

Pavlo ARTYMYSHYN

PhD (History)

Senior Research Fellow of the Department of Modern History of Ukraine

I. Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the NAS of Ukraine

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7501-797X>

e-mail: p.artymyshyn@gmail.com

ACTIVITIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE CONTEMPORARY RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN WAR

The activities of the UN General Assembly in the context of the contemporary Russian-Ukrainian war are studied. Unlike the UN Security Council, the General Assembly's work was not hindered by the restrictions of the veto power, which the Russian Federation, as a permanent member of the Security Council, consistently abuse. This distinction significantly influenced the outcomes of the General Assembly, which swiftly addressed the war triggered by Russian aggression against Ukraine from its early stages in 2014. The course of adoption and the key content of UN General Assembly resolutions related to Russian aggression against Ukraine in 2014–2023 are traced: resolution 68/262 «Territorial integrity of Ukraine» dated March 28, 2014; resolutions «Situation of human rights in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol (Ukraine)» 2016–2022; resolutions «The problem of militarization of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol (Ukraine), as well as parts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov» 2018–2021; resolutions of the Eleventh Extraordinary Special Session of the UN General Assembly dedicated to the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 (ES-11/1 – ES-11/6).

The analysis UN General Assembly resolutions lack binding legal force, being advisory and recommendatory in nature, they nonetheless reflect substantial global support for Ukraine, particularly among Western countries. The UN General Assembly under the conditions of the Russian-Ukrainian war, became for the Ukrainian leadership one of the platforms from which, by preparing and initiating the consideration of resolutions, it was possible to convey to the world public Ukrainian approaches to the Russian aggression, to call for its firm condemnation and, in coordination with other states of the world, to seek ways to settle the Russian-Ukrainian war and achieve a just peace in accordance with the UN Charter, the norms of international law and the national interests of Ukraine.

Key words: General Assembly, United Nations, resolutions, Russian-Ukrainian war, full-scale invasion, Ukraine, Russian Federation.

The current international geopolitical situation, caused by Russian aggression against the Ukrainian state, which began in 2014 with the occupation of the Crimean Peninsula and part of Eastern Ukraine, prompts researchers to study not only the prerequisites and reasons for this state of affairs, but also to consider the reaction of the world community

to such security challenges, unprecedented in Europe since the end of the Second World War. Particularly important in this context is the reconstruction of activities against this background of international institutions, which at one time were created in order to ensure a balanced balance of forces in the world, in order to prevent military conflicts, especially of such a full-scale dimension.

The United Nations (UN), founded in 1945 after the end of the Second World War, aimed at maintaining and strengthening peace and international security, as well as the development of cooperation between the world's states, is indicative in this case. The purpose of this article is to trace the activities of its main advisory, directive and representative body – the UN General Assembly (UNGA) – in the context of the latest Russian-Ukrainian war, which began in 2014, which entered a full-scale phase on February 24, 2022.

Various aspects of the research topic were studied by: Valentyn Badrak (Валентин Бадрак) and Volodymyr Horbulin (Володимир Горбулін) (Горбулін, 2017; Бадрак, Горбулін, 2022), Taras Berezhovets (Тарас Березовець) (Березовець, 2015), Dmytro Biliavskiy (Дмитро Білявський) (Білявський, 2023), Stepan Vidnianskyi (Степан Віднянський) and Anrii Martynov (Андрій Мартинов) (Мартинов, 2018; Віднянський, Мартинов, 2023; Віднянський, 2023), Pavlo Hai-Nyzhnyk (Павло Гай-Нижник) (Гай-Нижник, 2017), Oleksandr Zadorozhnyi (Олександр Задорожній) (Задорожній, 2015), Yevhen Mahda (Євген Магда) (Магда, 2017), Ihor and Natalia Todorov (Ігор та Наталія Тодорови) (Тодоров І., Тодоров Н., 2023) and others. However, a detailed and comprehensive analysis of the activities of the UN General Assembly itself against the background of the current Russian-Ukrainian war still remains a historiographical lacuna, which this publication intends to be one of the first to fill.

It is worth noting right away that the work of the General Assembly, unlike the UN Security Council (UNSC), was not burdened by restrictions caused by the right of veto, which was abused by the Russian aggressor state as a permanent member of the Security Council. This was also reflected in the corresponding results of the work of the main representative body of the UN, which promptly responded to the course of the war provoked by Russian aggression against Ukraine in 2014, already from the first months of its beginning.

Thus, if at the level of the UNSC, with the beginning of the occupation of Crimea by Russian troops, an official reaction could not be achieved, in the hall of the UNGA on March 27, 2014, at the 68th session, Resolution № 68/262 on the territorial integrity of Ukraine was adopted. The authors of the document were Germany, Canada, Costa Rica, Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine. Subsequently, a large number of countries joined the co-authorship, including Australia, Austria, Belgium, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Georgia, Sweden, Turkey, Great Britain, the USA, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Norway and others (a total of 41 state) (General Assembly Adopts Resolution, 2014).

The resolution stated that the UN General Assembly: reaffirmed its commitment to the sovereignty, political independence, unity and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders; called on all states to renounce and refrain from actions aimed at partial or complete violation of the national unity and territorial integrity of Ukraine, including any attempts to change the borders of the Ukrainian state through threats or the use of force or other illegal means; urged all parties to immediately implement a peaceful resolution of the situation regarding Ukraine through «direct political dialogue», exercising restraint and refraining from unilateral actions and «inflammatory rhetoric that may increase tensions» and to fully participate in international mediation efforts; welcomed

the efforts of the OSCE and other international and regional organizations to help protect the rights of all persons in Ukraine, including those belonging to minorities; emphasized that the referendum held in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (ARC) and in Sevastopol on March 16, 2014 was not valid, and therefore could not be any basis for any change in the status of the ARC and the city of Sevastopol; called on all states, international organizations and specialized institutions not to recognize any changes in the status of the ARC and the city of Sevastopol on the basis of the above-mentioned referendum and to refrain from any actions in this context. At the same time, the document did not directly condemn the actions of Russia, did not mention the very fact of the occupation of Crimea by the Russian armed forces, and did not clearly indicate that the peninsula itself and the city of Sevastopol are integral parts of Ukraine (however, since at the time of the adoption of the resolution, none the international institution did not recognize their Russian occupation, it is obviously worth interpreting that the formula «internationally recognized borders» included in the resolution includes these territories to Ukraine) (Resolution 68/262, 2014).

The draft resolution was supported by the votes of 100 UN member states, including its authors, while 11 were «against» (Russia, Armenia, Belarus, Bolivia, Cuba, the DPRK, Nicaragua, Sudan, Syria, Zimbabwe, Venezuela), 58 countries «abstained» (including China, whose representative stated that his state «does not want further confrontation» of the situation regarding Ukraine), and 24 countries did not participate in the vote at all (General Assembly Adopts Resolution, 2014).

Despite the fact that the adopted resolution was in fact the first significant response of the international community to the deployment of Russian armed aggression against the Ukrainian state, unfortunately, it (like the rest of such documents of the UN General Assembly) was only of a recommendatory nature and could not effectively prevent the de-occupation of the Crimean Peninsula. Moreover, a few weeks later, Russian troops began occupying parts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, in response to which Ukraine launched an Anti-terrorist operation in eastern Ukraine on April 12, 2014.

Nevertheless, the UN General Assembly, during its meeting on December 19, 2016, during the 71st session, approved the resolution, which also related to the «Crimean» topic – regarding the situation of human rights in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol temporarily occupied by the Russian Federation (№ 71/205). The text of the document, which was previously supported by 73 states in the Third Committee (on human rights) of the UN General Assembly on November 15, 2016, was submitted by the Ukrainian delegation to the entire General Assembly of the Organization for consideration (United Nations General Assembly, 65th plenary meeting, 2016).

In the text of the resolution this time, it was unequivocally noted that the UN General Assembly condemned both the temporary occupation of a part of the territory of Ukraine – the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol – by the Russian Federation, while not recognizing the Russian annexation of the peninsula, as well as the abuse, measures and practice of discrimination against the residents of the temporarily occupied Crimea, including Crimean Tatars, as well as Ukrainians and persons belonging to other ethnic and religious groups, by the Russian occupation authorities (Resolution 71/205, 2016).

In this context, the document called on the Russian Federation to: comply with all its obligations under current international law as an occupying power; take all necessary measures to immediately end all abuses against the residents of Crimea, including discriminatory measures and practices, arbitrary detentions, torture and other cruel, inhuman

or degrading treatment, as well as repeal all discriminatory legislation; immediately release Ukrainian citizens who were illegally detained and convicted without taking into account elementary standards of justice, as well as those who were transported across internationally recognized borders from Crimea to the Russian Federation; address impunity and ensure that those responsible for abuses are held accountable by an independent judiciary; create and maintain a safe and favorable environment for journalists and human rights defenders to carry out their work independently and without undue interference in Crimea; allow the restoration of cultural and religious institutions; immediately cancel the decision on the recognition of the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar people as an extremist organization and the ban on its activities, as well as cancel the decision on the ban on the leaders of the Mejlis from entering Crimea; cooperate fully and immediately with the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, the OSCE and the Council of Europe regarding the human rights situation in Crimea (Resolution 71/205, 2016).

In fact, in the resolution, for the first time in official UN documents, the Russian Federation was recognized as an occupying state, and the territory of the Crimean Peninsula and Sevastopol as temporarily occupied territory. At the same time, as before, the UN General Assembly confirmed the unity and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders and openly condemned the illegal occupation of part of Ukrainian territory.

As a result, 70 states voted for the adoption of this version of the resolution, 26 voted against it (in particular, Belarus, Venezuela, Armenia, Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, Serbia, Uzbekistan, India, Iran, China, the DPRK, Cuba, Syria and others), «abstained» – 77 (United Nations General Assembly, 65th plenary meeting, 2016).

Exactly one year later, on December 19, 2017, the UN General Assembly voted for a new draft resolution on the human rights situation in Crimea. The document contained the key theses of the corresponding resolution of 2016 (and had a similar title), however, it also contained new, more specific and substantive provisions. Thus, it expressed support for Ukraine's obligation to comply with international law in its efforts to end the Russian occupation of Crimea and for the protection of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all its citizens by the Ukrainian state. In addition, condemning the imposition and retroactive application of the legal system of the Russian Federation on the peninsula and its negative impact on the human rights situation in Crimea, the UN General Assembly paid special attention to the forced granting of automatic citizenship of the Russian Federation to Crimeans. At the same time, the resolution clarified that the UNGA condemned the illegal imposition of laws, jurisdiction and governance by the Russian Federation in the occupied Crimea and demanded that the Russian side respect the obligations under international law to observe the laws that were in force in Crimea before the occupation (that is, unequivocally emphasized the occupation of the Russian peninsula) (Resolution 72/190, 2017).

In addition, the resolution called on the Russian Federation to fully and immediately implement the decision of the International Court of Justice of the United Nations of April 19, 2017 on temporary measures in the case of the application of the International Convention on the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism (ICSFT) and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) (in the context of the case of the International Court of Justice of the United Nations on the claim of Ukraine against the Russian Federation) (Resolution 72/190, 2017).

The document also contained appeals to the Russian Federation to: respect the laws in force in Ukraine and to cancel the laws introduced in Crimea by the Russian side,

which allowed forced eviction and confiscation of private property in Crimea, which violated current international law; restore the exercise of the rights of all persons without any discrimination on the basis of origin, religion or beliefs and cancel the decisions that prohibited the activities of cultural and religious institutions, non-governmental and human rights organizations, mass media; restore the realization of the rights of persons belonging to ethnic communities in Crimea, in particular Ukrainians and Crimean Tatars, including participation in cultural gatherings; ensure access to education in Ukrainian and Crimean Tatar languages; refrain from limiting the Crimean Tatar community's ability to maintain its representative institutions on the peninsula; stop the practice of forcing Crimean residents to serve in the armed or auxiliary forces of the Russian Federation, including through pressure or propaganda.

Finally, it is important that the resolution unequivocally stated that the UN General Assembly supports Ukraine's efforts to support economic, financial, political, social, informational, cultural and other ties with its citizens in occupied Crimea in order to facilitate their access to democratic processes, economic opportunities and objective information (Resolution 72/190, 2017).

The updated resolution of 2017 was supported during the voting by 70 states, 26 voted «against», 76 «abstained», 21 «did not vote/absent» (General Assembly Adopts 59 Third Committee Draft Resolutions, 2017). This option became the basis and, with certain additions, was also confirmed in subsequent resolutions of the UNGA regarding the state of human rights in the Ukrainian Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol, which were adopted annually in December during 2018–2021 (with 65 to 70 votes in favor, from 22 to 28 – «against», from 55 to 83 – those who «abstained»).

On December 15, 2022, the UN General Assembly supplemented this resolution already taking into account the conditions of a full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine after February 24, 2022. In particular, along with provisions already available in previous documents, the resolution condemned: the Russian Federation's use of the Crimean Peninsula in the context of aggression against Ukraine, including attempts to illegally annex the Kherson and Zaporizhzhia regions; inciting hatred towards Ukraine and Ukrainians; dissemination (including through the education system) of false information that justified the aggression of the Russian Federation against the Ukrainian state; new intensification of arbitrary detentions in Crimea, forced transfers to and from the peninsula, introduction of the practice of «filtration camps». In addition, the resolution emphasized that the temporary occupation of Crimea laid the foundation for a serious human rights crisis in other territories of Ukraine, which as a result came under the temporary military control of the Russian Federation, demanded an end to the forced deportation of Ukrainian children from the occupied territories to Ukraine, while simultaneously taking measures for their safe return and reunification with families and the practice of violent transformations of the demographic, including ethnic, composition of the Ukrainian territories occupied by the Russian Federation and instead apply restrictions on the free resettlement of Russian citizens to the occupied Crimea.

In addition, the resolution unequivocally appealed to the Russian side with the demand for an immediate end to aggression against Ukraine and the unconditional withdrawal of all its armed forces from the territory of Ukraine «within its internationally recognized borders» (that is, including the Ukrainian territories occupied before February 24, 2022) (Resolution 77/229, 2022).

After all, the document also contained a call for the resolution of the International Court of Justice of the United Nations dated March 16, 2022 concerning allegations of genocide under the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (in the case «Ukraine v. Russian Federation»), according to which this the court ordered the Russian Federation to immediately stop both the military operations in Ukraine that began on February 24, 2022, and military support for the self-proclaimed DPR and LPR (Allegations of Genocide, 2022). 82 states voted for this version of the resolution, «against» – 14, «abstained» – 80, «did not vote» – 17 (Resolution 77/229, 2022).

In a separate resolution dated December 17, 2018 (№ 73/194), the UN General Assembly also responded to the incident in the Kerch Strait on November 25, 2018. In the document «Problem of the militarization of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol, Ukraine, as well as parts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov», the co-authors of which, in addition to Ukraine, were 40 UN member states, among other things, reminded that the temporary occupation of Crimea and the threat of force or its application against the territorial integrity or political independence of Ukraine by the Russian Federation contradicts the commitments made in accordance with the Budapest Memorandum of December 5, 1994, which, among other things, confirmed the obligation of the signatories to respect the independence, sovereignty and existing borders of Ukraine (Resolution 73/194, 2018).

The UNGA also expressed its concern over the ongoing actions of the Russian Federation in the part of the Black Sea that surrounded Crimea and was adjacent to the Sea of Azov, including their militarization, which posed a further threat to Ukraine and undermined stability in the entire region. In particular, the General Assembly of the Organization considered the use of force by the Russian Federation against Ukraine, in particular against three ships of the Ukrainian Navy («Berdiansk», «Nikopol» and the tugboat «Yana Kapu») on November 25, 2018 in the Black Sea, in the Black Sea to be dangerous and unjustified, and appealed to the Russian Federation with a call to refrain from obstructing the legal exercise of navigational rights and freedoms in the Black Sea, Sea of Azov and the Kerch Strait in accordance with current international law and condemned the construction and opening by the Russian side of a bridge across the Kerch Strait between the Russian Federation and the temporarily occupied Crimea (Resolution 73/194, 2018). The resolution was supported by 66 UN member states, 19 voted against, 72 abstained, and 36 did not vote (General Assembly official records, 2018).

On December 9, 2019, at the 74th session of the UNGA, the updated version of this document (№ 74/17) was adopted, which, along with the already traditional concern of the international community about the ongoing actions of the Russian Federation to militarize the Crimean Peninsula, contained, among other things, concern about the deployment of weapons and military equipment that could carry nuclear weapons, and conducting illegal military exercises in the region. At the same time, the General Assembly congratulated the Russian Federation on the release of 24 crew members of three Ukrainian ships seized in November 2018, but since they returned in an improper condition, the resolution called on the Russian side to immediately and unconditionally return all their equipment and weapons (Resolution 74/17, 2019). 63 countries voted «for» the document, «against» – 19, «abstained» – 66, «did not vote» – 45 (General Assembly Adopts Resolution, 2019).

UN General Assembly Resolution № 75/29 of December 7, 2020, in general, repeated the provisions of the previous two documents regarding the militarization of Crimea,

the Black and Azov Seas by Russia, while adding that the illegal Russian occupation of the peninsula violated international regimes of verification and control of weapons, in particular the Treaties on Open Skies and Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and the Vienna Document of 2011 on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures (Resolution 75/29, 2020). The resolution was supported by 63 states, 17 countries were «against», and 62 «abstained» (Сидоржевський, 2020).

Ultimately, the fourth version of the resolution (№ 76/70), adopted at the 76th session of the UN General Assembly on December 9, 2021, additionally expressed support for the Crimean Platform, an international coordination mechanism initiated by the Ukrainian side and officially launched on August 23, 2021, to return to the world agenda of Crimea, protection of human rights on the peninsula, promotion of its de-occupation, and therefore stabilization and strengthening of regional, European and global security. Finally, the UN General Assembly also expressed concern about the deployment of the Russian military and security forces to protect (and in fact capture) Black Sea oil platforms, which were actually the property of Ukraine (Resolution 76/70, 2021). 64 states voted for this document, «against» – 20, «abstained» – 93, and «did not vote» – 54 (Соломко, 2021).

Unfortunately, despite the generally active position of the UNGA regarding the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war, its decisions were only advisory and could not effectively prevent the further escalation of the confrontation, which took on a full-scale dimension on February 24, 2022.

However, even in such conditions, the General Assembly of the Organization did not become more passive. Thus, in accordance with Resolution 2623 of the UN Security Council of February 27, 2022, starting from February 28, 2022, the Eleventh Extraordinary Special Session of the UN General Assembly, dedicated to the invasion of the Russian Federation into Ukraine in 2022, began its work.

Already on March 2, 2022, at this session, the UN General Assembly adopted resolution ES-11/1, which was co-authored by 96 states. The document, among other things: condemned the Russian Federation's announcement on February 24, 2022 of the so-called «special military operation» in Ukraine and Russia's decision to increase the combat readiness of its own nuclear forces; supported a statement by UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, issued on the first day of Russia's full-scale invasion, in which he stressed that the use of force by one country against another is a repudiation of the principles that every UN member state has pledged to uphold, and that the military offensive of the Russian Federation against Ukraine was directed against the Charter of the Organization; expressed concern about the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Ukraine and in the region in general and about the potential impact of the war on strengthening food security in the global dimension (Resolution ES-11/1, 2022).

In this context, the resolution specifically confirmed the commitment of the UN General Assembly to the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders (including its territorial waters) and emphasized that Russian aggression against Ukraine is a violation of Article 2 (4) of the UN Charter and demanded that the Russian Federation immediately cease the use of force against the Ukrainian state and completely and unconditionally withdraw all its military forces from the territory of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders and further refrain from any further illegal threat or use of force against any member state UN. There was also a call to the warring parties to adhere to the Minsk agreements and to

work constructively within the relevant international frameworks, including the Normandy format and the Trilateral Contact Group, for their full implementation, as well as to allow safe and unhindered passage to destinations outside of Ukraine and to facilitate fast, safe and unhindered access to humanitarian aid for those who needed it in Ukraine. Finally, the document expressed regret over the complicity in the Russian aggression of the Republic of Belarus (Resolution ES-11/1, 2022).

In this format, the resolution was supported by 141 UN member states, 5 voted «against» (Belarus, the DPRK, Eritrea, the Russian Federation, Syria), 35 – «abstained», 12 – «did not vote» (Aggression against Ukraine, 2022).

Despite the positive assessment of the document by almost 78 % of all members of the Organization, the Russian side did not stop its aggression, which prompted the continuation of the work of the extraordinary special session and the preparation and adoption by the UNGA of the next resolution ES-11/2 of March 24, 2022, which in general repeated the positions of the previous resolution of the UN General Assembly. At the same time, the document placed special emphasis on the immediate cessation of Russian attacks on civilians and civilian objects, demanded that all warring parties provide full protection for them, including for medical and humanitarian personnel, and respect for international humanitarian law and human rights (Resolution ES-11/2, 2022).

However, although this resolution of the UNGA was supported by a significant majority of its members («for» – 40, «against» – 5, «abstained» – 38, «did not vote» – 10) (Ukraine: General Assembly passes resolution, 2022), it also did not convince the Russian Federation to at least de-escalate (not let alone completely stop) its offensive in Ukraine, and the new, already third, resolution of the Eleventh Extraordinary Special Session of the UN General Assembly (ES-11/3) dated April 7, 2022 was adopted after the publication of video recordings and photos of the consequences of the bloody crimes of the Russian occupiers in the territory of the Kyiv region liberated from them on the eve (in particular, the city of Bucha).

This document stated that the UN General Assembly decided to suspend the membership of the Russian Federation in the UN Human Rights Council, to which Russia was elected as a member for a three-year term (scheduled to end in 2023) (Resolution ES-11/3, 2022). 93 states supported the resolution with votes «for», 24 were «against», 58 – «abstained», and 18 – «did not vote» (Suspension of the rights of membership of the Russian Federation in the Human Rights Council, 2022).

Finally, after a break of several months, on October 12, 2022, the Eleventh Extraordinary Special Session of the UN General Assembly considered the fourth resolution concerning Russia's full-scale war against Ukraine (ES 11/4). In the document with the eloquent title «Territorial integrity of Ukraine: defending the principles of the Charter of the United Nations», it was clearly emphasized that the occupied by Russian military units of the Donetsk, Kherson, Luhansk and Zaporizhzhia regions of Ukraine are territories that are partially or were under the temporary military control of the Russian Federation as a result of aggression, with a violation of the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine. As well as an encroachment on them (and on the principles of the UN Charter), the resolution interpreted the decision of the Russian authorities from February 21, 2022 (recognizing the «independence» of the so-called DPR and LPR) and September 29, 2022 (recognizing the «independence» of the Zaporizhzhia and Kherson regions). In the same context, the pseudo-referendums held on September 23–27, 2022 in the Russian-occupied territories of Ukraine

on the subject of their «joining» to Russia in the resolution were considered illegal, as they were also attempts to change the internationally recognized borders of Ukraine. Therefore, the document sounded demands on the Russian Federation to cancel all relevant «decisions», clarified that further attempts at illegal aggression of these regions will not be valid according to international law and will not be grounds for any change in the status of these regions, and contained a call to all UN member states, international organizations and specialized institutions also not to determine any changes proposed by the Russian Federation regarding the status of part or all of the territory of the Donetsk, Kherson, Luhansk or Zaporizhzhia regions of Ukraine. Finally, the resolution directly demanded from the Russian Federation the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of all its armed forces from the territory of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders (Resolution ES-11/4, 2022). It is noteworthy that this resolution received the most support compared to the three previous documents: 143 (out of a total of 193) – «for», 5 – «against», 35 – «abstained», 10 – «did not vote» (Territorial integrity of Ukraine, 2022).

On November 14, 2022, the Eleventh extraordinary special session of the UNGA considered and adopted another (already fifth) resolution in support of the Ukrainian side (ES-11/5) – on the creation of a mechanism to compensate Ukraine for losses caused by the war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, co-authored by 46 states. The document stated that the Russian Federation should be held accountable for any violations of international law in or against Ukraine, including its aggression, which it launched in violation of the UN Charter, as well as any violations of international humanitarian law and international human rights legislation and must bear the legal consequences of all its internationally wrongful acts, including any damages caused by such acts. The resolution also recognized the need to create, in cooperation with Ukraine, an international mechanism for compensating the Ukrainian side for damages that occurred as a result of the internationally illegal actions of the Russian Federation in Ukraine or against Ukraine. In this regard, the member states were recommended to create, in cooperation with Ukraine, an international register of damages, which would serve as a record holder in documentary form of evidence and information about claims regarding damages, losses and injuries for all interested individuals and legal entities, as well as Ukraine as state, caused by the internationally illegal actions of the Russian Federation in Ukraine or against Ukraine, and would also facilitate the coordination of the collection of such evidence (Resolution ES-11/5, 2022). The resolution was supported by 94 states, 14 were «against» (Belarus, Central African Republic, China, Cuba, North Korea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Iran, Mali, Nicaragua, Russian Federation, Syria, Zimbabwe, Bahamas), «abstained» – 73, «did not vote» – 12 (Furtherance of remedy and reparation for aggression against Ukraine, 2022).

A kind of logical interim result of the work of the Eleventh Extraordinary Special Session of the UN General Assembly was the sixth resolution (ES-11/6) adopted on February 23, 2023 regarding the «Principles of the Charter of the United Nations underlying a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in Ukraine», which incorporated key concepts of the «peace formula» proposed by the President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyi in autumn 2022. Next to the already traditional and previous documents, the confirmation by the UN General Assembly of its commitment to the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders, which also extend to its territorial waters, and demands to the Russian Federation for the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of all its military forces from the territory of Ukraine within its

internationally recognized borders with a call for the cessation of hostilities, the resolution of the UN General Assembly demanded that the parties to the armed conflict treat all prisoners of war in accordance with the provisions of the relevant international conventions, called for a full exchange of prisoners of war, the release of all illegally detained persons and the return of all internees and civilians who were forcibly displaced and deported, including children.

It also called for the parties to the armed conflict to fully comply with their obligations under international humanitarian law, in particular with regard to continued care for the preservation of the civilian population and civilian objects, ensuring safe and unimpeded humanitarian access to those in need, and refraining from attack, destruction, removal or rendering unusable objects necessary for the survival of the civilian population.

At the same time, the UN General Assembly demanded an immediate end to attacks on Ukraine's critical infrastructure and any deliberate attacks on civilian objects, including residential buildings, schools and hospitals, and stressed the need to ensure the prosecution of the most serious crimes under international law, committed on the territory of Ukraine, through appropriate, fair and independent investigations and prosecutions at the national or international level, and thus ensure justice for all victims and prevent future crimes. Ultimately, the document also called on all UN member states to work together in a spirit of solidarity to address the global consequences of war for food security, energy, finance, the environment and nuclear safety and security, and it was emphasized that agreements for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in Ukraine should also take into account these factors (Resolution ES-11/6, 2023).

It is characteristic that the document received substantial support in the hall of the UN General Assembly during the voting: «for» – 141, «against» – 7 (Belarus, North Korea, Eritrea, Mali, Nicaragua, Russian Federation, Syria), «abstained» – 32, «did not vote» – 13 (Principles of the Charter of the United Nations, 2023).

Thus, despite the fact that the resolutions of the UNGA have an advisory and recommendatory nature and cannot directly legally influence international law, nevertheless, the postulates expressed in them confirm the support of a significant part of the world (and the absolute majority of Western countries) for the Ukrainian state. And the General Assembly itself, in the conditions of the Russian-Ukrainian war, became for the leadership of Ukraine one of the platforms from which, through co-preparation and initiating the consideration of resolutions, it was possible to convey to the world public Ukrainian approaches to Russian aggression, to call for its decisive condemnation and to seek coordination with other countries of the world on ways to settle the war in the East of Ukraine, the de-occupation of the Crimean Peninsula and part of the Donbas captured by the Russian Federation, the complete withdrawal of Russian troops from the territories of Ukraine occupied by Russia, and finally, the establishment of a new, stable and effective international security system.

ДЖЕРЕЛА ТА ЛІТЕРАТУРА

Бадрак, В., Горбулін, В. (2022). *Над прірвою. 200 днів російської війни*. Київ: Брайт Букс.

Березовець, Т. (2015). *Анексія: Острів Крим. Хроніки «гібридної війни»*. Київ: Брайт Стар Паблішінг.

Білявський, Д. (2023). Криза Ради Безпеки ООН в умовах збройної агресії Російської Федерації. В *Трансформація правових систем в умовах збройних конфліктів: матеріали круглого столу (Одеса, 10 лютого 2023 р.)*. Одеса, 59–62.

Віднянський, С. (2023). ООН та українська дипломатія в боротьбі за незалежність і територіальну цілісність України в умовах російсько-української війни. *Міжнародні зв'язки України: наукові пошуки і знахідки*, 32, 10–44.

Віднянський, С., Мартинов, А. (2023). *Російсько-українська війна та міжнародне співтовариство: монографія*. Київ.

Гай-Нижник, П. (2017). *Росія проти України (1990–2016 рр.): від політики шантажу і примусу до війни на поглинання та спроби знищення*. Київ: МП Леся.

Горбулін, В. (2017). *Світова гібридна війна: український фронт: монографія*. Київ.

Задорожній, О. (2015). *Порушення агресивною війною Російської Федерації проти України основних принципів міжнародного права: монографія*. Київ: К.І.С.

Магда, Є. (2017). *Гібридна агресія Росії. Уроки для Європи*. Київ: Каламар.

Мартинов, А. (2018). Діяльність української дипломатії у Раді Безпеки ООН (2016–2017 рр.). *Міжнародні зв'язки України: наукові пошуки і знахідки*, 27, 146–163.

Сидоржевський, М. (2020, 7 грудня). Генасамблея ООН схвалила резолюцію проти мілітаризації Криму. *DW*. <https://www.dw.com/uk/henasambleia-on-skhvalyala-rezoliutsiiu-proti-militaryzatsii-krymu/a-55857772>

Соломко, І. (2021, 9 грудня). Генасамблея ООН затвердила оновлену резолюцію щодо мілітаризації Криму. *Голос Америки*. https://www.holosameryky.com/a/un_militarization_crimea/6347894.html

Тодоров, І., Тодоров, Н. (2023). ООН у протидії російській агресії в Україні. *Геополітика України: історія і сучасність*, 1, 32–43. DOI: 10.24144/2078-1431.2023.1(30).32-43

Aggression against Ukraine: Resolution / adopted by the General Assembly. (2022, March 2). *United Nations*. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3965290?ln>

Allegations of Genocide under the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Ukraine v. Russian Federation). (2022, March 16). *International Court of Justice*. <https://www.icj-cij.org/public/files/case-related/182/182-20220316-ORD-01-00-EN.pdf>

Furtherance of Remedy and Reparation for Aggression against Ukraine: Resolution / adopted by the General Assembly. (2022, November 14). *United Nations*. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3994052?ln=en>

General Assembly Adopts 59 Third Committee Draft Resolutions, Defers Action on 4 Closely Watched Texts, amid Discord over Agreed Language. (2017, December 19). *United Nations*. <https://press.un.org/en/2017/ga11993.doc.htm>

General Assembly Adopts Resolution Calling upon States not to Recognize Changes in Status of Crimea Region. (2014, March 27). *United Nations*. <https://press.un.org/en/2014/ga11493.doc.htm>

General Assembly Adopts Resolution Urging Russian Federation to Withdraw its Armed Forces from Crimea, Expressing Grave Concern about Growing Military Presence. (2019, December 9). *United Nations*. <https://press.un.org/en/2019/ga12223.doc.htm>

General Assembly Official Records, 73rd Session: 56th Plenary Meeting. (2018, December 17). *United Nations*. https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3797384/files/A_73_PV.56-EN.pdf?ln=en

Principles of the Charter of the United Nations underlying a Comprehensive, Just and Lasting Peace in Ukraine: Resolution / adopted by the General Assembly. (2023, February 23). *United Nations*. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4003921>

Resolution 68/262. «Territorial integrity of Ukraine» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2014, March 27). *United Nations*. <https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/68/262>

Resolution 71/205. «Situation of Human Rights in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the City of Sevastopol (Ukraine)» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2016, December 19). *United Nations*. <https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/71/205>

Resolution 72/190. «Situation of Human Rights in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the City of Sevastopol, Ukraine» / adopted by the General Assembly (2017, December 19). *United Nations*. <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/RES/72/190&Lang=E>

Resolution 73/194. «Problem of the Militarization of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the City of Sevastopol, Ukraine, as well as Parts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2018, December 17). *United Nations*. <https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/73/194>

Resolution 74/17. «Problem of the Militarization of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the City of Sevastopol, Ukraine, as well as Parts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2019, December 9). *United Nations*. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3841716?ln=ru&v=pdf>

Resolution 75/29. «Problem of the Militarization of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the City of Sevastopol, Ukraine, as well as Parts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2020, December 7). <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/RES/75/29&Lang=E>

Resolution 76/70. «Problem of the Militarization of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the City of Sevastopol, Ukraine, as well as Parts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2021, December 9). *United Nations*. <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/RES/76/70&Lang=E>

Resolution 77/229. «Situation of Human Rights in the Temporarily Occupied Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the City of Sevastopol, Ukraine» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2022, December 15). *United Nations*. <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/RES/77/229&Lang=E>

Resolution ES-11/1. «Aggression against Ukraine» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2022, March 2). *United Nations*. <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/RES/ES-11/1&Lang=E>

Resolution ES-11/2. «Humanitarian Consequences of the Aggression against Ukraine» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2022, March 24). *United Nations*. <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/RES/ES-11/2&Lang=E>

Resolution ES-11/3. «Suspension of the Rights of Membership of the Russian Federation in the Human Rights Council» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2022, April 7). *United Nations*. <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/RES/ES-11/3&Lang=E>

Resolution ES-11/4. «Territorial Integrity of Ukraine: Defending the Principles of the Charter of the United Nations» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2022, October 12). *United Nations*. <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/RES/ES-11/4&Lang=E>

Resolution ES-11/5. «Furtherance of Remedy and Reparation for Aggression against Ukraine» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2022, November 14). *United Nations*. <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/RES/ES-11/5&Lang=E>

Resolution ES-11/6. «Principles of the Charter of the United Nations Underlying a Comprehensive, Just and Lasting Peace in Ukraine» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2023, February 23). *United Nations*. <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/RES/ES-11/6&Lang=E>

Suspension of the Rights of Membership of the Russian Federation in the Human Rights Council: Resolution / adopted by the General Assembly. (2022, April 7). *United Nations*. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3967778?ln=en>

Territorial Integrity of Ukraine: Defending the Principles of the Charter of the United Nations: Resolution / adopted by the General Assembly. (2022, October 12). *United Nations*. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3990400?ln=en>

Ukraine: General Assembly Passes Resolution Demanding aid Access, by Large Majority. (2022, March 24). *United Nations*. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/03/1114632>

United Nations General Assembly, 65th Plenary Meeting. (2016, December 19). *United Nations*. <https://undocs.org/en/A/71/PV.65>

REFERENCES

Badrak, V., & Horbulin, V. (2022). *Nad prirvoiu. 200 dniv rosiiskoi viiny*. Kyiv: Brait Buks (in Ukrainian).

Berezovets, T. (2015). *Aneksiia: Ostriv Krym. Khroniky «hibrydnoi viiny»*. Kyiv: Brait Star Pablishinh (in Ukrainian).

Biliavskiy, D. (2023). Kryza Rady Bezpeky OON v umovakh zbroinoi ahresii Rosiiskoi Federatsii. In *Transformatsiia pravovykh system v umovakh zbroinykh konfliktiv: materialy kruhloho stolu (Odesa, 10 liutoho 2023 r.)*. Odesa, 59–62 (in Ukrainian).

Vidnianskyi, S. (2023). OON ta ukrainska dyplomatiia v borotbi za nezalezhnist i terytorialnu tsilisnist Ukrainy v umovakh rosiisko-ukrainskoi viiny. *Mizhnarodni zviazky Ukrainy: naukovi poshuky i znakhidky*, 32, 10–44 (in Ukrainian).

Vidnianskyi, S., & Martynov, A. (2023). *Rosiisko-ukrainska viina ta mizhnarodne spivtovarystvo: monohrafiia*. Kyiv (in Ukrainian).

Hai-Nyzhnyk, P. (2017). *Rosiia proty Ukrainy (1990–2016 rr.): vid polityky shantazhu i prymusu do viiny na pohlynnannia ta sproby znyshchennia*. Kyiv: MP Lesia (in Ukrainian).

Horbulin, V. (2017). *Svitova hibrydna viina: ukrainskyi front: monohrafiia*. Kyiv (in Ukrainian).

Zadorozhnyi, O. (2015). *Porushennia ahresyvnoiu viinoiu Rosiiskoi Federatsii proty Ukrainy osnovnykh pryntsyviv mizhnarodnoho prava: monohrafiia*. Kyiv: K.I.S. (in Ukrainian).

Mahda, Ye. (2017). *Hibrydna ahresiia Rosii. Uroky dlia Yevropy*. Kyiv: Kalamar (in Ukrainian).

Martynov, A. (2018). Diialnist ukrainskoi dyplomatii u Radi Bezpeky OON (2016–2017 rr.). *Mizhnarodni zviazky Ukrainy: naukovi poshuky i znakhidky*, 27, 146–163 (in Ukrainian).

Sydzorzhewskiy, M. (2020, Hruden 7). Henasambleia OON skhvalyla rezoliutsiiu proty militaryzatsii Krymu. *DW*. <https://www.dw.com/uk/henasambleia-on-skhvalyla-rezoliutsiiu-proty-militaryzatsii-krymu/a-55857772> (in Ukrainian).

Solomko, I. (2021, Hruden 9). Henasambleia OON zatverdyla onovlenu rezoliutsiiu shchodo militaryzatsii Krymu. *Holos Ameryky*. https://www.holosameryky.com/a/un_militarization_crimea/6347894.html (in Ukrainian).

Todorov, I., & Todorov, N. (2023). OON u protydii rosiiskii ahresii v Ukraini. *Heopolityka Ukrainy: istoriia i suchasnist, 1*, 32–43. DOI: 10.24144/2078-1431.2023.1(30). 32-43 (in Ukrainian).

Aggression against Ukraine: Resolution / adopted by the General Assembly. (2022, March 2). *United Nations*. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3965290?ln=en> (in English).

Allegations of Genocide under the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Ukraine v. Russian Federation), (2022, March 16). *International Court of Justice*. <https://www.icj-cij.org/public/files/case-related/182/182-20220316-ORD-01-00-EN.pdf> (in English).

Furtherance of Remedy and Reparation for Aggression against Ukraine: Resolution / adopted by the General Assembly. (2022, November 14). *United Nations*. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3994052?ln=en> (in English).

General Assembly Adopts 59 Third Committee Draft Resolutions, Defers Action on 4 Closely Watched Texts, amid Discord over Agreed Language. (2017, December 19). *United Nations*. <https://press.un.org/en/2017/ga11993.doc.htm> (in English).

General Assembly Adopts Resolution Calling upon States Not to Recognize Changes in Status of Crimea Region. (2014, March 27). *United Nations*. <https://press.un.org/en/2014/ga11493.doc.htm> (in English).

General Assembly Adopts Resolution Urging Russian Federation to Withdraw Its Armed Forces from Crimea, Expressing Grave Concern about Growing Military Presence. (2019, December 9). *United Nations*. <https://press.un.org/en/2019/ga12223.doc.htm> (in English).

General Assembly Official Records, 73rd Session: 56th Plenary Meeting. (2018, December 17). *United Nations*. https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3797384/files/A_73_PV.56-EN.pdf?ln=en (in English).

Principles of the Charter of the United Nations underlying a Comprehensive, Just and Lasting Peace in Ukraine: Resolution / adopted by the General Assembly. (2023, February 23). *United Nations*. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4003921> (in English).

Resolution 68/262. «Territorial Integrity of Ukraine» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2014, March 27). *United Nations*. <https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/68/262> (in English).

Resolution 71/205. «Situation of Human Rights in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the City of Sevastopol (Ukraine)» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2016, December 19). *United Nations*. <https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/71/205> (in English).

Resolution 72/190. «Situation of Human Rights in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the City of Sevastopol, Ukraine» / adopted by the General Assembly (2017, December 19). *United Nations*. <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/RES/72/190&Lang=E> (in English).

Resolution 73/194. «Problem of the Militarization of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the City of Sevastopol, Ukraine, as well as Parts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2018, December 17). *United Nations*. <https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/73/194> (in English).

Resolution 74/17. «Problem of the Militarization of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the City of Sevastopol, Ukraine, as well as Parts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2019, December 9). *United Nations*. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3841716?ln=ru&v=pdf> (in English).

Resolution 75/29. «Problem of the Militarization of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the City of Sevastopol, Ukraine, as well as Parts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2020, December 7). <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/RES/75/29&Lang=E> (in English).

Resolution 76/70. «Problem of the Militarization of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the City of Sevastopol, Ukraine, as well as Parts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2021, December 9). *United Nations*. <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/RES/76/70&Lang=E> (in English).

Resolution 77/229. «Situation of Human Rights in the Temporarily Occupied Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the City of Sevastopol, Ukraine» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2022, December 15). *United Nations*. <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/RES/77/229&Lang=E> (in English).

Resolution ES-11/1. «Aggression against Ukraine» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2022, March 2). *United Nations*. <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/RES/ES-11/1&Lang=E> (in English).

Resolution ES-11/2. «Humanitarian Consequences of the Aggression against Ukraine» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2022, March 24). *United Nations*. <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/RES/ES-11/2&Lang=E> (in English).

Resolution ES-11/3. «Suspension of the Rights of Membership of the Russian Federation in the Human Rights Council» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2022, April 7). *United Nations*. <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/RES/ES-11/3&Lang=E> (in English).

Resolution ES-11/4. «Territorial Integrity of Ukraine: Defending the Principles of the Charter of the United Nations» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2022, October 12). *United Nations*. <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/RES/ES-11/4&Lang=E> (in English).

Resolution ES-11/5. «Furtherance of Remedy and Reparation for Aggression against Ukraine», adopted by the General Assembly. (2022, November 14). *United Nations*. <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/RES/ES-11/5&Lang=E> (in English).

Resolution ES-11/6. «Principles of the Charter of the United Nations Underlying a Comprehensive, Just and Lasting Peace in Ukraine» / adopted by the General Assembly. (2023, February 23). *United Nations*. <https://daccess-ods.un.org/access.nsf/Get?OpenAgent&DS=A/RES/ES-11/6&Lang=E> (in English).

Suspension of the Rights of Membership of the Russian Federation in the Human Rights Council: Resolution / adopted by the General Assembly. (2022, April 7). *United Nations*. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3967778?ln=en> (in English).

Territorial Integrity of Ukraine: Defending the Principles of the Charter of the United Nations: Resolution / adopted by the General Assembly. (2022, October 12). *United Nations*. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3990400?ln=en> (in English).

Ukraine: General Assembly Passes Resolution Demanding aid Access, by Large Majority. (2022, March 24). *United Nations*. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/03/1114632> (in English).

United Nations General Assembly, 65th Plenary Meeting. (2016, December 19). *United Nations*. <https://undocs.org/en/A/71/PV.65> (in English).

Павло АРТИМИШИН*кандидат історичних наук**старший науковий співробітник відділу нової історії України
Інституту українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича НАН України**ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7501-797X>**e-mail: p.artymyshyn@gmail.com*

ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ГЕНЕРАЛЬНОЇ АСАМБЛЕЇ ОРГАНІЗАЦІЇ ОБ'ЄДНАНИХ НАЦІЙ НА ТЛІ СУЧАСНОЇ РОСІЙСЬКО-УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ВІЙНИ

Досліджено діяльність Генеральної Асамблеї Організації Об'єднаних Націй (ООН) у контексті сучасної російсько-української війни. Констатовано, що її робота, на відміну від Ради Безпеки ООН, не була обтяжена обмеженнями, спровокованими правом вето, яким як постійний член Радбезу зловживала російська держава-агресор. Спостережено, що це відобразилося й на результатах роботи головного представницького органу ООН, який оперативно реагував на перебіг війни, спровокованої Російською Федерацією проти України 2014 р., уже з перших місяців її початку.

Простежено перебіг прийняття та основний зміст резолюцій Генасамблеї, що стосувалися російської агресії проти України впродовж 2014–2023 рр.: резолюції 68/262 «Територіальна цілісність України» від 28 березня 2014 р.; резолюції «Ситуація з правами людини в Автономній Республіці Крим та м. Севастополь, Україна» 2016–2022 рр.; резолюції «Проблема мілітаризації АР Крим та м. Севастополь (Україна), а також частин Чорного і Азовського морів» 2018–2021 рр.; резолюції XI Надзвичайної спеціальної сесії Генасамблеї ООН, присвяченої вторгненню РФ до України 2022 р. (ES-11/1 – ES-11/6).

Виснувано, що, попри те, що резолюції Генасамблеї ООН фактично не мають юридичного впливу на міжнародне право, будучи дорадчими та рекомендаційними, висловлені в них постулати підтверджують підтримку значної частини світу (й абсолютної більшості західних держав) Українській державі. Відзначено, що сама Генасамблея ООН в умовах російсько-української війни стала для керівництва України однією з платформ, із якої шляхом підготовки та ініціювання до розгляду резолюцій можна було доносити світовій громадськості українські підходи до російської агресії, закликати до її рішучого засудження та шукати в координації з іншими державами світу способи врегулювання російсько-українського питання та досягнення справедливого миру, релевантного до Статуту ООН, норм міжнародного права й українських національних інтересів.

Ключові слова: Генеральна Асамблея, Організація Об'єднаних Націй, резолюції, російсько-українська війна, повномасштабне вторгнення, Україна, Російська Федерація.