I would like Council members to look at those fragments and imagine them hurtling down at high speed. I urge our British colleagues to take a look. They would prefer people not to talk about this. In other words, what I have just been showing the Council is material evidence of how weapons supplied by the West are being actively used by Ukrainians to attack civilian infrastructure. And the supplies of Western weapons to the Kyiv regime continue. Last week, the Zelenskyy regime once again showed the whole world that it is deliberately violating international humanitarian law by targeting infrastructure being used by humanitarian agencies. In Kherson oblast, the Armed Forces of Ukraine used American M-142 HIMARS MLRS in targeted strikes on an outpatient clinic in the small town of Nova Maiachka and on the central regional hospital in the city of Oleshky, where eight ambulances were destroyed. What is that if not an attempt to deprive people of access to emergency medical care? Based on Kyiv's punitive plan, the sick and wounded should lie there and bleed to death without a chance of being saved.

As we all know, the first strikes on hospitals by the Ukrainian forces began back in 2014. However, the supposedly civilized Western world has conveniently existed all those years in an alternate reality in which those facilities shelled themselves. The shelling of peaceful neighbourhoods in Donetsk has intensified. On 23 October, a Grad MLRS was used by the Armed Forces of Ukraine to target a mosque in Donetsk that was built with the participation of the Istanbul muftiate. On 21 October, the neo-Nazis shelled the Budyonnivskyi and Kalininskyi districts using shrapnel and cluster munitions. Four civilians were wounded and 23 private residential buildings were damaged. An M-142 HIMARS MLRS missile was discovered virtually intact in a residential area of the city.

All of that is a tragic consequence of the massive supply to Ukraine of lethal weapons produced by NATO countries, which President Biden described as a smart investment that will pay dividends for future generations. In order to make that investment more profitable, just 10 days ago, on 17 October, the United States authorities confirmed their secret shipment of MGM-140 army tactical missile systems (ATACMS) to Ukraine. They were used to attack airfields in Berdiansk and Luhansk that same day. I would like to draw the Council's attention to the fact that ATACMS missiles belong to the long-range category and have a destructive radius of 300 kilometres. They are also equipped with cluster munitions containing blast-fragmentation submunitions, which makes them especially dangerous for civilians. And that is attracting attention even from Western experts, such as Titus Peachey, a member of the United States Cluster Munition Coalition, who recently published an article in the online magazine Responsible Statecraft.

Washington is therefore consciously heading towards escalating the conflict and raising the stakes. We have repeatedly said that the Americans and their allies do not need peace in Ukraine - for them the Kyiv regime is only a tool for weakening Russia. A few days ago, former German Chancellor Schröder said in an interview with the Berliner Zeitung that in March 2022 it was Washington that forbade Kyiv from conducting peace negotiations with Russia. That was also confirmed by the former Prime Minister of Israel Naftali Bennett, who named the United States, Germany and France among those responsible for the breakdown of the negotiation process. According to the magazine The National Interest, Ukraine had three opportunities to resolve the conflict on favourable terms, but Washington blocked the dialogue each time.

Wars have traditionally represented a smart investment for the United States, as President Biden says, because they have not taken place on United States territory and have enabled it to strengthen its economic power. The costs that others have borne — particularly in human and humanitarian terms — have never bothered the Americans. However, that should come as no surprise considering that as long ago as 2014,

the United States and its allies gave their Ukrainian protégés carte blanche to commit any crime. We now know for certain how Washington painstakingly implemented its anti-Russia project in Ukraine. It has also now become clear that it directly helped Ukrainians to engage in criminal activities. Apparently the masks have all been dropped. We are talking about direct assistance to Ukraine in the commission of terrorist attacks on our country's territory, as The Washington Post eloquently described earlier this week and to which Mr. Credico referred. In that article, new details were provided about the murders of journalist Darya Dugina and blogger Vladlen Tatarsky, which were carried out using transparent terrorist methods, with the help of explosive devices. Washington and London were also directly involved in the shelling of the Crimean bridge, which killed seven people. Furthermore, they helped Zelenskyy's regime carry out drone attacks against Russian cities, including attempts to attack the Kremlin. As American journalists have demonstrated, Ukraine's intelligence services were able to commit all those acts as a result of the close cooperation of the Security Service of Ukraine and the Main Directorate of Intelligence of Ukraine with the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Britain's MI6.

Moreover, it has been reported that the Main Directorate of Intelligence itself is essentially a pet project of the United States. Speaking to *The Washington Post*, an unnamed United States intelligence official admitted that:

"We calculated that the Main Directorate of Intelligence was a smaller and more nimble organization where we could have more impact. The Main Directorate of Intelligence was our little baby. We gave them all new equipment and training".

According to American journalists, CIA experts trained Ukrainian security services to operate behind the scenes in covert groups. While initially they mostly carried out reconnaissance missions, they later turned to the physical killing of people. Clearly, their American wardens did not just give their subordinates a licence to kill — as a famous spy saga put it — they also taught them how to use it. Here it is appropriate to recall the bravado of Kyrylo Budanov, the current Head of the Main Directorate of Intelligence. In response to direct questions from journalists about his involvement in terrorist attacks, he said that Ukrainian intelligence "loves direct action and is not afraid to use it against anyone, anywhere in the world". None of that, as is obvious, seems to bother the Western sponsors of the Kyiv regime, seeing as, in their anti-Russian frenzy, they are ready to turn a blind eye to the fact that their underlings, who take inspiration from the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant, are committing terrorist acts against civilians. It should therefore come as no surprise that, in the endlessly expanding list of the weapons supplied to Ukraine, there are more and more long-range guns and missile systems, which the Armed Forces of Ukraine readily use to attack civilians. I already demonstrated that to the Security Council today.

We have often repeatedly pointed to another important reason — apart from the desire to bleed Russia dry — for the behaviour of the United States and its allies in eagerly increasing their military supplies to Ukraine and to other countries as well. That reason is their banal desire to make money. The Pentagon and NATO said last week that arms manufacturers had raised the prices of 155 millimetre shells — the ammunition Kyiv needs the most — from €2,000 to €8,000 per unit. The American weapon manufacturers have therefore increased their profits by 450 per cent, and Kyiv cannot do a thing about it. However, a single shell now costs Ukraine the same amount that 20 Ukrainians earn on average per month, according to official statistics. For most people, war is grief and misery, but for Washington it is business as usual. Against that backdrop, it is not surprising that according to Politico, the White House is trying to change the arguments used to convince lawmakers to approve a new aid package for Ukraine. The main argument now is that the assistance provided will be the key to economic growth in the United States, creating jobs and strengthening the industrial base. That could not get any more cynical.

The people who train Ukrainian soldiers to kill — and seem to do so expertly — are also thriving. The gunman who killed at least 20 people and wounded 60 others on Wednesday in Lewiston, Maine, in the United States, turned out to be a licensed firearms instructor. American journalists found on his social media that he had written "proud to train defenders of freedom around the world, including in Ukraine". If those are the kind of people who are training Ukrainians, should we be surprised by the atrocities they commit against civilians after such receiving such training?

At the same time, the Western elites, who continue to actively expand their cooperation with the Kyiv regime and pour huge amounts of money into it, still turn a blind eye to the colossal level of corruption in Ukraine and the fact that Kyiv is unable to control the arsenals at its disposal. Two weeks ago (see S/PV.9436), we informed the Council of the discovery near the border of Israel of ammunition with the mark of an Armed Forces of Ukraine unit stationed in the city of Mukachevo, in the Transcarpathian region, in connection with which the Security Service of Ukraine conducted searches and made a series of arrests. Recently, data has emerged that 15 to 20 per cent of all military products received by Kyiv are put on the grey and black markets within two weeks. As soon as Western arms deliveries begin, some of the items appear on the dark web, which is virtually a public domain. The media have circulated numerous testimonies about weapons and explosives being sold on the Internet, including C-4 explosive charges, the price of which starts at \$800. The organizers of such sales provide full service, including delivery throughout Ukraine. The intermediary structures, including those in Europe, organize the deliveries through Moldova and the Balkans to the main consumers - terrorist and anti-government groups in the Middle East, Central Africa and other regions of the world.

In that connection, I refer to the widely broadcasted testimony of a Ukrainian border guard who defected to Russia, who described to journalists in detail how the humanitarian aid supplied to Kyiv is simply sold off in Ukraine and beyond under the watchful eye and supervision of local officials. As we all remember, during the sixteenth ordinary summit of the Heads of State and Government of the Lake Chad Basin Commission, held at the end of November 2022, former President Buhari of Nigeria noted that his country's authorities had discovered weapons intended for the Armed Forces of Ukraine that had fallen into the hands of extremists.

Corruption has manifested itself throughout Ukraine's entire society. Local media write about it openly, publishing more and more examples. Only Kyiv's Western sponsors do not notice it or do not want to notice it, and for obvious reasons — corruption is contagious and requires the complicity of all those involved. I would therefore not be surprised if evidence came to light very soon of the direct involvement of Western officials and politicians in corrupt schemes involving Ukrainian weapons and humanitarian aid. In fact, such evidence already exists, although it implicates such high political circles in the United States and Great Britain that few people dare to talk about it yet — but that is only for the time being. I would like to underscore that Russia has all the necessary tools to defend and protect its territory against long-range weapons. However, the very fact that the West is supplying such weapons shows once again that the United States and its allies are ready to keep fuelling the Kyiv regime in its readiness to fight until the last Ukrainian, which only prolongs its agony. At the same time, against the backdrop of the clear shortage of ammunition and other weapons at the disposal of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, Western countries are ready to go to any lengths to supply their wards with extra quantities. They are collecting weapons from all over the world, including from other hot spots — and they do so openly and often in violation of the relevant resolutions of the Council.

We know for a fact that a large batch of ammunition seized by the United States military in the Gulf of Oman was transferred to Ukraine. The Americans had the nerve to speak about that openly. Those interested can read the corresponding press release of the United States Central Command, dated 3 October. Washington justifies those actions as legitimate by citing the need to comply with the international arms embargo against Yemen. In that connection, we draw attention to the fact that, in accordance with resolution 2216 (2015), States may not inspect cargo bound for Yemen in international waters. In the Yemeni context, there is no such thing as a special inspections regime.

In addition, we are alarmed by reports of the European Parliament's intention to hand over to the Kyiv regime 146 armoured vehicles that were confiscated last year by the European Union (EU) Naval Force Mediterranean Operation IRINI. We have serious questions for the EU military about the seizures themselves, but we will put those aside for the time being. What is important is that, if implemented, that measure would be in direct contradiction with the relevant resolutions of the Council, including resolution 2292 (2016), which clearly spells out the authorized ways of disposing of confiscated weapons. Their transfer to a third party is permitted only for the purposes of destruction and does not imply their subsequent intended use. We believe that those trends deserve careful analysis and discussion by the Council.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that it is already quite obvious that the West's adventure in Ukraine will go down in history along with the Afghan, Syrian and Vietnamese adventures, and it will be no less shameful and inglorious. The unenviable fate of Ukraine, whose greedy and reckless rulers have betrayed their country and people and trampled Ukraine's interests for the sake of Western geopolitical goals, is already obvious, and they will have to atone for that, no matter how much our Western colleagues may try to forestall that reckoning with their arms supplies and intelligence. There is also no doubt that, when the Kyiv regime collapses, everyone who claims today to be selflessly helping Ukraine as an alleged victim of unprovoked aggression will not emerge unscathed. After what we have already found out about the Kyiv regime, its sponsors and their eightyear-long preparation for the war with Russia, it all sounds fake and cynical. I want our Western colleagues to know that, although I doubt that they have, or will have, any other arguments in their arsenal.

Mr. Hauri (Switzerland) (*spoke in French*): I thank Mr. Ebo, Deputy to the High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, for his presentation. I have also taken note of Mr. Credico's speech.

Switzerland reiterates that Russia's military aggression against Ukraine constitutes a serious violation of international law. Under the Charter of the United Nations, Ukraine has the right to ensure its security and to defend its territorial integrity and sovereignty.

The heavy toll of that war on the civilian population of Ukraine is devastating. Switzerland condemns all violations of international humanitarian law and human rights. All parties to the conflict must ensure the protection of the civilian population and persons hors de combat and respect the rules of the conduct of hostilities.

Switzerland supports — and stresses the need to pursue — serious efforts to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in Ukraine, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We recall that there can be no lasting peace without accountability. To achieve a peaceful solution, we once again urge Russia — after 20 long months of war — to finally de-escalate the situation, cease all combat operations and withdraw all its troops from Ukrainian territory. The International Court of Justice has ordered it. The General Assembly is calling for it.

Finally, I reiterate that States must respect their obligations with regard to arms deliveries, in particular under the Council's relevant resolutions. At a time when the global non-proliferation architecture is already under enormous pressure, it should be strengthened, not weakened. It is therefore regrettable that Russia has decided to revoke its ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty.

Mr. Geng Shuang (China) (spoke in Chinese): The Security Council has had many deliberations in the past on the supply of weapons to Ukraine. In its briefings, the Secretariat has mentioned many times that the flow of weapons and ammunition into conflict areas may pose the risk of proliferation and that stricter control measures should be taken. China has also repeatedly voiced its concerns and anxiety about the serious consequences of the continuous flow of weapons into the battlefield. Right now, the Ukraine crisis has not ceased. The situation on the ground remains tense, and its spillover effects continue to spread. Once again, we call upon all relevant parties to the Ukraine crisis to take a responsible approach, attach high importance to preventing the risk of proliferation of weapons and ammunition and do their utmost to prevent that risk. In particular, they need to prevent them from falling into the hands of terrorists and non-State actors to avoid creating new instability and conflicts in wider geographical areas and claiming more innocent lives.

We once again call upon the international community to step up efforts to facilitate peace talks, promote the cessation of hostilities, avoid intensifying confrontation, stop widening divisions, join hands to address the negative spillover effects and work together towards an early political settlement of the crisis. China always stands together with all countries that aspire to and support peace. China always upholds the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and is committed to facilitating the political settlement of the crisis through dialogue and negotiations. We will continue to maintain contact and communication with all relevant parties to enhance dialogue and exchanges, raise hopes for peace and work to contribute to an early political settlement of the crisis.

Mr. Kelley (United States of America): I thank Deputy Ebo for his briefing today. His continuing efforts to counter weapons diversion are critical.

It has been two weeks since the Russian Federation last called a Council meeting on this issue (see S/PV.9436). Today's meeting is yet another attempt to divert the Council's attention from Russia's continued blatant breaches of international peace and security in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, as the Kremlin wages its brutal war of aggression against Ukraine.

Addressing security threats that arise from the illicit proliferation of conventional arms is a long-standing United States international security priority. However, Russia has not called us here to engage in a serious discussion about illicit proliferation, nor is Russia interested in a factual discussion about the dangerous and destabilizing consequences of its armed invasion of Ukraine. The Russian delegation undermines the Council's credibility when it calls repeated meetings to spread false and misleading accusations regarding the assistance from allies and partners in support of Ukraine's legitimate self-defence within Ukraine's own sovereign territory.

It is no surprise that we have seen an increase in the number of meetings of this kind recently, as the Russian Federation expands its military partnership with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This is clearly to serve as a distraction. We condemn the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for providing Russia with its military equipment, which Russia will use to further attack Ukraine's cities and kill Ukraine's civilians. And we remind Russia that Security Council resolutions prohibit all Member States from procuring arms or related materiel from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Any revenue the Democratic People's Republic of Korea receives from such transfers could be channelled by Pyongyang to further develop its unlawful weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missile programmes.

Let us make no mistake — it is Russia's invasion of its sovereign neighbour and Russia's procurement of weapons in violation of Security Council resolutions that present the real threat to international peace and security and the global non-proliferation regime. Where Moscow's actions undermine long-standing obligations under the Council's resolutions, we will keep working domestically and with the Council to identify, expose and counter Russia's attempts to acquire arms in violation of the Council's resolutions. We call on Russia to recommit to the maintenance of peace and security and to immediately withdraw its forces from Ukraine's sovereign territory, in line with its responsibilities as a permanent member of the Council.

Mr. Camilleri (Malta): I thank Mr. Ebo for his informative briefing and Mr. Credico for sharing his views.

We reaffirm Malta's long-standing position on the risks that the uncontrolled flow of weapons has on regional and international peace. By calling for another meeting on this matter, the Russian Federation continues to cynically distort facts. Furthermore, this meeting is being called against the backdrop of the Russian Federation's decision to withdraw its ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty. That decision undermines ongoing international non-proliferation and disarmament efforts and the international security architecture.

Malta stands firm in its position that Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders must be safeguarded. Ukraine has the right to self-defence, as enshrined in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. At no stage did Ukraine commit — or even threaten to commit — an attack against Russia.

Through its aggression, Russia continues to be responsible for violations of international humanitarian law and human rights. The thousands of injuries and deaths have been mostly a result of the use of explosive weapons with wide-area effects and of armed uncrewed aerial vehicles. The recent missile attack on civilians perpetrated by Russia against the Nova Poshta postal terminal is the latest shocking development in a long string of atrocities. Those responsible must be held accountable. We are also deeply concerned by the humanitarian situation on the ground. We stress again the parties' obligations to protect civilians and civilian objects and facilitate the flow of humanitarian assistance.

In conclusion, this week's round of peace formula talks among national security advisers in Malta is the most concrete support that we can provide for keeping Ukraine high on the international agenda until a just, comprehensive and lasting peace is achieved. We once again urge Russia to end its hostilities and withdraw its military forces, equipment and proxies from the entire internationally recognized territory of Ukraine.

Mr. Eckersley (United Kingdom): I thank Mr. Ebo for his very helpful briefing.

Russia wishes to address weapons proliferation. In a happy coincidence, the United Kingdom would also like to address weapons proliferation, but that may be about the only thing we agree on today. Russia has spent the past two decades flouting its obligations in arms control and disarmament. Its systematic efforts to undermine that architecture have only accelerated since its invasion of Ukraine. Russia's withdrawal from the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe is yet another step in that direction, along with its announcement that it will withdraw its ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty. That follows its rejection of modification of the Vienna Document, its withdrawal from the Treaty on Open Skies, its violation of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty and the suspension of its participation in the New START Treaty.

Turning to the situation in Ukraine, Russia's sourcing of weapons from heavily sanctioned States such as North Korea and Iran violates Security Council resolutions, undermines the Council's credibility and poses a serious risk to international peace and security. The Russian delegation held up fragments of Western weapons today as if that was a big reveal — it is not. We are open about the support we provide. Russia, on the other hand, still denies that it receives weapons from Iran and North Korea because it knows it is illegal. Russia has destroyed schools, hospitals, grain silos and energy facilities. It has deployed hypersonic missiles, one-way attack drones and a cruise missile with a range of more than 2,000 kilometres. It has used conventional anti-personnel mines and improvised booby traps, including in children's toys. The weapons that the United Kingdom and others have provided to Ukraine are in support of Ukraine's defence of its sovereign territory against Russia's illegal invasion. The weapons that the international community is providing are not what is prolonging the war. The only obstacle to peace here is Russia.

Ms. Oppong-Ntiri (Ghana): Let me begin by expressing my delegation's appreciation to Mr. Ebo, Deputy to the High Representative of the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs, for his informative briefing.

As the Council is well aware, violent conflicts create conditions that encourage the amassing of weapons and increase the risk of proliferation and diversion to unintended users, further exacerbating other conflict situations and worsening the global environment for peace and security. States therefore have an obligation to uphold and comply with relevant international non-proliferation measures designed to prevent the spread of weapons from theatres of conflict.

Ghana remains deeply concerned about the fact that no plausible advances have so far been made in efforts to achieve peace in Ukraine. In spite of the several imperatives for bringing the war to an end, the parties' actions continue to be heavily driven by military logic. We strongly believe that in this conflict, as with all other violent conflicts, peace cannot be won militarily, and as we have often stated in this Chamber, there is no alternative to winning peace in Ukraine. Achieving a cessation of hostilities and turning a new page in peacemaking are critical and must remain an international priority. We therefore continue to urge Council members, together with the support of the international community, to intensify their diplomatic efforts geared to ending the war and opening channels for dialogue. We emphasize that only a resolution founded on the principles of international law and the values of the Charter of the United Nations can ensure a sustainable and durable peace between these two neighbouring countries. We reaffirm Ghana's unwavering support for sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity, as well as the right to self-defence established under the Charter.

Lastly, we would like to take this opportunity to once again reiterate our call for a cessation of hostilities and de-escalation of tensions and to urge the Russian Federation to immediately and unconditionally withdraw its troops from the internationally recognized borders of Ukraine.

Mr. Fernandes (Mozambique): I thank Mr. Adedeji Ebo, Deputy to the High Representative of the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs, for his briefing, and Mr. Randy Credico for his perspective on the issue.

Our stance on the matter under consideration is well known and has not changed since our previous meeting on the subject (see S/PV.9436). We therefore reiterate that the supply of weapons and ammunition to warring parties in the Russia-Ukraine armed conflict, as in any other situation of armed conflict, raises significant concerns about the likelihood of escalation and proliferation. We have also repeatedly called on the parties to uphold their duty to protect civilians and ensure compliance with all applicable international law, including international humanitarian law. We have voiced our concerns about the disregard of safeguards aimed at preventing the use of explosive weapons in populated areas, which is highly likely to result in indiscriminate harm to civilians and the disruption of essential services. As the military hostilities drag on with no clear prospect of a settlement in sight,

established norms governing warfare and previously respected red lines are increasingly being ignored. We are also worried that the warring parties could be inching closer to the dreaded threshold of urging their respective allies to join the conflict. We reiterate our call to the conflicting parties to scrupulously respect the principles of distinction, proportionality and precaution in the conduct of their military operations.

It is unfortunate that the conflict between Ukraine and Russia has been a source of division and indecision in the Security Council. It has diverted essential resources and has had a negative impact on the urgent need for the Council to take action in other conflicts. Additionally, it has plunged the Council into a fractious new normal, making consensus harder to achieve than ever and impeding members' efforts to ensure that it can fulfil its responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. The unwillingness to engage in dialogue and de-escalation in the war in Ukraine is having serious implications for the Council's ability to confront grave humanitarian calamities, terrorism and hostage situations in other regions that are dangerously close to further conflagration.

To conclude, as the blessings of peace are becoming rarer in our times, Mozambique once again calls on all parties to address their security concerns and interests through peaceful means and immediately silence their guns. In that regard, genuine trust and mutual respect between Member States and adherence to international law are the only sustainable routes to achieving lasting peace and security around the world at large and in Ukraine in particular, with a commitment to a constructive and engaged dialogue.

Ms. Dautllari (Albania): I thank Mr. Ebo for his briefing.

Once again, instead of acting with objectivity and realism, Russia prefers to keep misusing this platform for its propaganda. While the Kremlin goes looking for arms supplies from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Iran, in violation of Security Council resolutions, it is trying to divert the Council's attention with so-called Western arms supplies. Russia has committed an unprovoked military aggression against Ukraine, violating the Charter of the United Nations and international law. Because of that aggression, the international community is assisting Ukraine in its struggle to defend its country, in accordance with the United Nations Charter and international law. A couple of days ago, the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on Ukraine submitted to the General Assembly a report (A/78/540) with new evidence that Russian authorities have committed violations of international human rights law and international humanitarian law and corresponding crimes in Ukraine. That should have been a reason for Russia to call a Security Council meeting today. In that context, together with our British and American colleagues, we are co-organizing today an Arria Formula meeting at which the findings of that report will be presented. We look forward to hearing real facts and not propaganda.

Mr. Pérez Loose (Ecuador) (*spoke in Spanish*): We listened carefully to the briefings of the speakers this afternoon.

We share the concerns of the Deputy to the High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, Mr. Adedeji Ebo, in particular about the risks posed by the influx of arms and ammunition. We support his recommendations, in particular with regard to the measures necessary to mitigate those risks. We insist that it is appropriate to increase, for example, the standards of marking, registration and traceability of weapons and ammunition, and to implement any measure aimed at avoiding the diversion, spread and escalation of the conflict. Ecuador continues to reject armed violence, militarization and weaponization and recognizes the right of self-defence. We will continue to insist on the need to prioritize the protection of civilians and the objective of global stability over any other logic — whether that of industry, production or distribution. The supply of defence materials and systems must contribute to the protection of civil infrastructure and the population. Any supply of weapons or ammunition must be subject to guarantees of respect for the principles of distinction, proportionality and precaution at the time of use.

Finally, once again, we insist that the Russian Federation end the occupation to allow a ceasefire in order to progress towards a just and lasting peace possible.

Mr. Hamamoto (Japan): I thank the Deputy to the High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, Mr. Adedeji Ebo, and the other briefer for their briefings.

Japan recalls that the Security Council discussed this agenda item two weeks ago (see S/PV.9436). We would like to repeat our views. No support should be given to a State that is violating international law and the Charter of the United Nations. It would be particularly unacceptable if support were rendered in violation of existing Security Council resolutions. All Member States should refrain from supporting Russia's aggression either directly or indirectly. In that regard, the transfer of arms from North Korea to Russia, which directly violates relevant Security Council resolutions, is absolutely unacceptable. Such a transfer would not only exacerbate the situation in Ukraine but also undermine the non-proliferation regime, which we all value. We urge them to abide by the relevant Security Council resolutions and immediately cease all activities that violate them.

Two days ago (see S/PV.9453), we witnessed proposed Security Council draft resolutions (S/2023/792 and S/2023/795) condemning violence against civilians and calling for compliance with obligations under international humanitarian law. That is what we want to realize in the war of aggression against Ukraine. Let me recall that the war was launched by Russia. If Russia is truly concerned about the risks posed by the influx of weapons, it should immediately stop the war it started.

Mr. De Rivière (France) (*spoke in French*): I thank Mr. Ebo for his briefing.

For the second time in the space of two weeks, Russia is requesting a Council meeting in order to place responsibility for the war in Ukraine on arms deliveries to that country. Another meeting on this subject will be no more successful than the previous ones in gaining acceptance for such a rewriting of history. It will not make us forget any more than the previous ones Russia's responsibility in triggering this conflict. It will not distract attention any more than the previous ones from the daily strikes carried out by Russia against Ukrainian civilian infrastructure, in violation of international humanitarian law.

Russia took the initiative in this conflict by attacking Ukraine, in defiance of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. As at 16 March 2022, the International Court of Justice ordered Russia to cease its offensive on Ukrainian territory and called on the Russian army to return to Russia. The General Assembly has repeatedly called, by an overwhelming majority, for an end to be put to the war of aggression and has demanded that Russia withdraw its troops from Ukrainian territory. However, Russia has persisted for more than 20 months in a war that is contrary to international law, destructive for civilian populations and destabilizing for food security throughout the world. Russia continues the aggression using weapons, some of which are acquired from Iran and North Korea, in flagrant violation of resolutions that the Council adopted unanimously.

Faced with that illegal aggression, Ukraine has the right to defend itself under Article 51 of the Charter. France, with its partners, has chosen to provide Ukraine with military support to help it to exercise that right. We are committed to providing Ukraine with equipment to enable it to defend its territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence. We support Ukraine in its right to self-defence with the aim of achieving a just and lasting peace in that country, which can only be based on the principles of the Charter.

Ms. Koumby Missambo (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): I thank the Deputy to the High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, Mr. Adedeji Ebo, for his briefing. I listened attentively to the remarks of Mr. Randy Credico.

For 671 days, the war has raged in Ukraine without interruption, and although the Council has met regularly, it has not been able to find a way out of the conflict. The attacks - on the ground, at sea and by air using missiles or drones — continue each day, causing more victims among civilians and destroying civilian infrastructure and essential civilian facilities, such as gas networks and electricity and agricultural facilities. The incessant calls from all those in the international community who call for an end to the fighting and above all respect for humanitarian law have gone unanswered. Instead, we continue to see signs of intensified combat and the radicalization of positions. With the end of the Black Sea Grain Initiative, the hope for open dialogue has been extinguished as well, taking with it the possibility of employing diplomacy towards a political solution.

My country is alarmed by the extremely tense international security environment in which the world has been plunged today. Conflicts are arising or re-emerging without the mechanisms provided for in the Charter of the United Nations, in particular those of Chapter VI, being set in motion in an attempt to quell them. The use of military force is indisputably continuing to take precedence over the peaceful settlement of disputes, thereby calling into question the very relevance of international instruments and mechanisms designed to guarantee international peace and security. It is vital, however, that we be able play our part and shoulder our responsibilities as Council members, so that we can align ourselves with the mandate of the Council, which, we would recall, is the Security Council, not a war council. The best and only way to reverse the current trend towards forging new military alliances, the reformulation by certain countries of their arms policies and backtracking on the use of certain weapons of mass destruction with particularly inhumane effects, such as cluster munitions, is to end wars.

In any case, we must redouble our efforts to ensure respect for international commitments to disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation to which we have freely agreed. It is our shared responsibility to prevent the transfer and diversion of weapons, munitions and fissile material to non-State actors. Attacks using remotely operated munitions cause extensive material damage and civilian casualties. Their use must be regulated. My country therefore reiterates its support for the call by the Secretary-General and the International Committee of the Red Cross to adopt new international rules on autonomous weapon systems. By limiting their use through the adoption of new red lines, we will help to limit their humanitarian consequences. My country calls on all parties to strengthen measures for the traceability and control of conventional weapons, to refrain from the use weapons of mass destruction, to comply strictly with international humanitarian law and to respect the principles of distinction, precaution and proportionality.

In conclusion, my country calls on all parties, including the international and subregional organizations to which the warring parties are party, to create the conditions for dialogue and negotiations in order to silence the guns in Ukraine and guarantee peaceful coexistence.

Mr. Almahmoud (United Arab Emirates): I thank the Deputy to the High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, Mr. Ebo, for his briefing.

We have recently marked 600 days since the beginning of the war in Ukraine, and the prospect of a just and lasting peace seems further away than ever. Right now, the pursuit of military solutions is being prioritized, and a peace agreement seems a distant possibility. It is against that backdrop that we reiterate our support for efforts to mitigate any potential risks associated with arms transfers to Ukraine, the region and beyond. That includes the important task of safeguarding weapons during their transfer, storage and deployment. We continue to encourage the careful implementation of the various measures that have been put in place to mitigate any unintended risks that may be associated with arms transfers in that context. We also highlight the need for effective oversight by national authorities. That is of particular importance in situations of armed conflict, where additional risks may be present, and we encourage the national authorities to take appropriate action to counter those risks.

We also welcome ongoing efforts and initiatives to strengthen arms control in Ukraine and across the region, especially those aimed at avoiding any potential diversion of weapons. Greater cooperation, including information-sharing and developing best practices, can reduce some of the risks. In particular, we welcome the work of the Office for Disarmament Affairs and the Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects and its International Tracing Instrument.

The United Arab Emirates remains committed to supporting all serious efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace in Ukraine, in line with the Charter of the United Nations. We must leave no stone unturned to achieve that objective.

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

I thank Mr. Adedeji Ebo for his briefing, and I take note of Mr. Credico's remarks.

Brazil shares the concerns about the use, or threat of use, of weapons and ammunition with increasing lethality and destructive power in Ukraine. That trend, aggravated by the unacceptable threat of resorting to the nuclear option, hampers a peaceful solution to the conflict and portends even greater suffering for the civilian population. The scale of arms and ammunition transfers to Ukraine could leave a dreadful legacy for current and future generations. We are seriously concerned about the long-term impact of the deployment of landmines in extensive portions of the Ukrainian territory, as well as the risks of diversion of weapons and ammunition to criminals and terrorist groups. We encourage the parties to adopt, to the maximum extent possible, measures to prevent such a scenario, in line with the multilateral instruments that we have at our

disposal. The protection of civil nuclear installations is crucial. We renew the call for Member States to join the Arms Trade Treaty and uphold the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms. We also urge the parties to act with transparency and refrain from transactions that may constitute violations of relevant Security Council resolutions.

Brazil reaffirms its commitment to the pursuit of a mutually acceptable peaceful solution and remains willing to contribute to efforts leading to a peaceful solution. Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations provides the road map to a peaceful solution. Diplomatic negotiations and strict adherence to international law are the only way to ensure a just and lasting peace in the region and everywhere.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I give the floor to the representative of Ukraine.

Mr. Dvornyk (Ukraine): I recognize the Russian representative in the permanent seat of the Soviet Union. I would like to thank Deputy to the High Representative for Disarmament Affairs for his briefing. With regard to his neighbour, I can only recommend this guest to be wary of those who have brought him today to this Chamber, as it is a long-standing Russian practice to get rid of those agents whom they use to their full extent and do not need any longer.

We reiterate our condemnation of Russia's misuse of the Security Council toolbox to divert its attention from the war crimes and crimes against humanity that Russia has committed and continues to commit in Ukraine. It is utterly unacceptable to hastily request Council meetings with the sole purpose of undermining other events scheduled and prepared by other members well in advance. What is the value of this discussion — to record once again the cognitive dissonance in Russia's statements? Since February 2022, the Russian delegation has consistently justified the invasion by referring to the right to self-defence and stating that the decision to start the so-called special military operation in Ukraine was taken in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

And two days ago, that very delegation, in this very Chamber (see S/PV.9453), with a straight face, referred to the ruling of the International Court of Justice ruling to prove that the right to self-defence is inapplicable in the case of an occupying Power, which is exactly what Russia is with respect to Ukraine. If the Russian Federation wants to use the Court's rulings to support its position, it must start by finally implementing the decision concerning Russia itself, in particular the Court's order of 16 March 2022. Otherwise, this entire performance is just manipulation, hypocrisy and cynicism — a very pathetic performance, given the fact that, while trying to blame the victim of armed aggression for receiving the means to defend itself, Russia has received Iranian drones for more than a year and is now ready to kneel down before the North Korean regime to beg for additional weapons and ammunition to continue its war of aggression against Ukraine.

Ukraine will continue to exercise its right to selfdefence in strict accordance with Article 51 of the Charter. We will continue to fight until every Ukrainian citizen and every parcel of our stolen land are liberated and Russia suffers military defeat in Ukraine. To that end, the Ukrainian armed forces will continue direct strikes at all legitimate military targets. We will destroy airports with assault helicopters, as was the case on 17 October in occupied Berdiansk and Luhansk, and we will further eliminate Russian hardware and soldiers, currently being sent by Moscow generals as cannon fodder in suicidal attacks on the Ukrainian city of Avdiivka.

But we will definitely not hit funeral receptions, postal depots, shopping malls or residential areas in the vicinity of nuclear power plants, as Russian terrorists have done. We reiterate that Ukraine's peace formula already exists and that the essential elements of the comprehensive, just and lasting peace it promotes are consistent with the Charter, including the principles of sovereign equality and territorial integrity of States, within their internationally recognized borders. That also fully follows the logic of General Assembly resolution ES/11-6, of 23 February 2023. That means that the only correct solution for the Russian soldiers in Ukraine would be either to surrender, as many have already done, or to withdraw from the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine, without further delay. Meanwhile, as long as they are in Ukraine, they will remain legitimate military targets and will be treated accordingly.

The meeting rose at 4.30 p.m.