16 key serious concerns about Russia's war and genocide in Ukraine:

- 1. Democracy as we know it is under threat in the US, and Russian disinformation narratives infect New Zealand domestic media, threatening our security and social cohesion.
- 2. As the future of Russia, of China, and of Ukraine will depend on the US leading in military aid to Ukraine¹, the failure of democracy in the US will impact world history, starting from 2024.
- 3. Official Russian policy explicitly denies statehood to Ukraine.
- 4. Should Russia succeed in crushing Ukraine, it will extend its power and influence, through military and other means, to numerous regional and Eastern European states, including Moldova, Belarus, the Baltics, Finland, Poland, Hungary.
- 5. We already see Russian political influence in Hungary, Slovakia and Germany, leaders of which have vetoed critical military supplies and/or European financial aid to Ukraine in 2023.
- 6. NATO's defense now effectively begins at the border of Ukraine and Russia.
- 7. Without sufficient military aid, the numbers of Ukrainians killed in Russia's war and occupation will rise from the hundreds of thousands into the millions.
- 8. Ukrainians living under Russian occupation, deported illegally into Russia, or taken as prisoners of war, continue to face numerous risks, ranging from coercive removal of nationality, denial of national identity and culture, denial of basic necessities of life (food, clean drinking water, heating, medicine, communications with the outside world) to direct risks from violence (beatings, systematic torture, multiple rape (including of children and babies), intentional mutilation including castration of males, summary execution including of babies and children, drowning (by deliberate extensive flooding), targeted attacks on rescuers, lack of life-preserving medical treatment for the wounded.
- 9. Evidence of Russia's escalating genocide campaign in Ukraine is in full view of all of the world's democracies and nations. Russian official policy is genocidal in it's aims and methods. Russian state media systematically dehumanises Ukrainians by presenting them as pigs, parasites, worms, satanists, ghouls and as a nation that does not exist.

 $^{^1}$ CNN interview by Christiane Amanpour with Timothy Snyder @amanpour 5 January 2024 <u>https://twitter.com/amanpour/status/1742980850847826081</u>

- 10. Russian officials explicitly promote genocidal actions such as drowning, burning, executing and exterminating millions of Ukrainians, across both Russian media and its global outlets including social media accessible to New Zealanders.
- 11. In 2023, Russia succeeded in its aim of cutting Western aid to Ukraine. They did this by use of the hybrid war mechanism including:
 - (i) Russian "firehose of propaganda". Official Russian narratives are channeled and amplified by both western pro-Russian mouthpieces (such as Tucker Carlson² ³and other Fox News personalities⁴; Elon Musk, whose Twitter/X platform removed protections against incitement to violence, terrorism, and genocide, and who actively promotes official Russian disinformation; and retired army colonel Douglas Macgregor.) Russian intelligence also operates a systemic program to launder its propaganda through private relations between Russian agents and unwitting US and western targets. Russian narratives and those of conservative American media reinforce each-other.
 - (ii) ChatGPT enabled a massive onslaught of smart bots to be created, augmenting Russia's firehose of propaganda model by targeting accounts that work to counter Russian disinformation.
 - (iii)Russian influence into western politics for example, US Congress has had to pass legislation (in the annual National Defense Authorization Act) to prevent any US president from withdrawing the US from NATO without approval from the Senate or an Act of Congress, following former President Trump's actions while in office. Presidential candidate Vivek Ramaswamy has promised "the US will leave NATO if I win the election". Aid to Ukraine for 2024 has been held up by US Congress as a tactic by Republicans (who include those who supported US aid to Ukraine previously) to ramp up domestic criticism of President Biden's policies, thus advancing Republican support.
 - a. Israel-Gaza conflict since 7 October 2023 has drawn a lot of attention off Ukraine, which suits Russia (and likely direct links between Russia's private mercenary companies and Hamas).
- 12. The "Wait and see" position in the US and Western supporters of Ukraine is untenable, because Putin shows no intention of slowing down on any front.
- 13. The "Wait and see" position is also untenable because Ukraine may not be able to withstand this prolongation of the war under conditions of inadequate means to defend its armed forces and civilians from the ongoing barrage and increasing

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 $^{^2\} https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2023/05/01/tucker-carlson-fox-news-russia/11757930002/$

 $^{^{3}\ \}underline{\text{https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2023/09/25/tucker-carlson-takes-dubbing-debut-russiashow/}$

⁴ https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/15/technology/russia-media-fox-news.html

⁵ https://www.cnn.com/2023/08/25/politics/us-intel-russia-propaganda/index.html

⁶ Vivek Ramaswamy interview with Politico.

sophistication of attacks from Russian territory, illegally occupied Ukraine and Russia's naval fleet. Ukraine needs enough military aid to return its occupied territories and obtain real security guarantees – not to fight a drawn out attritive positional war.

- 14. The "wait and see" position enables Russia to work around sanctions to establish supply arrangements for an increasingly sophisticated next-generation advanced weaponry technology, such as Shahed drones supplied by Iran, with automated navigation systems, jet engines and speeds of 500+ km/hour.
- 15. The "wait and see" position effectively shackles Ukraine from being equipped and permitted to attack the military bases and equipment within Russia's borders, from which Russia sends sophisticated missiles and combat drones to kill Ukrainian civilians and weaken Ukraine's military logistics.
- 16. President Putin's recent references to war with NATO countries and Finland warrant serious attention (publicly denying an intention to go to war has preceded Putin's invasions of Crimea, Ukraine, and Georgia).

Further explanation and sources are provided on the following pages.

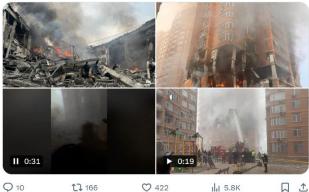
NAFO Asia Pacific – Russia's War & Genocide in Ukraine – January 2024 - Attachment

Recent Reports of Russian Missile and Drones Attacks on Ukrainians:



Chief Rabbi Of Ukraine Moshe Azma 🤡 @Rabbi Ukrain · Dec 29, 2023 ••• 114 of 158 Russian ballistic and cruise missiles, as well as Iranian Shahed drones, were shot down this morning over peaceful cities in Ukraine. There are already 12 dead and 75 wounded. I pray for their recovery. Many thanks to the anti-missile forces of Ukraine!!!

OBJ

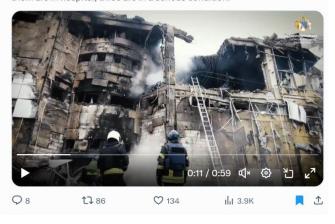






FarleyFella @Farleymarley16 · Dec 30, 2023

At the time of the russian missile attack on the maternity hospital in Dnipro, there were 12 women giving birth there and four newborns. At least 30 people were injured by the russian missile attacks on Dnipro. 20 of them are in hospital, three are in a serious condition.





Ambassador Bridget A. Brink 🕸 😣 @USAmbKyiv · Jan 7

Tonight, Russia launched S-300 missiles into a civilian area in Donetsk, killing 11 people, including 5 children. It is a heartbreaking reminder of the daily reality of Russia's strikes across Ukraine. Our condolences to the families and loved ones.





Iryna Voichuk @IrynaVoichuk · 3h

Tonight, russian forces launched two missile attacks close to a hotel in $\textbf{Kharkiv}, a \ popular \ lodging \ for \ for eign \ journalists. \ The \ building \ sustained$ damage. According to authorities, ten people were injured, including two journalists from a Turkish media outlet.

Suspilne





Destroyed: 18 cruise missiles and 8 "Shahed" drones.

On January 8, 2024, the enemy launched a massive attack on Ukraine, utilizing cruise, aviation, ballistic, and guided anti-aircraft missiles, as well as strike UAVs:

- 8 "Shahed-136/131" strike UAVs from the area of Primorsko-Akhtarsk, russia;
- 7 guided anti-aircraft missiles S-300/S-400 from Belgorod Oblast, russia;
- 4 air-launched ballistic missiles Kh-47M2 "Kinzhal" from four MiG-31K aircraft (launch area – Ryazan, Tambov);
- 24 cruise missiles Kh-101/Kh-555/Kh-55 from 11 Tu-95MS strategic bombers (launch areas Engels, russia);
- 8 cruise missiles Kh-22 from Tu-22M3 bombers from Belgorod Oblast, russia;
- 6 ballistic missiles "Iskander-M" from the regions of Dzhankoy, Chauda Crimea;
- 2 guided aviation missiles Kh-31P from tactical aviation aircraft (launch area Belgorod Oblast, russia).

Critical infrastructure, industrial civilian, and military objects were targeted.

This time, the enemy attacked various regions of Ukraine. Specifically, ballistic trajectory missiles were directed towards Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhzhia, and Khmelnytskyi regions.

The defenders destroyed:

- ♦ 8 "Shahed-136/131" strike UAVs;
- ◆ 18 cruise missiles Kh-101/Kh-555/Kh-55.



17.



In just a few days between December 29th and now, Russia has used about 300 missiles and over 200 "Shahed" drones against Ukraine.

Prior to Ukraine, no country in the world had ever successfully repulsed such combined attacks with the use of drones and missiles, including air-launched ballistic missiles. Only today, 10 Kinzhals were shot down.

I am grateful to every warrior in our Air Forces, all fighters in mobile air defense groups, every anti-aircraft gunner, and everyone throughout the world who is assisting Ukraine by providing weapons to defend our skies.

Each additional air defense system and missile saves more lives. It is here, in Ukraine, and with our air defense, that we must demonstrate that democracies are capable of protecting lives from all types of terror.

If we fail to achieve this task in Ukraine now, Russian terror will further spread throughout Europe and beyond. The Russian leadership's sense of impunity, forged over decades of unrestricted authority, has already resulted in a lot of suffering and loss of life.

Russia must confront the responsibility for taking lives as well as the power of those who protect them.



How Should New Zealand's Support Ukraine?

While New Zealand has actively supported Ukraine's defense on several fronts, our overall contribution has been minimal compared with other countries and has tapered off recently. Of the nearly 50 press releases issued by NZ Government on response to Russia's war in Ukraine, the vast majority were issued in the first year of the invasion -2022^7 .

Only 8 press releases on measures to support Ukraine were issued by our government in 2023, and none since Chris Hipkins August 2023 address to the International Crimea Platform, in which further sanctions on Russian individuals was announced:

"To turn our back on Ukraine would be to turn our back on our very own values and principles, and on democracy itself. New Zealanders would never accept that. Noho ora mai. **Stay safe. Stay well.**"

https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/media-and-resources/international-crimea-platform-24-august-2023/

Under the Geneva Convention on Genocide New Zealand is not exempt from the legal obligation for states to take reasonable action to **contribute to preventing genocide** and **to protect vulnerable Ukrainians from genocide**. While New Zealand is one of many countries who have contributed to a coordinated support effort, our overall relative per capita contribution is at the extreme low end of the scale.

New Zealand's obligations to contribute to preventing and punishing genocide do not end when signs of genocide escalate.

The following table shows the total bilateral aid commitments to Ukraine as percentage of donor gross GDP between 24 January 2022 and 31 May 2023: https://www.statista.com/statistics/1303450/bilateral-aid-to-ukraine-in-a-percent-of-donor-gdp/

As shown on the next page, New Zealand is at the extreme low end of this scale of around 40 countries or states, at 0.01% GDP, ranked with Malta, Cyprus, Taiwan and Turkey. States bordering Russia and who are also threatened by direct Russian aggression are among the highest contributors to Ukraine aid by proportion of GDP. The graphic on the following page illustrates proportion of GDP bilateral aid commitments to Ukraine to May 31 2023.

New Zealand plays a not-insignificant ongoing role in ensuring the functioning of international rules under which our economic wellbeing is to a large extent protected. While New Zealand provided intelligence and NZDF personnel to the UK and Europe, and the International Criminal Court, the last media statement from NZDF was in

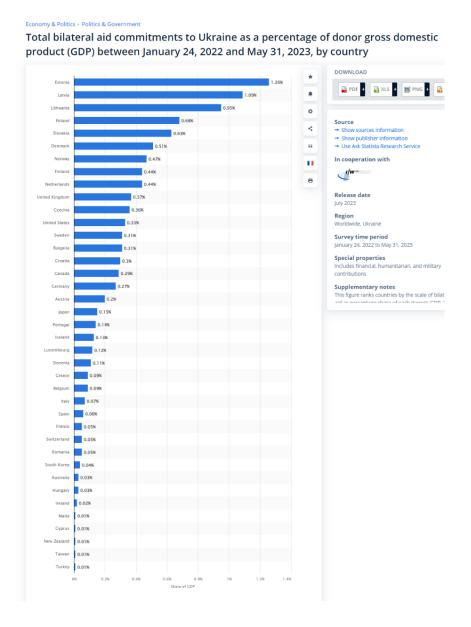
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⁷ https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/countries-and-regions/europe/ukraine/russian-invasion-of-ukraine/#:~:text=Aotearoa%20New%20Zealand%20has%20committed,war%20of%20aggression%20in%20Ukraine.

November 2023⁸. The last action taken at the UN in relation to Ukraine, according to New Zealand's Ministry of Foreign Affairs public statements was to co-sponsor a UN General Assembly resolution on 24 February 2023 (the anniversary of Russia's full scale military invasion of Ukraine), calling for peace. Such resolutions have been ineffective in persuading Russia to cease its attacks and withdraw from Ukraine. New Zealand has also played a role in Ukraine's International Court of Justice, and by joining other countries in referring the situation in Ukraine to the International Criminal Court to help investigate war crimes in Ukraine.

New Zealand's obligations to contribute to preventing and punishing genocide do not end when signs of genocide escalate.

Undoubtedly, we could do more to prevent the escalating genocide of Ukrainians.



⁸ <u>Assistance to Ukraine extended and enhanced | Beehive.govt.nz https://www.nzdf.mil.nz/media-centre/news/nzdf-teams-train-more-than-2500-armed-forces-of-ukraine-recruits/</u>

10 Ways That New Zealand Can and Should Support Ukraine

- 1. Officially designate Russia as a state sponsor of terrorism, following the example of the European Parliament, which called on its member states to put in place legal frameworks to do so, and in accordance with New Zealand's counter-terrorism obligations under UN Security Council resolutions. New Zealand should list the Russian Federation as a terrorist entity under the Terrorism Suppression Act 2002. New Zealand should act to circumvent Russia's interference with UNSC designation of Russian Federation as a terrorist entity.
- 2. Actively demand reform of United Nations international frameworks that are being held to ransom by Russia's interference and impunity, such as permanent member status for Russia at the United Nations Security Council. According to Ukraine officials, Russian Federation bypassed UN Charter procedures to take over the seat of a permanent member of the UN Security Council, the USSR, and imposed its membership in the UN through a unilateral decision, circumventing the UN Charter. See Statement of the MFA of Ukraine on the illegitimacy of the Russian Federation's presence in the UN Security Council and in the United Nations as a whole.
- 3. New Zealand should officially recognise Joseph Stalin's man-made famine that occurred in 1932-1933 in Ukraine, as genocide. The Holodomor as the famine is called in Ukraine, was caused by Soviet Union policies that killed millions of Ukrainians. Sovereign states to have recognized Holodomor as genocide[9][10] include Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Czech Republic, Ecuador, Estonia, France, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland's senate, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Mexico, Moldova, Netherlands, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States, and the Holdy See in Vatican City, and Wales.
- 4. Increase overall contribution by a factor of ten to 0.1% of GDP.
- 5. Increase New Zealand's financial contribution to the Ukraine Humanitarian Fund and UN Refugee Fund for Ukrainian refugees.
- 6. Make use of the recently established NATO-Ukraine Council, a forum for crisis consultation and decision-making. Work to better understand and support Ukraine's defense directly by providing or funding critical defense needs such as protective clothing, body armour, thermal imaging ware, protection against Russia's advanced heat-detecting combat UAV drones and missiles (such as drone jamming equipment), specialist life-saving first aid supplies such as chest seals and high quality tourniquets, power packs and generators to support stabilisation field hospitals, secure communications, combat rations, demining equipment, evacuation vehicles and ambulances, armoured personnel carriers. Improving the functioning of logistical support for military equipment such as vehicle repair and maintenance is also

necessary to meet the capability requirements imposed by countries providing Ukraine with military equipment such as armoured personnel carriers, tanks and fighter jets. All countries supporting NATO's coordination of humanitarian and non-lethal aid to Ukraine should be doing a more thorough job of identifying Ukraine's needs and providing solutions. It is simply too much to ask Ukraine to have to provide all of these capabilities to a reliable and adequate standard while facing its own existential crisis from Russia's ongoing attacks. The west benefits from Ukraine's defense therefore the West must also contribute to Ukraine's success – and this means saving the lives of Ukrainian defenders.

- 7. Immediately review the criteria for humanitarian NGOs working for Ukraine to ensure that New Zealand's Disaster Response Partnership funding for NGOs is only provided to appropriate organisations. This means NGOs with established demonstrated networks in Ukraine zones of greatest humanitarian risks, but where humanitarian aid can still be provided by Ukraine partner NGOs, volunteers and community service organisations.
- 8. Help the international effort to find and return Ukrainian children who have been illegally abducted into Russia by Russia's systematic filtration and deportation methods during it's illegal occupation and invasion of Ukraine.
- 9. Take a strong stance against inclusion of Russian Federation athletes on international stage including the Olympics, because Russian official policy has directly killed 262 Ukrainian athletes, according to Ukraine's Sports Minister⁹, and because Russian athletes visibly promote Russia's war on Ukraine.
- 10. Work with New Zealand academic and science research institutions to identify further opportunities to financially support Ukrainian academics, scientists and tertiary students.

New Zealand must also act to identify and counter the pervasive Russian disinformation networks that operate in New Zealand and threaten our security and social cohesion. New Zealand's Disinformation Project has shown that Russian disinformation is entrenched in New Zealand. Highly strategic and sustained disinformation 'pathologies' were interwoven into domestic anti-vax, anti-mandate and anti-establishment 2022 responses to former PM Jacinda Ardern's addresses to Harvard University, NATO and the UN General Assembly¹⁰. New Zealand subscribers to Telegram channels are exposed to a pro-Putin, pro-Kremlin, anti-Ukraine and anti-NATO discourse, originating from both Russian disinformation vectors and Qanon or MAGA US based channels. New Zealand members of NAFO work to combat the ongoing barrage of harmful Russian propaganda on the X/Twitter platform. The Disinformation Project found 15 articles published by Radio NZ that met the criteria of Russian disinformation.

10 https://www.thepost.co.nz/nz-news/350020181/idea-new-zealand-safe-russian-disinformation-enduring-fiction

 $^{^9}$ https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/war-has-killed-262-ukrainian-athletes-sports-ministersavs-2023-04-02/

Why Democratic Countries Should Help Ukraine Now

Ukraine was demilitarised as a post-Soviet state, which included protection of security assurances from the UK and US, as well as from Russia (a state which historically violates its own agreements). While Ukraine is in the process of reducing its dependence on external military defense support, right now the need is real.

Ukraine has demonstrated remarkable defence capability and has liberated around half of the maximum total area occupied by Russia. It has inflicted losses to one-fifth of Russia's naval fleet, and driven Russia's Black Sea fleet out of the Black Sea.

Russia's advances on the battlefield since August 2023 have been minimal, incurring massive losses of vehicles and personnel. British defense intelligence estimated that Russia lost 7 soldiers to every one Ukrainian killed on the frontlines in November 2023. Even in Russia's most successful offensive (Bakhmut Offensive) only a few kilometres were captured over the last 4 months. Ukraine maintains a bridgehead on the eastern side of the Dnipro river in the Kherson oblast at Krynky, which has also managed to defy Russia's attempts at destroying the Ukrainian units.¹¹

Late 2023 opinion polls <u>confirm</u> that almost three-quarters of Ukrainians are unwilling to make any territorial concessions to Russia in exchange for peace. Yet, the prospect of another year of mostly attritional warfare does not bode well for Ukraine if western military and financial support prove unsustainable for any reason¹².

Unfortunately, reductions in Western support at the same time Russia has increased its missile barrages, drone and aerial bombing attacks since late December, is preventing Ukraine fully utilising air defenses due to a lack of ammunition. This situation will cause the most harm to Ukraine civilians, targeted by Russia. Furthermore, after two years of non-stop defense mobilisation, Ukraine no longer has a large volunteer base of frontline defenders, and is currently proposing new tougher drafting measures that includes targeting some 600,000 fighting-age Ukrainian men living in the EU¹³. Severe demographic challenges exist – low and falling birth rates, emigration of the most skilled and economically active population since 2022, leaving the poorer sector to do the fighting while seeing their standards of living declining.

A package of military aid from the US is being held up by Congress, and this alone would be the biggest investment in security of Europe, the US and at a macro level, that could be made. The UK and Ukraine signed the first bilateral security arrangement, a precursor to full Ukraine NATO membership, on January 13, 2024, and the US has announced it too is working on a similar arrangement. This follows a commitment by G7 partners made in 2023.

¹¹ Summary provided by @RaduHossu, a Romanian political strategist and

 $^{^{12}\ \}underline{\text{https://theconversation.com/ukraine-war-kyiv-digs-in-for-the-long-haul-with-prospects-looking-bleak-for-}\\ 2024-220005$

 $^{^{13}\} https://theconversation.com/ukraine-war-increasingly-seen-as-fought-by-the-poor-as-zelensky-raises-taxes-and-proposes-strict-mobilisation-laws-220433$

European Union financial aid package is being blocked by Hungary, the most pro-Russian state in the EU. European states are responding to the situation through member state bilateral support programs as a continency plan. Germany has committed to doubling its military aid to Ukraine in 2024, making it the second-largest provider of security assistance after the US¹⁴.

Western rhetorical support of Ukraine's war aims – the complete restoration of its sovereignty and territorial integrity – appears in stark contrast with the continuing hesitation to provide Ukraine with the resources needed to win on the battlefield. Tension remains high between the commitment to reclaim Russian occupied territory, and to build longer term stronger security structures for Ukraine against future Russian aggression and towards a stable European security order – both military means and diplomatic efforts are required to clarify and achieve these goals.¹⁵

New Zealand should change its minimalist approach and become a clear, persistent voice against genocide and an active participant in building more comprehensive assistance frameworks. New Zealand can present an informed perspective to help improve the scope, implementation and efficacy of western support for Ukraine's defense. Ukraine is a country that shares certain characteristics with New Zealand, (our breadbasket agricultural economies, our European ancestral roots, the high value we place on human rights, democracy and a history that includes participants of multiple ethnicities and national origins). It is also a country we do not compete with economically, and which is a source of food ingredients imported into New Zealand. It is in New Zealand's interests that Ukraine is able to defeat Russian aggression and terrorism, which will help stop the otherwise inevitable dire threats arising from unchecked economic and energy blackmail, security threats, corruption, piracy, enabling of other terrorist cells and regimes across the globe¹⁶, and demise of democracy due to increasing Russian state interference.

Ukraine requires maximum assistance for defense, for humanitarian aid, and critical recovery efforts such as de-mining, restoration of critical infrastructure. Humanitarian aid has already reached 16 million people (one third of Ukraine's pre-war population, and including refugees who temporarily left Ukraine) for whom the war has taken away the basic necessities of life, and destroyed many towns, cities, and rural regions.

New Zealand should potentially be able to use diplomacy to help the international community define and build an assistance framework that better meets the serious challenges that ongoing Russian aggression presents.

Current models of aid that work in our Asia Pacific region for non-military humanitarian disasters, are not effective in delivering the right assistance at the right time in Ukraine. Many Western funded agencies did not have extensive prior experience in Ukraine, and struggle to operate in areas of highest security risk from intense fighting, or siege conditions under military occupation. Incentives may not exist for Western funded

¹⁴ https://english.nv.ua/nation/eu-promises-funding-for-ukraine-by-march-50383081.html

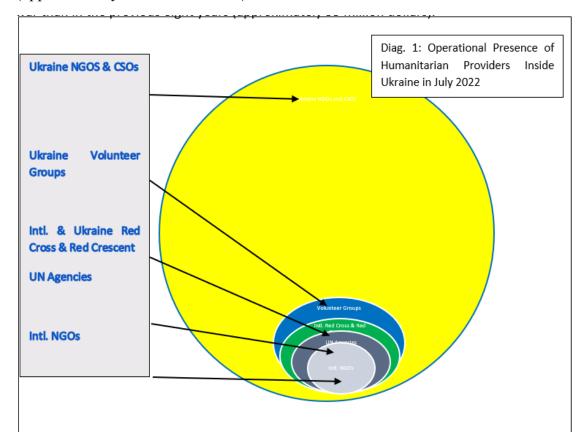
 $^{^{15}\,\}underline{\text{https://theconversation.com/ukraine-war-kyiv-digs-in-for-the-long-haul-with-prospects-looking-bleak-for-}2024-220005}$

 $^{^{16}} https://www.pravda.com.ua/eng/news/2024/01/13/7437046/$

agencies to operate in the zones of highest risk and need, due to sanctions, insecurity and risk of being targeted by Russian forces, who have fired on humanitarian convoys, stolen humanitarian supplies, killed rescue workers and evacuation vehicle drivers and medics.

Humanitarian action in Ukraine involves the whole spectrum of local, to national, to international organisations. Over 80% of Ukraine's sovereign territory is free from active combat and administered by Ukraine's strong and functioning government. 5-6 million displaced civilian 'refugees' from destroyed or unsafe areas of active fighting or Russian occupation have put stress on infrastructure and resources in other parts of Ukraine. International humanitarian participants are more active in the more peaceful, functioning part of Ukraine. It is unlikely that aid provided through western NGOs not already established in Ukraine before 2022, reaches its target efficiently if at all.

Over 1,700 civil society and volunteering organisations have been created in Ukraine since the beginning of Russia's full-scale invasion to deal with humanitarian aid alone. Over 400,000 users have registered using the Volunteer Platform, first launched by UNICEF in March 2021. The Come Back Alive Foundation [which has provided assistance to the Ukrainian military since 2014] has delivered more aid to the Ukrainian army since the beginning of the full-scale war than in the previous eight years (approximately 55 million dollars).



There is also a continued international 'crowdfunding' effort run by volunteers through which millions of dollars of private funds are channelled directly to foreign and Ukrainian volunteers working across the entire spectrum of civilian and defense humanitarian and para-military provisions. New Zealanders and Australians are already active in this space, which is increasingly well-coordinated.

The Escalating Genocide of Ukrainians in 2023

Despite the considerable support provided by a range of countries (particularly US, Germany, Great Britain, EU, Norway, Denmark, Poland, Netherlands, Sweden and Canada) Russia's attempts to commit and incite genocide against Ukrainians have intensified, while their coordinated, systematic campaign to do so has evolved with new tactics targeting an increasingly wide number of Ukrainians far from the battlefield¹⁷.

As the perpetrators' methods shift, New Zealand and other State Parties must match and respond to these new genocidal tactics aimed at the Ukrainian people. Effective proactive steps are now required to meet this sustained challenge.

Yale University Professor of History Timothy Snyder¹⁸, the most credible and respected western expert on Ukraine's history has described his serious concerns for the future of democracy, should the US fail to provide the necessary military aid that will allow Ukrainians to push back Russia's invading and occupying forces, in stark terms.

- Democracy, as we understand it, to mean governance through elected representatives and collective decision-making, with full participation by society, may well 'tip over into something no longer recognizable' in the US.
- The future of Russia, of China, and of Ukraine all depend on the US to lead in military aid to Ukraine¹⁹.
- Professor Snyder notes that North Korea helps Russia more than the rich, democratic countries help Ukraine, a point he says Americans might be embarrassed about.
- In his address to the United Nations Security Council's 9280th (14 March 2023) meeting, Professor Snyder pointed to the 'sustained training or education of Russians to believe that genocide is normal'.
- Professor Snyder specifically called out Russian State Media, for the genocidal fantasies elaborated by Russia's propagandists, and in President Putin's repeated claims that Ukraine does not exist²⁰.
- Professor Snyder noted that Russian State Media presents Ukrainians as pigs, parasites, worms, satanists, or ghouls²¹. Below are some of its typical daily offerings that I have seen direct evidence of in 2023, and sources are provided in Appendix 2:

 $^{^{17}}$ Source: $\underline{\text{https://newlinesinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/20230726-Genocide-Ukraine-Report-NISLAP.pdf}}$

¹⁸ Author of many books about Ukraine including "Road to Unfreedom" "Black Earth" "Bloodlands" "On Tyranny".

 $^{^{19}}$ CNN interview by Christiane Amanpour with Timothy Snyder @amanpour 5 January 2024 https://twitter.com/amanpour/status/1742980850847826081

²⁰ <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Em95lYBHbIc</u>

²¹ <u>https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4006796</u>

- "Ukrainian children should be drowned."
- "Ukrainian houses should be burned with the people inside them".
- "Ukrainians should not exist at all, we should execute them by firing squad".
- "We will kill 1 million. We will kill 5 million. We can exterminate all of you [Ukrainians]."



- addresses the UNSC on 14 March 2023
- Russia's war on Ukraine has significantly impacted the functioning of Ukraine's state institutions, the ongoing process of reforms and the democratic development of the former Soviet Republic country²².
- The war has directly contributed to a set of security-versus-democracy dilemmas in which Ukrainians were forced to respond to foreign invasion and associated influence within the country, without doing harm to domestic democratic institutions²³.
- Russia's officialdom as expressed via official Russian state media, military and political officials does not recognize nations in its vicinity as sovereign. President Putin is committed to the destruction of Ukraine's statehood, which will be a stepping-stone to wider conflict and influence in Europe, according to Colonel-General Andrey Mordvichev. 24
- Putin's ambitions extend beyond Ukraine, encompassing Moldova and Georgia as well as NATO allies in the Baltic states and Poland. This delusion of power and influence harks back to Russia's imperial days, in which its empire bordered Germany and Austria. Such a vision, if enacted now, would effectively deny nationhood to half a dozen currently existing states — including Belarus, Poland, Finland and the Baltics.
- US 4-Star General and CIA Director David Petraeus (retired) has echoed these predictions, saying that that US aid is very affordable and very necessary. He has stated during interviews that if Russia succeeds in Ukraine, it won't stop there, and other regional states such as Moldova and the Baltic States will be

²² https://freedomhouse.org/country/ukraine/nations-transit/2023

²³ https://freedomhouse.org/country/ukraine/nations-transit/2023

²⁴ Russia-1 channel interview with Colonel-General Andrey Mordvichev, head of Russia's Central Military District and the Russian Central Group of Forces in Ukraine, and who led the 2022 assault on Mariupol and is alleged to have issued the order to storm the Azovstal plant, where Ukrainian Armed Forces personnel and civilians were trapped in partially destroyed bomb shelters.

[.] Cited in KyivPost and New York Post 11 September 2023. https://www.kyivpost.com/post/21519 , https://nypost.com/2023/09/11/russian-general-says-eastern-europe-is-next-reminding-us-whywe-need-to-back-ukraine/

next. He states that NATOs defense now begins at the border of Ukraine and Russia" 25

- NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg has also publically exhorted NATO allies to support Ukraine, stating that if Putin wins in Ukraine, 'there is a real risk that his aggression will not end there. Our support is not charity. It is an investment in our security". Stoltenberg echoes Ukraine's belief that a just and lasting solution can only be reached by demonstrating to President Putin that Russia cannot win on the battlefield".²⁶
- In 2008, the late former president of Poland Lech Kaczynski noted, after Russia attacked Georgia, "Today Georgia, tomorrow Ukraine, the Baltic States the day after tomorrow, and then perhaps the time will come for my country, Poland."

Russian State-Orchestrated Incitement to Genocide of Ukrainians ²⁷

The Ukrainian national group is recognized domestically, internationally, and expressly by Russia in formal interstate relations, and is thus protected under the Genocide Convention. A pattern of persecution and repressions by Moscow authorities against Ukrainians has long been noted by genocide experts, including Raphael Lemkin — the originator of the genocide concept — in 1953.

States have a legal obligation to prevent genocide beyond their borders once they become aware of the serious risk of genocide — a threshold that was found to have been exceeded in the May 2022 New Lines Institute report and that remains today. The Genocide Convention imposes a minimum legal obligation on States to take reasonable action to contribute to preventing genocide and to protect vulnerable Ukrainians from genocide.

Concerted efforts by many State Parties to the Genocide Convention to fulfil these requirements have been made, through steps ranging from travel bans, to associated sanctions, and to a variety of humanitarian and defensive support to the Ukrainian people. Yet State obligations to prevent and punish genocide do not end when signs of genocide escalate; rather, they continue. Over the past year, increasing evidence indicates that Russia's attempts to commit and incite genocide against Ukrainians have intensified, while their coordinated, systematic campaign to do so has evolved with new tactics targeting an increasingly wide number of Ukrainians far from the battlefield. As these perpetrators' methods shift, State Parties must match and respond to these new genocidal tactics aimed at the Ukrainian people. To fulfil their obligations, State Parties must carefully consider the advancing escalation dynamics clear in Russia's genocide against Ukrainians and take proactive steps that are sufficient for these evolving challenges.

NISLAP .pdf

²⁷ Source: https://newlinesinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/20230726-Genocide-Ukraine-Report-

²⁵ 4-Star General & CIA Director David Petraeus (retired) Interview on CNN (@amanpour 6 January 2024) https://x.com/amanpour/status/1743674774360858715?s=20

²⁶ Jens Stoltenberg, cited by @Gerashchenko en 15/12/2023 on Twitter/X.

Ideological transformations promoted during Russia's violence against Ukraine that have been documented include the renewal and resurgence of the slogan "We Can Do It Again." - a phrase promoting repeat of historical violence and patterns of atrocities against Ukrainians²⁸who are falsely portrayed as in need of "denazification."

There are reasonable grounds to believe Russia is responsible for:

- (i) direct and public incitement to commit genocide, and
- (ii) a pattern of atrocities from which an inference of intent to destroy the Ukrainian national group in part can be drawn; and

There are reasonable grounds to believe there is a serious risk of genocide in Ukraine, triggering the **legal obligation of all States to prevent genocide**.

Russia combines modern genocidal tactics with the weaponization of historical memory²⁹ for terror. Russian State actors appear to believe that past atrocities "can be repeated," as the international community watches, but so far has not stopped Russia's genocidal behavior against Ukrainians.

Russia directly and publicly incites genocide of Ukrainians, by:

- Denial of Ukrainian identity
- Perpetrators accuse the target group of similar atrocities towards the perpetrators (victim blaming)
- Escalating dehumanising rhetoric against Ukrainians, from the highest levels of the Russian state.
- False claims of threats posed by Ukranians.
- Conditioning of Russia's domestic audience to commit or condone atrocities.

Russia has been demonstrated its intent to destroy in whole or in part a protected group (Ukrainians). The intent can be inferred from a systematic pattern of atrocities targeting the protected group.

Five genocidal acts, all of which are documented as having occurred and continuing to occur in Ukraine - can also point to genocidal intent when viewed in their totality:

• Killing Members of the Group

- Summary executions, missile strikes, shelling, torture-induced deaths, targeting evacuation caravans, civilian shelters, rescuers, double-tap strikes, failing to provide the basic necessities of life, deliberate large scale drowning.
- \circ $\,$ Military units active in the killing being awarded state honours by Russian President Putin
- o Russian state platforms released celebratory messages after targeting Ukrainian civiliians

²⁸ Diamond, Y., & Packer, J. (2022) cited in New Lines Institute for Strategy and Policy July 2023 Report "The Russian Federation's Escalating Commission of Genocide in Ukraine: A Legal Analysis". https://newlinesinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/English-Report-1.pdf.

²⁹ Such as the targeting of influential Ukrainians evoking routine purges of Ukraine's cultural, religious, and political leaders under Joseph Stalin and other leaders; the willingness to weaponize food, as seen through Russia's Black Sea blockade, evokes the 1930s Holodomor artificial famine; modern nuclear threats evoke the 1980s Chernobyl nuclear disaster.

• Causing Serious Bodily or Mental Harm to Members of the Group

- o Multiple, systemic, escalating tactics
- o Industrialised torture, extremely brutal sexual violence across genders and age groups
- Psychological harm caused by repeated nuclear threats to a group that continue to experience harm from Chernobyl, the worlds worse civil nuclear accident

• Deliberately Inflicting on the Group Conditions of Life That Are Calculated to Bring About Its Physical Destruction in Whole or in Part.

- Unrelenting attacks on Ukrainian population centres, wholescale destruction of numerous cities
- Systemic expulsion of millions of Ukrainians from their homes and country, including through 'filtration' processes designed to erase Ukrainian identity
- O Direct attacks on infrastructure sources of electricity, water, natural gas, communications, escalated in the middle of harsh winter conditions.
- Direct attacks on Ukrainians health care system.

• Imposing Measures Intended to Prevent Births Within the Group

- Sexual violence to the extent that it is intended to and will prevent births, affecting girls and womens desire to contemplate future relationships and have children
- Castration of Ukrainian males in Russian custody, and this may prove to have been widespread and systematic

• Forcibly Transferring Children of the Group to Another Group

systematic, coordinated, and large-scale transfer of Ukrainian children to Russia or Russian-controlled territories has been demonstrated.

• Intent to Destroy the Ukrainian National Group in Part

- Russian forces have left a trail of concentrated physical destruction upon retreat from occupied areas, including mass close-range executions, torture, destruction of vital infrastructure, and rape and sexual violence.
- o Selective disappearance and murder of Ukrainian activists and leaders
- Systemtic, coordinated, forcible deportations of large numbers of Ukrainian children to Russia.

Ukraine's official advisors also believe that capitulation of Ukraine, which is the aim of Russia, will result in Russia becoming more ambitious, aggressive and dangerous. Ukrainian advisors and officials predict that the war will continue and will go beyond the territory of Ukraine.

Some effort is being made by Ukrainian officials to convey the cultural underpinnings of Russia's genocide policy in such a way as to explain clearly why negotiating with Russia carries a high risk of further Russian aggression and expansion. See Mykhailo Podolyak below.



The absolute and unequivocal urge to kill, attack, invade, capture, rape, and destroy the property of others, coupled with the utmost hatred for democracies and freedoms, is the only "national idea of modern Russia." This is what the sociological research carried out by the University of Chicago (@NORCNews) tells us. Everything is laid out clearly, in stark figures, without illusions and traditional fantasies of "a Russia with which we can engage in civilized conversation or negotiation"... And so there will be no more peace of mind, reaching an agreement will not be possible, do not hope for a compromise. There is not the slightest chance. At least, not until Russia loses and ceases to exist in its current political/aggressive format. The problem is not just "Putin", "federal propaganda", money from raw materials, oligarchic conspiracy, but the fact that in Russian society, there is a total dominance of the desire to kill all strangers, the ideology of hatred... It is time to fully realize and accept this. And not just accept this, but draw the right conclusions about our own (democratic) future, about the rules, about stability, about guarantees of Euro-Atlantic security, about international law, about the fundamental right to freedom and life...

Russian official promotion of genocide of Ukrainians and annihilation of Ukraine

Rostislav Ishchenko, President of Russia's Center for Systematic Analysis and Forecasting said that he hadn't encountered anyone in Russia who was distressed by deaths of Ukrainians, and that the more Ukrainians they kill, the better it is: "We dryly count them, 100 thousand, 300 thousand, half a million ... the more we kill the closer is the end of the war – this kind of hardening is normal in war...actions that are punishable in normal times (such as killing) are rewarded during war society is in a state of cognitive dissonance we wage war not because we're good but because they're bad https://twitter.com/JuliaDavisNews/status/1742272984985870813

Rostislav Ishchenko "I repeat we have no other choice but to liquidate Ukraine"



Page 19 of 29





Prune60 @Prune602 · Jan 3

"Listen, we also don't get upset about their dead. We dryly count them, 100k, 300k, half a million."

~ Rostislav Ishchenko

Russian State Media has broadcast Russia's willingness to murder literally MILLIONS of Ukrainians for a LONG time.

When someone shows you who they are...





Prune60 @Prune602 · Jun 7, 2023

Following this meeting, the genocidal rhetoric has not stopped. It has continued.

Here is a thread where you can see a list of examples. It is very long, I stopped after 4 hours of work.

Note: The thread doesn't stop until you see a tweet saying an intermissior is needed.



Prune60 @Prune602 · Jun 5, 2023

How many times have I pointed out Incitement to Genocide from Russian State Media?

I honestly don't know, I'd have to set aside a decent amount of time to go count. Think about that. IT SHOULD BE ZERO Show more









"We will kill 1 million, or 5 million, we can exterminate all of you."

~ Pavel Gubarev



We will kill 1 million, or 5 million,



Pavel Guberev, former 'Peoples Governor' of the illegally annexed Donetsk region describes his vision of Ukrainians on Russian state tv:

"the enemy... these are Russian people possessed by the devil. We are coming to convince them, not to kill them. But if you don't want us to change your minds, then we will kill you. We will kill as many of you as we have to...we will kill 1 million, 5 million...we can exterminate all of you...until you understand that you are possessed and you have to be cured. Zelensky is the devils spawn He is Hitler 2.0 with rabid Russophobia...they are bloody possessed Satanistsstupid people..."

Ukraine's civilian death toll is much closer to 100,000 than 10,000 victims

Media platforms keep citing the UN's official figure of 10,000 civilian casualties in Ukraine, but even the UN admits that the real figure is "significantly higher"

What is happening here?

EXPLAINING IN 9 CARDS

THE PROBLEM WITH THE UN'S OFFICIAL DATA

The UN's methodology for verifying casualties requires officials on the ground working with the local authorities. In many conflicts, the UN has some access to both sides. But without proper access, the UN can't collect and verify any data.

In almost two years of the full-scale war, the UN has only had access to the territories controlled by Ukraine. Moscow has blocked the UN's access to all the Russia-occupied territories, making it impossible for international organizations to collect any data.

1/9

WHY RUSSIA DOESN'T LET THE UN DO ITS JOB

Russia's complete blockade of the UN's work is not new. Since the start of the 2022 invasion, Russia has used its veto power many times to block the Security Council's resolutions and peace efforts.

Russia abuses its position to sabotage the UN's work and render the organization useless. It has done so repeatedly regarding Russia's aggression in Ukraine, Georgia, Syria, and Mali, among others.

This has allowed Russia not only to face zero accountability for its multiple crimes but also to kill international justice efforts at their root.

2/9

WHICH CIVILIAN DEATHS HAVE BEEN COUNTED?

The ten thousand identified Ukrainian civilians who died because of the invasion are mostly

- people who died because of Russia's long-range missile or drone attacks all over Ukraine
- people who had been killed by the Russians under the occupation, and whose towns were then liberated by Ukraine

But people killed in areas with heavy fighting or under continuous Russian occupation – the most dangerous spots in Ukraine – aren't counted at all.

3/9

HOW BIG IS THE UN'S BLIND SPOT IN DATA?

It's enormous. The total area of Ukraine that has remained under Russian occupation since 2022 is roughly 1.5 times larger than the size of Denmark or Switzerland.

Areas heavily bombed and occupied by Russia since 2022 include Mariupol (population of 450,000), Severodonetsk (106,000), Lysychansk (99,000), Bakhmut (73,000), Volnovakha (21,000). Hundreds more towns were completely wiped out by Russia's indiscriminate fire. The UN has zero verified information from these areas.

RUSSIA KILLS UKRAINE'S CIVILIANS IN MANY WAYS

The problem with assessing Ukraine's civilian casualties lies beyond deaths caused by fighting.

Russia has created a system of filtration camps and prisons aimed to detain, torture, and murder Ukrainians. Thousands of Ukrainians are held in these prisons, and many of them get killed. Again, the UN has zero access to these institutions.

Russia's war in Ukraine has genocidal motives, which makes it hard to evaluate the casualties using conventional methodology.

f

6/9

4/9

THE PROBLEM WITH CITING THE UN'S FIGURE

The UN admits its data on civilian casualties in Ukraine is a gross underestimation. Experts and journalists are also aware of it. But the figure gets cited in the news anyway – and that is a problem.

Not only the UN's figure has become a handy tool for Russian propaganda, but it's also been used to underestimate Russia's war crimes and the magnitude of suffering in Ukraine.

The UN's figure brings more harm than good. Instead of helping us achieve justice, it is used to whitewash the aggressor and accept inaction.

7/9

HOW TO COVER UKRAINE'S CIVILIAN CASUALTIES

First of all, we need to stop citing the UN's 10K figure without any added context. People who insist on using this figure are spreading deliberate misinformation – as simple as that.

But it's not enough to simply mention that the casualties might be higher than 10K. This framing still leaves too much space for manipulations.

We need to keep repeating that the official figure is flawed and to always emphasize that the real number of civilian deaths in Ukraine is much closer to 100,000 than 10,000 people.

8/9

UKRAINE'S VICTORY IS THE ONLY PATH TO TRUTH

The only way for the world to investigate the true scale of human loss caused by Russia's invasion is through Ukraine's victory.

International organizations will be able to access sites and investigate crimes only if Ukraine liberates all of its lands, just as it did in Kyiv, Kharkiv, and Kherson regions.

For now, our only hope to see the whole picture lies in continuous military and strategic support of Ukraine's victory and Russia's defeat.

9/9

B U Y M E A C O F F E E . C O M / U A E X P L A I N E R S



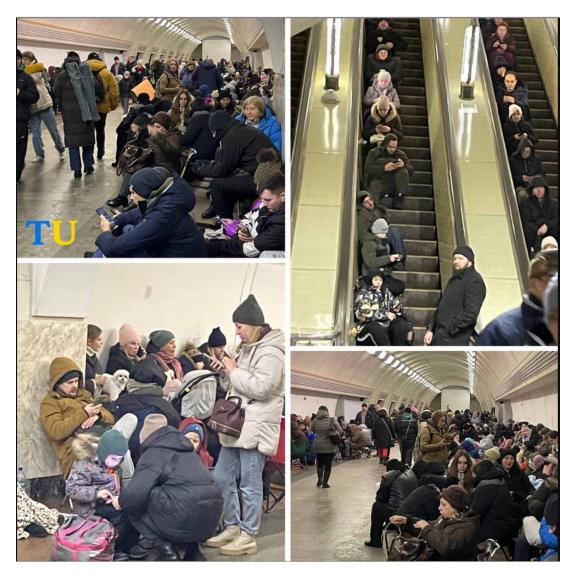
Ukraine Explainers

@uaexplainers

We write articles and cards explaining everything Ukraine.

Owned and managed by @TheStanislawski & @Boochelnikova

In Kyiv, 13 January 2024, people shelter from Russian bombs in the Dorogozhichi station subway.



NZ MFAT Statements, Speeches and Press Releases

The latest NZ Government Statements, Speeches and Press Releases regarding the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

- International Crimea Platform Summit Speech (23 August 2023)
- Further sanctions for those supporting Russia's illegal invasion of Ukraine (10 August 2023)
- Further sanctions on Russian military support and Belarusian financial sector (21 July 2023)
- New Zealand to provide further support for Ukraine (13 July 2023)
- Increase in NZ support for Ukraine (3 May 2023)
- Further sanctions on Russian and Belarusian political and military figures (31 March 2023)
- New sanctions also mark one year since Russia's invasion of Ukraine (24 February 2023)
- New sanctions and travel bans on Iran (15 February 2023)
- New sanctions on Iran over role in Ukraine (14 December 2022)
- Russian disinformation targeted by latest sanctions (12 December 2022)
- <u>Further sanctions on the political and economic elites of Russia and Belarus</u> (21 November 2022)
- Assistance to Ukraine extended and enhanced (14 November 2022)
- Financial Intelligence Unit Conference Russia Sanctions (8 November 2022)
- New sanctions target Russian defence networks (31 October 2022)
- New trade bans and sanctions on oligarchs and Russian officials (11 October 2022)
- New Zealand condemns Russia's annexation attempts (1 October 2022)
- Sanctions on more of the Russian political elite (27 September 2022)
- Sanctions on Russian officials in occupied regions of Ukraine (22 August 2022)
- NZ sends further significant deployment to support Ukraine (15 August 2022)
- Sanctions on Russian armed forces and weapons manufacturers (1 August 2022)
- Imports of Russian gold banned (4 July 2022)
- Russian state companies sanctioned (7 June 2022)
- NZ to provide additional deployment to support Ukraine (23 May 2022)
- Belarusian leaders and defence entities targeted under latest round of sanctions (19 May 2022)
- Aotearoa New Zealand condemns Russia's malicious cyber activity against Ukraine (12 May 2022)
- New sanctions target disinformation and malicious cyber actors (10 May 2022)
- More political elites and defence entities sanctioned, and prohibitions extended (2 May 2022)

- Russian banks targeted under latest round of sanctions (19 April 2022)
- New Zealand sends C130 Hercules and 50-strong team to Europe to support Ukraine (11 April 2022)
- New Zealand to apply trade sanctions in response to Russian atrocities (6 April 2022)
- New round of sanctions announced targeting Russian oligarchs (4 April 2022)
- NZ to provide non-lethal military assistance to Ukraine (21 March 2022)
- PM conveys NZ support in call to Ukraine PM | Beehive (19 March 2022)
- First tranche of sanctions under the Russia Sanctions Act enacted (18 March 2022)
- Foreign Minister announces further humanitarian support for Ukraine (15 March 2022)
- Government offers shelter for around 4000 family members of Ukrainians in NZ (15 March 2022)
- New Zealand statement to International Atomic Energy Agency Board of Governors on the nuclear safety, security, and safeguards implications of the situation in Ukraine (9 March 2022)
- NZ allows for significant expansion of sanctions on Russia (7 March 2022)
- Implementation of travel bans on individuals associated with the Russian invasion of Ukraine (7 March 2022)
- New Zealand Minister for Disarmament and Arms Control Statement to Conference on Disarmament (3 March 2022)
- New Zealand statement to the International Atomic Energy Agency Board of Governors (extraordinary session) on the nuclear safety, security, and safeguards implications of the situation in Ukraine (2 March 2022)
- New Zealand supports global action to ease pressure on global fuel prices (2 March 2022)
- New Zealand statement to UN Human Rights Council (1 March 2022)
- <u>United Nations General Assembly: Eleventh Emergency Special</u> Session (1 March 2022)
- Aotearoa New Zealand announces initial humanitarian support for Ukraine (28 February 2022)
- Prime Minister's statement on Russian invasion of Ukraine (25 February 2022)
- Aotearoa New Zealand condemns Russian invasion of Ukraine (24 February 2022)
- Aotearoa New Zealand condemns the advance of Russian military into Ukraine (24 February 2022)
- United Nations General Assembly: The situation in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine (24 February 2022)
- Russian Ambassador called in over Ukraine (23 February 2022)
- United Nations General Assembly: Our Common Agenda thematic debate –
 Frameworks for a peaceful world – promoting peace, international law and digital;
 cooperation (22 February 2022)
- Government calls on New Zealanders in Ukraine to leave immediately (12 February 2022)