



# Security Council

Seventy-seventh year

*Provisional*

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Wednesday, 23 November 2022, 4 p.m.

New York

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<i>President:</i>	Mr. Agyeman. . . . .	(Ghana)
<i>Members:</i>	Albania . . . . .	Mr. Spasse
	Brazil. . . . .	Mr. Costa Filho
	China . . . . .	Mr. Geng Shuang
	France . . . . .	Mr. De Rivière
	Gabon . . . . .	Mrs. Ngyema Ndong
	India . . . . .	Mrs. Kamboj
	Ireland . . . . .	Ms. Moran
	Kenya. . . . .	Mr. Kiboino
	Mexico . . . . .	Mr. De la Fuente Ramírez
	Norway . . . . .	Ms. Juul
	Russian Federation. . . . .	Mr. Nebenzia
	United Arab Emirates . . . . .	Mrs. Nusseibeh
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . .	Mr. Kariuki
	United States of America. . . . .	Mrs. Thomas-Greenfield

## Agenda

Maintenance of peace and security of Ukraine

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*The meeting was called to order at 4.05 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 the Republic of Moldova, Romania and Ukraine to participate in this meeting.

On behalf of the Council, I welcome His Excellency Mr. Volodymyr Zelenskyy, President of Ukraine, who is joining this meeting via video-teleconference.

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

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

I give the floor to Ms. DiCarlo.

**Ms. DiCarlo:** Relentless, widespread attacks against civilians and critical infrastructure are continuing across Ukraine, with devastating consequences. Overnight, a new wave of missile and drone strikes terrorized the people of Kyiv, Odesa, Lviv, Mykolayiv, Kharkiv and Zaporizhzhya. As Ukrainians desperately sought shelter from the bombing, they also had to contend with freezing temperatures. Indeed, these latest attacks renew fears that this winter will be catastrophic for millions of Ukrainians, who face the prospect of months of frigid weather with no heating, electricity, water or other basic utilities.

According to initial media reports quoting local authorities, the strikes today killed or injured over 30 civilians as residential buildings were hit in Kyiv and the towns of Chabany and Vyshhorod, on the outskirts of the capital. We have also seen reports of an overnight strike on a maternity hospital in the town of Vilnyansk, in the Zaporizhzhya region. A 2-day-old baby was reportedly killed in that attack.

Even before the latest strikes, Ukrainian officials state that there were practically no large thermal or hydroelectric power plants left intact in Ukraine. Today's barrage is likely to make the situation even worse. Emergency shutdowns were introduced today in all regions of Ukraine, and regions such Lviv,

Zaporizhzhya, Odesa and Chernihiv were reportedly completely disconnected from electricity. In Kyiv, the Darnytskyi thermal power plant was hit. All of Kyiv region was reportedly deprived of electricity, and the approximately 3 million people of the capital were left without running water.

The Ladyzhyn power plant, in the Vinnytsia region, was also hit. Russian strikes also damaged energy infrastructure in Kremenchuk, Lviv and Odesa. Reports note that Odesa has no electricity or running water.

Three nuclear power plants still operating — Rivne, South Ukraine and Khmelnytskyi — were reportedly disconnected from Ukraine's energy grid as a result of today's attacks.

People in the neighbouring Republic of Moldova are also likely to suffer consequences. Today's strikes reportedly resulted in a blackout across the Republic of Moldova, a country that is already suffering an energy shortage due to the war.

The World Health Organization warned this week of a life-threatening winter in Ukraine. We must ensure that the country's most vulnerable people are adequately protected and able to cope in the months ahead. Humanitarian actors in Ukraine are working to support people facing the challenges imposed by the energy shortage. In the past few weeks more than 430,000 people have received some sort of direct winter assistance, and nearly 400 generators have been distributed to ensure energy supplies to hospitals, schools and other critical facilities. I will say it once again. Attacks targeting civilians and civilian infrastructure are prohibited under international humanitarian law. So are attacks on military objectives that may be expected to cause harm to civilians that would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated. The United Nations strongly condemns those attacks and demands that the Russian Federation immediately cease those actions. There must be accountability for any violations of the laws of war.

We also remain deeply concerned about the situation at the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant, the largest in Europe. The reported shelling at the plant over the weekend is reckless and deplorable. The Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) confirmed on Monday that despite the severity of the shelling, key equipment remained intact and there were no immediate nuclear safety or security concerns. That is a result of sheer luck, and

we do not know how long that luck will last. The world cannot afford a nuclear catastrophe. Underscoring the risks of those attacks, just a couple of hours ago the IAEA reported that the plant had lost external electricity access and is relying on diesel generators to power cooling and essential nuclear safety functions. All military activities at and around the plant must cease immediately.

Amid today's dark news, I want to mention a positive development. The parties today reported yet another prisoner exchange. Thirty-five Russian and 36 Ukrainian prisoners were released. We strongly encourage the parties to continue those releases and ensure that they fulfil their obligations under international humanitarian law, in particular the third Geneva Convention.

The temperature in Kyiv right now is said to be -1°C, with snow forecast. The weather we have been both preparing for and dreading is now upon the people of Ukraine. We must all work together to prevent a man-made humanitarian catastrophe this winter. The resulting shocks would exact a heavy price not only on Ukrainians but on us all. Immediate de-escalation is needed. We reiterate our call to all Member States and international organizations to support efforts to that end, with respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders. The United Nations will continue to do its part on the ground and remains ready to support all efforts towards peace, in line with the Charter of the United Nations and international law.

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

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Volodymyr Zelenskyy, President of Ukraine.

**President Zelenskyy** (*spoke in Ukrainian; English interpretation provided by the delegation*): We are awaiting a very firm reaction from the world to today's Russian terror — from our responsible partners and friends, and not just observers — a reaction from all who genuinely acknowledge the Charter of the United Nations. We are doing everything we can. Ukraine has presented a peace formula, and the world has heard it. It has 10 points on how to restore the full force of the Charter, which Russia has violated, in order to guarantee the security of Ukraine, Europe and all the peoples of the planet who are suffering from the consequences of Russia's aggression.

In response to our peace formula, Russia is following up with the items that make up its formula of terror. The very next day after I presented Ukraine's peace formula in Indonesia at the summit of the Group of 20 — or rather the Group of 19 — we received 10 Russian missiles for every item in the peace formula, and that reaction has continued to go even further. We liberated Kherson, and as soon as the Russian army fled the city it began to methodically devastate it on a daily basis. Last night more missiles fell in the Zaporizhzhya region. This time, a hospital's maternity ward was hit. The Russian Federation took the life of a two-day-old child, killed by a Russian missile. People have died and scores are injured. Today a residential building was hit in Vyshhorod, leaving 35 people injured and killing four. Today, in just one day, we have been the target of 70 missiles. That is Russia's formula of terror.

All of that is harming our energy infrastructure. Besides the residential buildings that have been hit, hospitals, schools and transport have been damaged — everything has been affected. Russia's terror has led to a complete blackout, not just in Ukraine but in our neighbour Moldova as well. As power supplies are cut off, it is important to understand what Russia wants to achieve with this impact. Energy terror is a weapon of mass destruction. When the temperature is below 0°C and millions of people are left without electricity, heat and water, that is an obvious crime against humanity.

Among the members of the Security Council today sit representatives of a State that offers the world nothing but terror, destabilization and disinformation. Russia's formulas offer nothing but that. That is why I would like to re-emphasize that it is time to support Ukraine's peace formula. We must leave terror no opportunity to make its mark in the world. That is why we are turning to our partners for support to protect our skies. We need modern and effective air-defence and missile-defence systems, and I would like to thank those who are offering and supplying them. What can the representative of the terrorist State tell the Council now? We can obviously see that peaceful people are suffering. I therefore urge him to take concrete steps to protect humankind and life. For a long time Russia has been trying to turn the Security Council into a platform for rhetoric, but the Council was created as the world's most powerful platform for decisions and actions, and we can demonstrate that together now. The Council should provide a clear assessment of the actions of

the terrorist State in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. In that regard, Ukraine proposes that the Council consider a draft resolution condemning any form of energy terror. Let us see if anyone in the world, including Russia, is willing to say that using terror against civilians is a good thing.

I would like to confirm Ukraine's invitation for the United Nations to send a team of experts to examine the critical infrastructure of our country. It will be necessary in order to carry out a proper assessment of the damage to the infrastructure that supports the lives of tens of millions of people.

Finally, justice must be restored within the United Nations itself. A terrorist State should not participate in any voting concerning its own aggression and terror. When the instigator of a war, the party responsible for terror, can block any attempt by the Security Council to fulfil its mandate, the result is a dead end. It is absurd that the right of veto is granted to a party waging a criminal war. We can and must lead the world out of this impasse. We cannot be held hostage by one international terrorist. Russia is doing everything to make electricity generators a more powerful tool than the Charter of the United Nations, but we can restore the Charter's real meaning. We need the Council's decisive action.

Glory to Ukraine.

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

**Mrs. Thomas-Greenfield** (United States of America): I would like to thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing and President Zelenskyy for joining us today. His powerful words laid out the devastating consequences of Russian attacks on Ukraine's critical infrastructure and their unconscionable impact on civilians.

It seems that Putin is determined to reduce Ukraine's energy facilities to rubble. His purpose could not be more clear or cold-blooded — he is clearly weaponizing winter to inflict immense suffering on the Ukrainian people. He has decided that if he cannot seize Ukraine by force, he will try to freeze the country into submission. If he gets his way, millions of Ukrainians will be left without power, water or heat during the cold winter months. Even more families will be forced to flee their homes, hospitals will be unable to treat patients, and more children and elderly people,

especially the sick and those with disabilities, will die. The most vulnerable will pay the heaviest price.

Having struggled on the battlefield, Moscow is now adopting a cowardly and inhumane strategy that punishes Ukrainian men, women and children. Let us be clear — these attacks on critical infrastructure are a shameful escalation in Russia's already brutal and unjustifiable war. They are so extensive that they have cut off external power transmissions to Ukraine's nuclear power plants. Reliable off-site power is essential to the safe operation of Ukraine's nuclear facilities, and the loss of outside power increases the risk of a nuclear reactor accident, potentially including a radioactive release. Russia's attacks on infrastructure supporting the safety of Ukraine's nuclear power plants cast doubt on the seriousness with which it is engaging on the prospects of a protection zone around the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant.

As we know, the impact of the war is being felt beyond Ukraine's borders. After the latest barrage of missile attacks, many Moldovans have been left without power, and Russia's war of aggression is making it harder for Ukraine to harvest, store and transport the grain products that so many Middle Eastern and African countries rely on. We cannot overstate the catastrophic scale and cruelty of those attacks, which are part of a sick pattern of abuse against the people of Ukraine. The Council has seen video images of the horrors of Russia's war. Just today, we have seen media reports and heard from the Under-Secretary-General that a Russian missile killed a two-day-old baby in a maternity hospital in southern Ukraine.

We must clearly and unequivocally condemn violations of international law, including international humanitarian law. There must be a mechanism for accountability, and we must do everything in our power to support the Ukrainian people. That is why the United States has contributed more than \$250 million in winterization-specific humanitarian assistance to help provide heating supplies, blankets, shelter, repair materials, generators, centres for internally displaced persons and other critical infrastructure sites. Yesterday we pledged an additional \$4.5 billion to help Ukraine keep its schools, hospitals, utilities and emergency services running. Today we announced an additional \$400 million to help Ukraine's military resist Russian attacks. This perilous moment demands a concerted international response. We call on more nations to lend support to Ukraine in the form of the equipment and

financial assistance necessary to repair and rebuild the energy grid, as well as air-defence capabilities to help Ukraine protect itself from Russia's air strikes.

Putin seems to think his campaign of brutality will weaken the Ukrainian people's resolve, but he is once again gravely mistaken. The Ukrainian people will not be deterred. I saw that first-hand when I visited Kyiv earlier this month. I was there partly to announce additional humanitarian assistance to help Ukrainians during the cold winter ahead, and I made the announcement in front of a group of displaced women and children in a civilian building that had been hit by Russian munitions. What I saw that day was what we continue to see now — the strength and resolve of the Ukrainian people. No matter the cold and dark that Putin tries to inflict, Ukraine will continue to defend its freedom, sovereignty and democracy, and the United States and our allies will continue to stand with Ukraine in its time of need for as long as it takes.

**Mr. Spasse** (Albania): I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing.

An overnight rocket attack struck a hospital maternity ward in southern Ukraine, killing a newborn baby. Fortunately, the baby's mother and the doctor were pulled alive from the rubble. That happened during heavy attacks by Russian forces on civilian infrastructure. It has happened before, and it is happening again. It has now become a pattern. Whenever Russia feels it is losing ground on the battlefield, it resorts to targeting civilians and civilian infrastructure, bombing schools and hospitals and destroying houses, bridges, and above all electricity infrastructure, a vital component of Ukraine's life and economy.

Russia may continue to use whatever camouflaged language it has employed in the past, but when it deliberately targets civilians and civilian infrastructure, there is only one way to describe such despicable behaviour. Russia is committing war crimes and crimes against humanity in Ukraine. That is precisely what the European Parliament confirmed today. Its landmark resolution highlights that the deliberate attacks and atrocities committed by Russian forces and their proxies against civilians in Ukraine, the destruction of civilian infrastructure and other serious violations of international and humanitarian law amount to acts of terror and constitute war crimes. In the light of that, the European Parliament has recognized Russia as a State sponsor of terrorism and a State that uses means

of terrorism. Here we face a terrible reality, whereby a permanent member of the Security Council, entrusted with preserving peace and security, has descended so low in its rogue behaviour in Ukraine that the world's most prominent house of democracy — the European Parliament — now designates it a sponsor of terrorism.

This unjust and unjustified war continues, and the risk of its potentially catastrophic spillover is real. Russian missile strikes on Ukraine's energy infrastructure have also caused blackouts across half of neighbouring Moldova. The more Ukraine proves successful in its counter-offensives aimed at recovering its temporarily occupied territory, the angrier the punishing response by a frustrated Russian army. That includes the artillery assault in Donbas, the targeting of civilians and residential areas, threats of the use of nuclear weapons and the massive recent attacks on Ukraine's energy infrastructure in an effort to subdue Ukraine by freezing its population to death. It is estimated that approximately 4 million people are facing an extreme winter in Ukraine. Many are living in damaged homes that will not protect them from the cold. Those numbers will only increase.

It is no wonder that the international community has made a clear choice to condemn the Russian aggression and continue to strongly support Ukraine politically, militarily and economically in defending its country and its people. That show of solidarity is aimed at supporting not just the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine but the rules-based order of the entire world. In the context of the worsening humanitarian situation in Ukraine, we commend the efforts of the United Nations agencies helping people in need. It is important that United Nations convoys have access to the country's various regions. We also fully support the substantive engagement of the International Atomic Energy Agency in creating a security zone around the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant in southern Ukraine. All sides should remain committed to substantive cooperation in that regard.

In conclusion, I want to reiterate that the cause and the root of the crisis, including its humanitarian aspects and food insecurity, lie solely in Russia's unprovoked and unjustified military aggression against Ukraine. We reiterate our call on Russia to stop its aggression, withdraw unconditionally from the entire territory of Ukraine and engage in diplomacy.

**Ms. Juul** (Norway): I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing. We welcome the participation of President Zelenskyy in this meeting and thank him for his strong message to us, which we heard loud and clear.

Norway will continue to stand with Ukraine and the Ukrainian people. Our support is unwavering. We are appalled by Russia's continued war of aggression, which is a gross violation of international law and the Charter of the United Nations. The recent new wave of attacks against Ukraine once again clearly demonstrates Russia's complete disregard for the horrible suffering it is causing millions of people. We are alarmed by the escalation and brutality of the massive attacks on civilians and civilian infrastructure, which have killed many people and hit a large number of power facilities across Ukraine. Damage to energy infrastructure brings great humanitarian harm and will certainly cause illness and death during the cold winter. The attacks serve no military purpose, and the aim seems to be to terrorize the population. Such acts are illegal and may constitute war crimes, and those responsible must be held to account. There is also reason for grave concern regarding the situation in and around the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant. We support the efforts by the International Atomic Energy Agency to establish a nuclear safety and security protection zone. Russia must immediately withdraw its military forces.

The war against Ukraine is a tragedy for individuals and for Ukrainian society and its people for generations to come. It also has serious global ramifications. We welcome the renewed Black Sea Grain Initiative, which is essential to easing global food insecurity. Once again, Norway urges Russia to immediately cease its unlawful and senseless aggression. It must immediately end its military operation on Ukrainian territory and withdraw. We call for safe, rapid and unimpeded access for humanitarian organizations to people in need and reiterate our demand that all civilians be protected. International humanitarian law and human rights law must be fully respected and implemented. Russia must end its horrible war.

**Mr. De Rivière** (France) (*spoke in French*): I thank Ms. DiCarlo for her briefing and welcome the participation of President Zelenskyy in this meeting.

Russia is continuing its strategy of systematically targeting Ukrainian civilian infrastructure. After the strikes on 15 and 17 November, which were on a

scale unprecedented since the conflict began, today's bombing has led to a disruption of the water supply in Kyiv and massive power cuts all over the country. The damage to power generation facilities is extensive. The neighbouring Republic of Moldova is also a victim of those bombings and has seen its own energy supply severely disrupted. France condemns these continuing strikes in the strongest terms. We reaffirm our solidarity and support for Ukraine while expressing our condolences to the families and friends of the victims, as well as our solidarity with the Republic of Moldova. This war of aggression is creating a situation in which the risk of unintended escalation is extremely high. Russia bears full responsibility for the deteriorating safety and security of the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant, as the presence of its troops at the nuclear site and the illegal annexation of the plant have considerably increased the risk of accidents.

Russia's continued deliberate strikes on civilian infrastructure are a clear violation of international humanitarian law. With every Ukrainian victory, including the recapture of the Kharkiv region and of Kherson, Russia responds with further bombings of Ukraine's critical infrastructure. The objective is clear — to spread terror in the face of military defeat. The continuation of such reprisals is intolerable. We reiterate that Russia will not be able to overcome the resistance of the Ukrainian people, who are fighting for their freedom. And Ukraine is not alone in its struggle — we stand by it and will continue to do so. France will continue its support for Ukraine's civil resilience by organizing an international conference on 13 December, the aim of which is to respond to the population's urgent needs as winter approaches and to set up a mechanism to coordinate the provision of international aid. France will also continue to support the Republic of Moldova. As soon as the war began we launched an initiative with Germany and Romania to help the Republic of Moldova cope with the consequences of the aggression. We held the third meeting of the Moldova Support Platform in Paris last Monday, where we were able to mobilize €100 million.

France reiterates its unwavering support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine in the face of Russia's aggression. We commend the courage and determination of the Ukrainian people.

**Mr. Costa Filho** (Brazil): At the outset, our thanks go to Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for the

updated information she has presented to the Council this afternoon.

Brazil reaffirms that attacks on civilian targets, including energy and transport infrastructure, are unjustifiable and constitute violations of international law and international humanitarian law. We urge the parties to suspend hostilities immediately in order to avoid further deterioration of the humanitarian situation in the areas affected. The recent bombings have once again highlighted the risks that the conflict poses to regional stability. We note with concern the deployment of air-defence systems announced on Polish territory close to the border with Ukraine. In the light of the incidents on 15 November, the moment calls for prudence. It is essential to act responsibly and at all costs prevent the conflict from taking on even greater proportions.

No topic has received as much attention from the Council since February as the conflict in Ukraine. Nevertheless, despite the frequency of our meetings, we are no closer to peace. The recurring finger-pointing and blame-shifting in our meetings have not brought the situation any closer to a peaceful solution. As important as it is to condemn the violations committed during the course of the crisis, we must always remember that such narratives are secondary to the civilian population. Peace is the main aspiration on both sides of the front line. We encourage Council members to explore avenues for opening dialogue between the parties, based on respect for Ukraine's sovereignty and recognition of the legitimate security concerns of all the parties involved.

**Mr. Kariuki** (United Kingdom): I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing, and we welcome President Zelenskyy's participation in today's meeting.

We discussed the situation in Ukraine last week (see S/PV.9195), and the Council's message at that meeting was clear. Russia's systematic attacks on Ukrainian civilians and civilian infrastructure are unacceptable and must end. Over the past week, Russia has continued its campaign of terror, killing more civilians, attacking more civilian targets and causing colossal damage to Ukraine's energy infrastructure. Russia is deliberately bombing hospitals and other medical facilities, and the World Health Organization has recorded 703 such attacks since February. As we heard today, a newborn baby was murdered in a strike

on a maternity unit in Zaporizhzhya last night. Russia is destroying lives in Ukraine that have barely started. As President Zelenskyy said, Russia is trying to achieve with terror and murder what it could not achieve in nine months on the battlefield — the complete subjugation or destruction of Ukraine.

Russia must observe its obligations under international humanitarian law, but that is no substitute for peace. President Zelenskyy has presented a comprehensive plan for a negotiated end to the war. The first crucial steps are for Russia to end its unilateral aggression and restore Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity in line with its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. Russia has spoken of wanting negotiations, but actions speak louder than words.

As my Prime Minister said in Kyiv last week, the United Kingdom will be providing new air-defence equipment and stepping up humanitarian support for the cold hard winter ahead. We continue to stand with Ukraine as it fights to end the barbarous war and deliver a just peace.

**Ms. Moran** (Ireland): I welcome the participation of President Zelenskyy in this meeting and thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing.

Ireland is deeply concerned about the harrowing reports of the Russian Federation's new barrage of missile strikes on Ukraine's cities and critical infrastructure. Across Ukraine there have been massive power outages, causing further misery for millions of Ukrainians as a cold, harsh winter begins to set in. Rolling blackouts have become the new normal in Ukraine, and today much of neighbouring Moldova is also without power. Ireland condemns Russia's use of energy as a weapon of war. Horrific reports have emerged overnight of a Russian rocket attack on a maternity ward in a southern Ukrainian hospital near the city of Zaporizhzhya, killing a newborn baby whose mother and doctor were pulled from the rubble. In the city of Kyiv, three people, among them a 17-year-old girl, were killed as a result of Russian shelling, and there were further casualties in the wider region. We have also heard reports in recent days of torture chambers uncovered in Kherson, adding to the list of potential atrocities in areas previously occupied by the Russian Federation.

Those heinous attacks have achieved absolutely nothing beyond terrorizing and punishing the civilian

population, and we condemn them in the strongest terms. We reiterate that attacks targeting civilians and civilian objects are war crimes, and that those responsible for ordering and committing those attacks must be held to account. Russia's use of explosive weapons in populated areas is grossly disturbing. Last week in Dublin, 83 countries adopted a political declaration on strengthening the protection of civilians from the humanitarian consequences arising from the use of explosive weapons in populated areas. We reiterate that parties to the conflict must comply with international humanitarian law. That includes obligations to refrain from intentional attacks on civilians, attacks that do not distinguish between military and civilian targets, and indiscriminate and disproportionate attacks, along with the obligation to take all feasible precautions in attack. That is all the more urgent as millions of people across Ukraine are entering a dark and freezing winter at the hands of the Russian Federation. Russia's continued attacks have caused massive disruptions to energy infrastructure and basic services, including water, heat, electricity and health care. As always, the most vulnerable in Ukrainian society — internally displaced persons, women, children and the elderly — face a particularly precarious future.

Time and time again, the Russian Federation has defied the calls of the international community to end its aggression against Ukraine. It has continued along its path of escalation, death and destruction. But as we have made clear time and time again, there is another way. Once again, Ireland calls on the Russian Federation to cease all hostilities, withdraw its troops and return to a path of dialogue and diplomacy.

**Mrs. Nusseibeh** (United Arab Emirates): I thank President Zelenskyy for addressing us today and Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing.

Since our last meeting on Ukraine (see S/PV.9195), temperatures have indeed started to drop as the first snow falls across the country. We have repeatedly shared our grave concern about the fact that the onset of winter, amid damaged critical infrastructure, portends further humanitarian suffering with failures in power and heating systems. Today, with reported missile strikes across Ukraine, there has been an increase in rolling blackouts, cuts to water supplies and significant power outages, to the extent that they have affected neighbouring Moldova. Additionally, we are deeply concerned about reports that the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant was subject to renewed shelling over the

weekend. We echo the urgent calls of the International Atomic Energy Agency's Director General, Mr. Rafael Grossi, for a concerted effort by the parties to avert a nuclear disaster. It is completely unacceptable that the people of the region — and, indeed, the world — should live under that threat or survive catastrophe because of sheer luck. The shelling should stop.

Today's reports tell a story of damage and destruction that extend beyond Ukraine's power plants and electricity grid. Distressingly, residential buildings and even a maternity ward were reportedly hit. We take special note of the need to ensure the safety of mothers and their newborn babies. We remind the parties of their obligations under international law, set out clearly in the Geneva Conventions, to protect civilians and civilian objects. We must also urge restraint, as those particular developments risk an escalation with transnational consequences.

The current situation is yet another reminder of the urgent need for a cessation of hostilities and a peaceful resolution of the war or a peace formula agreed between both sides. We must seize on rare positive developments, like last week's extension of the Black Sea Grain Initiative, to create the necessary momentum towards broader talks on a cessation of hostilities. We strongly believe the Council must rise to the occasion by showing unity around the path forward to resolving the conflict. For its part, the United Arab Emirates is ready and willing to deploy its good offices to support any effort that mitigates the war's impact on civilians in and outside Ukraine, and to help both Russia and Ukraine arrive at a lasting peace.

**Mr. De la Fuente Ramírez** (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): We thank Under-Secretary-General Rosemary DiCarlo for her briefing and welcome President Zelenskyy's participation in today's Security Council meeting.

The attacks over the past few days, which have destroyed part of Ukraine's electricity infrastructure just as winter is about to begin, are unacceptable and must stop immediately. As mentioned previously, power-supply problems compromise other basic services, such as delivery of water and heating, as well as the safe operation of nuclear facilities in Ukraine.

It is clear that, as the fighting intensifies, the risks of a nuclear accident increase. Such an accident would have catastrophic humanitarian and environmental consequences for the entire region and beyond. We

therefore reiterate, as a matter of urgency, the need to establish a security perimeter around the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant. There is still time to prevent a major tragedy, but if we do not do something the risk of one actually happening increases. That is why Mexico is once again making an unequivocal call today to put a stop to attacks on civilian infrastructure. We insist on the importance of respecting international humanitarian law. The Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols are clear and unambiguous: civilian objects cannot be the target of attacks.

It is clear that the consequences of this war have been widespread. Last week, two people were killed in Poland as a result of the conflict and, as we have heard, last night, a new attack on a hospital caused the death of a newborn. Now, the power supply of the Republic of Moldova has also been affected.

Further, the war has had a great impact on food prices, which affects the food security of many countries. In this regard, we welcome the renewal of the Black Sea Grain Initiative for the export of grain from Ukraine, as well as the Memorandum of Understanding between Russia and the United Nations Secretariat to facilitate access of Russian food and fertilizers to world markets. We hope that, in the same spirit in which the renewal of these two important agreements was achieved, new avenues for dialogue that privilege diplomacy can be found, as well as new mechanisms for mediation.

It is urgent to put an end to the war and the grave suffering of the civilian population. It is also urgent to put a halt to the ever-increasing costs that the world is being asked to pay.

**Mrs. Ngyema Ndong** (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): I thank Ms. Rosemary DiCarlo for her briefing and welcome the participation of President Zelenskyy and the representatives of Romania and Moldova in today's meeting.

Once again, the war in Ukraine has brought death and destruction. Yesterday's attacks caused casualties among the population and destruction of civilian infrastructure, especially in the sensitive region of Zaporizhzhya. It is time to stop this war.

Gabon continues to call on the parties to come to the table to find a political solution in order to get out of the logic of belligerence, which only produces death, desolation and terror. There will be no other way — no other possible outcome — than dialogue. Prolonging

the war means gambling on the lives of thousands of civilians exposed to the fighting and subjecting them to indiscriminate attacks by weapons of mass destruction. It also means increasing the already heavy toll of destruction on civilian infrastructure.

Stopping the supply of electricity to millions of Ukrainians will certainly worsen the humanitarian situation as winter approaches, thereby exacerbating the distress of populations already badly affected by nine months of war. Gabon once again calls on the Security Council to engage in the search for a concerted solution and activate diplomatic channels.

In conclusion, we emphasize the need for the parties to respect international humanitarian law and call on the warring parties to engage in good faith negotiations to end the war and the suffering of innocent victims.

**Mr. Kiboino** (Kenya): I thank Under-Secretary-General Rosemary DiCarlo for her briefing and welcome the participation of President Zelenskyy.

We meet again after just about a week because the situation in Ukraine continues to worsen. We deplore the surge in attacks that are exposing thousands more innocent civilians to devastating harm and destitution in the winter season. Indeed, we are gravely concerned that civilians and objects indispensable to their survival, including residential homes and hospitals, as well as power and water infrastructure, are being targeted for destruction in violation of international humanitarian law. The ongoing power outages in Ukraine as a result of targeted airstrikes against energy infrastructure in these winter months is adding misery to an already dire humanitarian situation.

We convey our condolences to all the families and communities that have lost loved ones in this war. We cannot overstress the need to spare civilians and civilian infrastructure from attacks.

It is common knowledge that war has only zero-sum outcomes, and military action may at best offer temporary relief. In this regard, Kenya continues to call for an immediate cessation of hostilities and for a chance to be given to dialogue towards diplomatic engagements in line with the United Nations Charter. Such engagements should lead to a political solution that sustainably secures the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine while being sensitive to the security concerns of all stakeholders.

Amid the gloom and pain of war, Kenya welcomes the agreement to roll over the Black Sea Grain Initiative as well as the agreement to ensure unimpeded exports of Russian food and fertilizer to world markets. The preservation and implementation of these instruments is vital in addressing the spiralling food prices, particularly in food-insecure regions, including countries in conflict and fragile settings.

We urge again that political assurances be given to guarantee unimpeded exports of food and fertilizer from Ukraine and Russia to the countries that need them, especially in Africa. We also reiterate that the Secretary-General and his good offices, which have been instrumental in facilitating this important initiative, be leveraged further in efforts to bring an end to this war.

We must collectively, and in the interest of international peace and security, explore all options that can lead to a cessation of this war. This should be followed by a dialogue in favour of a political solution that guarantees the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine, addresses the underlying grievances behind the war and secures a stable European security order. I reaffirm Kenya's respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders.

**Mr. Geng Shuang** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): At present, the ongoing conflict in Ukraine has led to constant attacks on civilian facilities and the steady rise of civilian casualties and displaced persons. This is a very worrying development. There is no winner in this conflict and war, and dialogue and negotiation are the only way forward.

The parties concerned should start direct engagement as soon as possible and resume diplomatic negotiations at an early date. The international community should work together to support all efforts to reach a peaceful resolution of the crisis in Ukraine so as to avoid the escalation of the conflict and prevent a nuclear crisis. It should also engage in joint efforts to ensure the stability of the global industrial supply chain and improve the humanitarian situation in the crisis area. We once again call on the parties concerned to exercise restraint, avoid actions that exacerbate conflict and prevent the confrontation from spiralling out of control, in particular by strictly abiding by international humanitarian law, making every effort to

protect civilian facilities and reducing the impact of the conflict on peoples' lives.

The humanitarian situation in Ukraine in the conflict is dire. Severe cold weather will significantly aggravate the plight of the people. The international community should help Ukraine to promptly repair damage to the energy infrastructure, provide winter supplies to the affected population, meet the basic needs of refugees and displaced persons and ensure that all those in need are properly resettled and made to safely survive this winter, with a view to preventing a larger humanitarian crisis.

Last weekend, the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant was hit by the heaviest shelling in months, causing serious damage at the plant site and raising, once again, international concern about a nuclear disaster. The issue of nuclear safety and security is of great importance and cannot be compromised. China calls on all parties concerned to act with prudence, make every effort to ensure the safety of nuclear facilities and avoid human-made nuclear accidents. China supports the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in its continued mandated consultations with Russia and Ukraine on the safety and security of the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant, in order to reach a mutually acceptable arrangement.

Managing the spillover effects of the crisis should be the focus of international cooperation on Ukraine. China welcomes the agreement reached by the parties concerned on the extension of the Black Sea Grain Initiative and the continued efforts of the United Nations Secretariat to address the obstacles to the export of Russian grain and fertilizer. We hope that these positive developments will demonstrate beyond the Security Council the achievements and potential of diplomatic efforts in conflict situations. We also hope that, on this basis, the parties concerned will stay engaged and strive for more diplomatic breakthroughs.

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate that China's position on Ukraine is consistent and clear. We will continue to work with the international community to play a constructive and responsible role in the resolution of the Ukraine crisis.

**Mr. Nebenzia** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): First of all, we would like to repeat once again our position with regard to the Ukrainian President's participation in this meeting in a virtual format. We have stressed more than once that we are not against

his participation, but we believe that that participation should be in person, which is required by the rules that have guided the work of the Security Council for more than 75 years, especially as Mr. Zelenskyy is not even participating in the meeting now. It seems that we simply heard another pre-recorded video statement. There has not been a single meeting in which Mr. Zelenskyy addressed the Council where he stayed until the end. It is probable that he was not present in the meeting in the first place.

I want to say to the representative of Norway that she heard President Zelenskyy loud and clear, but I can assure her that President Zelenskyy did not hear her. He is not interested in the views of the members of the Council. For him, this is simply a tribune from which to speak.

In the course of the special military operation, we are having to deal not only with units of the Kyiv regime, but also with the countries of NATO that are providing various types of military support to that regime. They are conducting a proxy war with Russia. To weaken and destroy the military potential of our opponents, we are conducting strikes with precision weapons against power and other infrastructure that is being used to supply Ukrainian armed formations with weapons, first of all Western ones, or to provide logistical support and communication with those Ukrainian military units.

Today many Council members have expressed outrage that citizens of the Ukraine might find themselves without power or water. We do not recall that anyone in the West expressed any concern when, during the same period in 2015, owing to activities by Ukraine, inhabitants of Crimea found themselves without power or water, not to mention what was suffered by inhabitants of the Donbas, whose economic lifeline was snuffed out for eight years.

We will not repeat the cunning logic of the representatives of the Zelenskyy regime, which shelled the Zaporizhzhya power plant and then, with the complete connivance of its Western sponsors, now blames it on Russia. And neither will we say, as those representatives do, that Ukraine is carrying out strikes against its own infrastructure. As Western and Ukrainian media have claimed, we ran out of missiles first in March, then in July and then in September. But the damage to residential housing and the victimization of the peaceful population have in fact been caused by the Ukrainian air-defence systems, which are located

not on the outskirts of cities, but at the very centre of them.

As a result, debris from missiles, as well as Ukrainian missiles that go astray, hit places that Russia has never targeted. For example, Ukrainian users today posted on the Internet photos of missiles that hit residential homes in Kyiv and Vyshhorod, in the Kyiv region. It turns out that these are American air-defence missiles that were supplied to Kyiv. I want in particular to point this out to our Western colleagues, whose reckless flow of weapons to Ukraine has already led to the deaths of peaceful inhabitants, not only of the Donbas region but also in Ukrainian cities. It is clear that the Kyiv propaganda is carefully concealing such incidents, trying to reduce everything to being the fault of

Council members can now judge the degree of trust they can have in the narrative or evidence offered by the Kyiv regime by examining the way the Ukrainian leadership reacted to the incident involving the Ukrainian air-defence missile hitting the Polish town of Przewodów. Its hysterical and openly mendacious statements were meant to trigger a full-fledged war in Europe. However, Kyiv's Western partners, embarrassed and stumbling over themselves, are still trying to blame Russia for what happened. I am curious as to what the results of the so-called transparent and objective investigation of this incident will be.

I would like to believe that our Western colleagues will not be afraid to call things by their proper name and will not lie their own citizens, as the Zelenskyy regime is doing. Unfortunately, many officials and even international civil servants are gladly taking up fake stories disseminated by Ukraine without verifying the sources or fact-checking. A clear example of this is the absurd accusation made by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General Pramila Patten in October that Russian soldiers were allegedly being given Viagra to enable them to rape Ukrainian women. Recently a recording of a conversation with Ms. Patten was posted on the Internet. Thinking that she was speaking with a representative of Verkhovna Rada, she acknowledged that she lacked any reliable evidence of that allegation. Furthermore, she said: "[c]onducting investigations is not my job; I do not have a mandate for that".

How convenient it is for senior officials of the Secretariat to be able, in some cases, to cover things up by citing the limits of their mandates, and then, in

others, easily overstep them. We are carefully keeping track of all such cases, and we call on United Nations officials in their activities to strictly follow the guidance of the United Nations Charter and the norms of conduct for international civil servants.

We are also carefully recording all real evidence of crimes committed by Ukrainian military units, including on the territories of the Russian regions that are temporarily under their control. Ukrainian nationalists who have reached the right bank of the Dnipro have already begun mass purges of and repression against the local population. A representative of the Ukrainian authorities, Ms. Lugovaya, has warned in advance that the Ukrainian armed forces will “shoot traitors like dogs”.

As cover, a curfew has been instituted. Even though the Kyiv authorities are trying to support an information blockade in the Kherson region, there is chilling photographic evidence filtering through that shows how those who cooperated with the Russian military are being tied to telegraph poles. That is precisely how fascists tortured the citizens of the Soviet Union during the Great Patriotic War. Now, even those who are found merely to possess a Soviet military certificate find themselves subject to torture. The goal is clear: to intimidate those who do not support the Kyiv regime. Those fearing reprisals are forced to yell Nazi slogans and raise their hands in a fascist salute, which is the practice of Ukrainian fighters. Footage of this kind was broadcast by CNN, which led Kyiv to strip the news network of its accreditation. The same thing happened with Sky News. So what is official Kyiv trying to cover up? Where is the outrage of Western delegations with respect to the restrictions on freedom of expression and access to information?

At the same time, the European Union (EU), which is promoting those goals, has once and for all abandoned its peace-loving ideals and is openly becoming an aggressive military bloc and getting increasingly closer to direct involvement in the Ukrainian conflict. On 14 November, in Brussels, the EU declared the launch of an EU mission to train personnel of the Ukrainian military. The training will take place at training ranges in EU States — Germany and Poland — and no less than 15,000 soldiers will undergo that training.

Just last weekend, the world saw shocking images of an execution of unarmed Russian prisoners of war by the Ukrainian military. In an open letter, we called

on the Secretary-General and members of the Security Council to demand that Kyiv stop these gross violations of international humanitarian law. There is an increasing amount of documentary evidence of the Ukrainian side's use of torture and other atrocities committed in violation of the 1949 Geneva Convention. Released prisoners of war from the Donetsk People's Republic have confirmed that fighters from the ultranationalist Right Sector execute prisoners by hanging, and forensic experts from the Luhansk People's Republic have concluded that prisoners who died had the tops of their ears cut off and their legs shot through while they were still alive. Some Russian military prisoners of war had to lie in holes dug in the ground for five hours. Members of the Investigative Committee of Russia are examining all these cases, but we expect the international community and international human rights organizations to condemn Kyiv for non-compliance with international humanitarian law.

At the same time, the Kyiv regime continues its provocations to create the threat of technological disaster at the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant. On 19 November, the Ukrainian armed forces fired 12 large-calibre shells into the industrial zone of the power plant, and eight more on 21 November. According to Director General Grossi of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), these were the most serious barrages over the past few months. Experts from the IAEA who were present on the site examined where the shells fell saw the explosions with their own eyes. They noted the extensive destruction around the nuclear power plant, in particular, the damage caused by the shelling of reservoirs that store condensate, which led to a leak of non-radioactive materials. For the time being, the radioactivity situation remains normal. However, given the reckless and insistent attempts by Kyiv to violate the integrity of critical structures of the nuclear power plant, it might only be a matter of time.

In conclusion, I want to return to the topic of today's meeting and stress that we are conducting strikes against infrastructure in response to the unbridled flow of weapons to Ukraine and the reckless appeals of Kyiv to defeat Russia. Weakening the military capacity of the Ukrainian army, which threatens the security and territorial integrity of Russia, is one of the goals of this special military operation, and it will be carried out by military means until the Kyiv regime adopts a realistic position, which would allow for discussion and trying to resolve through negotiations the issues that

motivated us to begin the special military operation in the first place. In the meantime, what we are hearing from Mr. Zelenskyy and his supporters is not “readiness to achieve peace”, but rather the language of reckless threats and ultimatums. Western sponsors are only encouraging this reckless approach, as the war “to the last Ukrainian” is in their interest and allows their military industrial complex to make huge profits and test NATO armaments. In that way, Western countries are trying to consolidate their geopolitical hegemony by using the bodies and lives of ordinary Ukrainians.

**Mrs. Kamboj (India):** I would also like to thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing at this emergency meeting.

India continues to remain concerned about the situation in Ukraine, including the targeting of civilian infrastructure and the deaths of civilians. History has regrettably shown us that the killing of civilians and the devastation of civilian infrastructure have been used as legitimate weapons of war. India strongly condemns the use of oppressive violence against innocent civilians and the targeting of civilian objects in armed conflicts, regardless of who commits such actions.

Since the beginning of the Ukraine conflict, India has consistently called for an immediate cessation of hostilities and for an end to the violence. We have repeatedly called upon both sides to return to the path of diplomacy and dialogue and have also expressed our support for all diplomatic efforts undertaken to end the conflict. Our Prime Minister’s statement that this cannot be an era of war was welcomed across the world. India’s position on the Ukraine conflict is premised on that principle. We continue to support all efforts aimed at de-escalation.

India’s approach to the conflict will continue to be people-centric. We are providing both humanitarian assistance to Ukraine and economic support to some of our neighbours in the global South that are experiencing economic distress from the ripple effects of this conflict. India has provided humanitarian aid to Ukraine and its neighbouring countries of Poland, Romania, Hungary and the Slovak Republic. Further, at the request of the Ukrainian Government, India has also provided financial aid for the reconstruction of educational institutions. In addition, to help low-income countries fight against price rises and shortages of foodstuffs, India has exported more than 1.8 million

tons of wheat to countries in need, including to Afghanistan, Myanmar, the Sudan and Yemen

In conclusion, we continue to express our support for all diplomatic efforts aimed at ending the conflict. We therefore sincerely hope for an early resumption of peace talks to bring about an immediate ceasefire and early resolution of the conflict. We reiterate that it is imperative that the global order be anchored in respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter, international law and the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of States.

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

At the outset, I welcome the participation by video-conference of the President of Ukraine, His Excellency Mr. Volodymyr Zelenskyy, and thank him for his statement. I take this opportunity to reaffirm Ghana’s unwavering commitment to the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine. I also thank Ms. Rosemary DiCarlo, Under-Secretary-General for Political and Peacebuilding Affairs, for her briefing, which once again highlighted the brutality of war and the compelling humanitarian imperative for an immediate end to the hostilities in Ukraine. I also welcome the representatives of Moldova and Romania to this meeting.

Ghana remains deeply concerned about the targeted attacks on the civilian populations of and civilian infrastructure in Ukraine, and it regrets the destruction and unnecessary loss of life suffered by the Ukrainian people over the last nine months from this unjustified war. The painful reality made evident with each briefing of the Security Council is that civilians are paying the highest price of the war and will continue to suffer worsening plights unless the war is brought to an immediate end.

With the onset of the winter season, and with most of Ukraine’s critical infrastructure having been destroyed or damaged, many Ukrainians can only brace for a bitter, if not deadly, winter. Ending the war now has never been more crucial. We urge the collective support of all Council members in ending the hostilities in order to bring some relief to the suffering of the people of Ukraine.

We also remain gravely concerned by the continuing military engagements in and around the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant, which pose a significant risk to

global nuclear safety. We strongly urge the parties to exercise restraint and ensure compliance with the seven pillars of nuclear safety recommended by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

The demilitarization of the Zaporizhzhya power plant is in the interests of all humankind. We therefore continue to follow the efforts of the IAEA in Ukraine with keen interest, and we welcome in particular the ongoing consultations in Istanbul by its Director General, Mr. Rafael Mariano Grossi, on the creation of a nuclear safety and security zone.

We reiterate our call on the warring sides to fully comply with their obligations under international law and international humanitarian law, including the fundamental requirement to distinguish at all times between civilians and combatants. We believe that the warring parties have both legal and moral obligations that they must uphold to avoid causing needless harm to innocent civilians. We further urge the parties to comply with the prohibition on direct attacks and bombardments on civilian infrastructure, such as hospitals, medical facilities, schools and residential facilities.

We have taken note with concern of the reports suggesting serious crimes in Kherson and other cities, and we continue to stress the importance of thorough, transparent and independent investigations into all claims of human rights violations and possible war crimes to establish the facts of such reports. We must collectively ensure accountability for any crimes committed in Ukraine in furtherance of the war and hold perpetrators accountable for their actions.

Today we reiterate our call for peace, and we once again call on the Russian Federation to immediately withdraw its forces from the internationally recognized borders of its neighbour, Ukraine. The war has come at a great cost to both sides, but, more worrisome, it continues to endanger international peace and security.

The Charter of the United Nations, which binds us all, provides a repertoire of peaceful means for the settlement of disputes, including negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement and the resort to regional agencies or arrangements. In the light of that, we strongly advocate for dialogue and diplomacy in addressing the respective concerns of the parties, as it is increasingly evident that there is no alternative to a peaceful settlement of this war. Indeed, at no time in the history of our Organization has violence proved strategic in resolving inter-State disputes.

Before concluding, I wish to welcome the rollover of the Black Sea Grain Initiative. We urge the commitment of all parties and stakeholders to its full and effective operationalization to help ease the problem of global food insecurity.

Finally, we call for the unified efforts of all members of the Security Council towards the immediate cessation of hostilities and further diplomatic efforts to restore peace in Ukraine.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I give the floor to the representative of Romania.

**Mr. Feruță** (Romania): Like Norway and other Council members, we listened very carefully to the statement made by President Zelenskyy. We are also grateful to Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo for her briefing.

We requested the floor today with a sense of alarm. The recent attacks on critical Ukrainian energy infrastructure severely impacted the lives of millions of civilians in Ukraine. The humanitarian situation in Ukraine has been dire for the past almost nine months, but it is now further deteriorating. The civilian population is faced with the abhorrent reality of brutal missile or unmanned aerial vehicle attacks in areas of limited military significance. Critical civilian infrastructure, especially energy infrastructure, is intentionally targeted, limiting access to electricity, water and heating for civilians in many parts of Ukraine. The already severe impact is amplified by the cold season. It is now night in Ukraine at this hour and many civilians do not have access to proper heating or electricity.

At the same time, reckless actions in the proximity of nuclear facilities and nuclear power plants may lead to catastrophic consequences. The utmost responsibility is required to ensure nuclear safety and security.

The lives of many millions of innocent civilians are at risk. Attacks against civilians are unacceptable under any circumstances and are prohibited under international humanitarian law. They must stop. The recent attacks also affected the electricity interconnection among Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova and the European electricity grid. There are ongoing efforts to restore the supply of electricity to Ukraine, including from Romania. We already provide a certain amount, limited by the existing technical requirements.

In the Republic of Moldova, today such attacks led to a blackout in many parts of the country. That comes at the time of an already very complicated context. For the past month, as a reaction to the continuous weaponization of energy by Russia, Romania has been supplying the Republic of Moldova with between 80 and 90 per cent of its electricity needs. The country's difficult energy situation was also addressed at the third ministerial conference of the Moldova Support Platform, co-organized by the Foreign Ministers of France, Germany and Romania in Paris two days ago.

The continuous shelling of the Ukrainian territory, in particular the targeting of critical civilian infrastructure, reinforces the need for responsibility and accountability. Last week, the General Assembly decisively stated that Russia must bear the legal consequences for all its internationally wrongful acts, including by making full reparations (see General Assembly resolution ES-11/5). All victims of Russia's aggression deserve justice and reparation.

Regarding ongoing efforts, we welcome the extension of the United Nations-backed Black Sea Grain Initiative beyond 19 November. That important initiative makes food accessible on the global market and regulates the price. We will also continue to do our part. In addition to making its own grain available to partners around the world, Romania will continue to lend its strong support in facilitating the export of Ukrainian grain. My Government takes its role as a facilitator of the transit of grain towards many developing countries seriously. To ensure connectivity and diversify routes from Ukraine, two weeks ago, Romania inaugurated a new border crossing point. So far, more than 8.5 million tons of grain and other food products have been exported via Romania, including with the European Union supporting the solidarity lanes initiative.

In conclusion, it was said in the Security Council and in General Assembly resolutions and statements time and again that there is only one way to bring an end to the aggression. Russia needs to cease the use of force and withdraw from the territory of Ukraine, within its internationally recognized borders. Enough is enough.

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

**Mr. Leucă** (Republic of Moldova): The Republic of Moldova joins previous delegations in expressing

its strong condemnation in connection with the recent massive attack on Ukraine's civilian and energy infrastructure, which triggered further destruction and continued human suffering. We welcome the statement made by President Zelenskyy. We thank Under-Secretary-General Rosemary DiCarlo for her briefing on the matter.

For more than nine months now, our neighbouring country, Ukraine, has been defending its freedom, sovereignty and territorial integrity from the Russian Federation's unprovoked war of aggression, which has triggered the largest humanitarian and refugee crisis in Europe, prompted global food shortages and an economic downturn and deepened the European energy crisis.

The Republic of Moldova condemns in the strongest terms the war against Ukraine. We stand in full solidarity with the Ukrainian people and reiterate our support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders.

The brutal war continues to cause unforeseen human losses and the significant destruction of civilian and energy infrastructure, worsening the overall humanitarian situation. We are deeply concerned by the immense human suffering, which is turning into a huge human tragedy as the war continues to ravage Ukraine and its people. Russia's war in Ukraine is killing people and is destroying residential blocks and critical infrastructure, especially before the winter period.

The spillover effects of the war against Ukraine are increasingly felt in the neighbouring countries, including the Republic of Moldova. The Russian aggression against Ukraine has far deeper implications for the Republic of Moldova's security and stability.

The continued attacks on Ukraine's energy infrastructure again left the Republic of Moldova in darkness, following a similar incident on 15 November. More than 50 per cent of the country was left without electricity. There were massive blackouts across the country. The water supply was also affected in the pumps that were put out of order.

Our delegation would like to remind the members of the Security Council that, at the end of October, missile debris landed in the northern village of Naslavcea, located at the border with Ukraine, after a Russian fusillade was intercepted by air defences in neighbouring Ukraine. Thankfully, there were

no civilian casualties, but the windows of several residential homes were shattered, creating a great deal of fear among the local population.

Those egregious incidents highlight one thing: the war should stop now, in line with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, to prevent the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of the war, with the ultimate goal of restoring peace in Ukraine.

Again, in relation to what happened today, we must mention that for a couple of hours, until our technical teams dealt with the consequences of the blackout, electricity, water supplies and Internet and mobile

phone connections were severely disrupted and were unavailable in the Republic of Moldova.

We reiterate our strong call on Russia to immediately cease the military aggression, withdraw its military forces from sovereign Ukrainian territory, fully comply with its obligations under international law, including international humanitarian law, and uphold human rights. The Republic of Moldova reaffirms its unwavering support for Ukraine's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders, as we stand in solidarity to defend the very same values of freedom, liberty and democracy.

*The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.*