85th (SPECIAL) JOINT MEETING
OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL AND
THE FORUM FOR SECURITY CO-OPERATION

1. Date: Friday, 18 February 2022 (in the Neuer Saal and via video teleconference)
   Opened: 10 a.m.
   Closed: 12.10 p.m.

2. Chairperson: Ambassador A. Halaciński (PC) (Poland)
   Mr. F. Osmanov (FSC) (Azerbaijan)

3. Subjects discussed – Statements – Decisions/documents adopted:

   Agenda item 1: OPENING REMARKS OF THE CHAIRPERSON OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL AND THE CHAIRPERSON OF THE FORUM FOR SECURITY CO-OPERATION

   Chairperson (PC), Chairperson (FSC)


   Chairperson (FSC), Ukraine (Annex 1), Canada (Annex 2), France-European Union (with the candidate countries Albania, Montenegro, and North Macedonia; the European Free Trade Association countries Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway, members of the European Economic Area; as well as Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine, in alignment) (Annex 3), Iceland (Annex 4), Germany (also on behalf of France) (Annex 5), Lithuania
(Annex 6), Romania (Annex 7), United States of America (Annex 8), Albania (Annex 9), Sweden (Annex 10), Bulgaria (Annex 11), Denmark (Annex 12), Moldova (FSC-PC.DEL/23/22), Netherlands (Annex 13), Latvia (Annex 14), Italy (Annex 15), Ireland (Annex 16), Georgia (Annex 17), United Kingdom (Annex 18), Norway (Annex 19), Turkey (Annex 20), Estonia (Annex 21), Switzerland (FSC-PC.DEL/18/22 OSCE+), Chairperson (PC)

Agenda item 3: ANY OTHER BUSINESS

None

4. Next meeting:

To be announced
STATEMENT BY
THE DELEGATION OF UKRAINE

Mr. Chairperson,

We are grateful for your efforts in promptly and efficiently responding to our concerns shared by many participating States regarding the ongoing unusual military activities of the Russian Federation.

Given the reluctance of the Russian side to engage in a meaningful dialogue at the consultations two days ago, on 16 February, and thereby to dispel the concerns of Ukraine and other participating States, we approached the OSCE Chairmanship to initiate a further joint meeting of the OSCE’s two regular decision-making bodies.

I wish to express our gratitude to the Chairmanships of the Permanent Council and the Forum for Security Co-operation (FSC) for convening this meeting at the request of Ukraine.

However, it is regrettable that Russia has opted for the same approach as two days ago by choosing not to participate in today’s joint meeting.

Ukraine’s decision to activate the mechanisms under Chapter III of the Vienna Document was based on a careful and thorough assessment by the Ukrainian leadership of the security situation near our border with the Russian Federation and in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine.

The fact that the consultations held two days ago brought together 44 participating States makes it clear that an absolute majority of participating States take Russia’s ongoing military activities very seriously.

Our assessment, based on facts gleaned from different sources, is that between 87 and 100 battalion tactical groups, or between 126,500 and 150,000 troops, are currently deployed within close proximity to Ukraine’s border and in the occupied Crimea.

These forces are backed up by 54 Iskander missile systems, more than 1,800 tanks, over 4,800 armoured combat vehicles, more than 1,700 artillery systems and over
600 multiple-launch rocket systems. Additionally, around 430 combat aircraft and 360 helicopters have been prepared for the use in the direction of Ukraine.

At the same time, Russia is strengthening its potential to conduct amphibious operations in the Black Sea by redeploying missiles, rocket artillery and landing craft from the Baltic and Northern Fleets and the Caspian Flotilla. The naval grouping in the region comprises about 70 ships and boats, including 11 landing ships and about 30 landing boats.

Should Ukraine have any doubts that such a concentration of forces and equipment by Russia is of military significance?

There is no justifiable reason to station forces in such numbers and conduct large-scale military activities in areas bordering with Ukraine.

Ukraine considers these activities and this concentration of forces and hardware by Russia to be of military significance.

In order to reassure the international community, the Russian Government has over the past few days been issuing a number of statements trying to convince us that some units have already completed their participation in the military exercise and that their equipment has been loaded onto railway platforms so that these units can depart to their peacetime locations.

Similar statements were disseminated in April last year, but in the end, military hardware was left in various locations in the vicinity of Ukraine’s border.

Can we therefore trust what is being said this time?

Most certainly not. We see no confirmation that the Russian troops are being relocated away from Ukraine’s borders, but rather the opposite.

Allow me here to quote what Ukraine’s Foreign Minister, Dmytro Kuleba, recently said: “Statements on withdrawal are not sufficient. We need transparency and facts. If a real withdrawal follows these statements, we will believe in the beginning of a real de-escalation.”

However, yesterday’s alarming developments in certain areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, which are controlled by the Russian occupation forces, have demonstrated how far we are from any such de-escalation.

A military option is indeed still on the table in the Kremlin.

Yesterday, starting at 4.55 a.m., the Russian armed formations conducted more than 40 provocative shelling attacks along the entire line of contact.

Not only were positions of the Ukrainian armed forces shelled: it was mainly civilian objects and infrastructure facilities that were deliberately targeted.
Shelling was conducted mostly with the use of weaponry proscribed under the Minsk agreements, including artillery, grenade launchers, mortars and tanks.

In the course of the day, dozens of settlements were shelled, including the following:

- Novotoshkivske, by 122 mm artillery, 120 mm mortars and tripod-mounted anti-tank grenade launchers;
- Vodiane, by 120 mm mortars, tripod-mounted anti-tank grenade launchers and automatic grenade launchers;
- Trudivske, by 82 mm mortars;
- Starohnativka, by 120 mm and 82 mm mortars, automatic grenade launchers, heavy machine guns and small arms;
- Staryi Aidar, by 120 mm mortars;
- Mariinka, by 120 mm mortars;
- Pivdenne and Maiorsk, by 82 mm mortars and automatic grenade launchers;
- Lobacheve, by 82 mm mortars;
- Novoselivka Druga, by anti-tank missile systems;
- Luhanske, by 122 mm artillery and 120 mm mortars;
- Svitlodarsk, by 120 mm mortars and heavy machine guns;
- Troitske, by tanks and 120 mm and 82 mm mortars;
- Popasna, by tripod-mounted anti-tank grenade launchers;
- Zaitseve, by automatic grenade launchers;
- Avdiivka, Shumy, Travneve, Nevelske and Donetskyi, by 120 mm mortars;
- Novozvanika, by 152 mm artillery;
- Stanytsia Luhanska, by 122 mm artillery, 120 mm and 82 mm mortars, and automatic grenade launchers;
- Pisky, by 82 mm mortars and tripod-mounted anti-tank grenade launchers;
- Holmivskyi, by 120 mm mortars and automatic grenade launchers;
- Khriashchivka, by 122 mm artillery.
Let me also give some more detailed information.

As I already stated yesterday at the regular meeting of the Permanent Council, at approximately 8.50 a.m., Stanytsia Luhanska was shelled. A day-care facility was hit. Twenty children and 18 staff members were on the premises at the time. As a result of the shelling, three adults sustained concussions.

A few hours later, at approximately 10.25 a.m., another settlement – Vrubivka – was targeted. One of the shells hit the yard of the lyceum, when 30 and 14 staff members were on the premises.

This deliberate targeting of civilian facilities clearly amounts to a war crime.

We are grateful to the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland, Zbigniew Rau, for his prompt reaction to these latest severe acts of aggression.

Indeed, the shelling of civilian objects and the endangering of civilians deserve our strongest condemnation and prompt response. However, we have to remain constantly vigilant and alert to Russia’s further actions.

As the shelling escalates, the Russian Federation is stepping up its bellicose rhetoric. Pictures of the damaged kindergarten are used to vilify Ukrainian military personnel and accuse them of shelling the occupied territories. This indicates that Russia is still preparing the ground for invoking *casus belli*.

In this regard, I should like to draw your attention to an official statement made late in the evening yesterday by the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, Lieutenant General Valerii Zaluzhnyi, about possible provocations in the occupied territories.

I quote:

“Evacuation of the local population is planned in some settlements in the temporarily occupied territory, in particular in Donetsk, owing to a possible aggravation of the situation. We officially declare that the Armed Forces of Ukraine strictly adhere to the Minsk agreements and the norms of international humanitarian law, and we do not plan any offensive operations or shelling of civilians. Our actions are purely defensive. The Russian Federation as the occupying power is responsible for the situation in the temporarily occupied territories. Any damage that may be done to people or infrastructure in the temporarily occupied territories would be a provocation. Ukraine is informing the international organizations about the preparation of such provocations. Ukraine has requested the urgent summoning of an extraordinary meeting of the Working Group on Security of the Trilateral Contact Group (TCG), to be followed by a TCG meeting, in order to consider the ceasefire violations that took place on 17 February.”

End of quote.
Furthermore, a letter of around ten pages from the Russian Federation addressing the proposals made by the United States of America was made public yesterday.

It is a clear message about Russia’s refusal to withdraw its forces from certain regions of the Russian Federation. We should, in my view, assume that this is referring to regions adjacent to Ukraine’s border.

But what about those earlier statements that units were already on their way back home?

Again, this letter contains ultimatums and threatens the possible use of military force and technology if Russia’s demands are not satisfied.

Is this not a case of threatening neighbours with the use of force?

Is it not an attempt to create a far-fetched pretext for a full-blown armed attack?

Does it not clearly illustrate why the Russian troops are being kept on Ukraine’s border?

Dear colleagues,

Ukraine remains convinced that diplomacy will prevail. That is our chosen path.

We will continue working with our partners on reviving efforts under the Normandy Four format and within the Trilateral Contact Group (TCG).

We will keep demanding that the Russian Federation act in line with its OSCE commitments and obligations, including those pertaining to military transparency, risk reduction and the implementation of confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs).

This is essential for the security of us all.

We will keep reminding Russia that the raison d’être of the OSCE is co-operative security.

It means not using OSCE documents selectively to justify the recreation of zones of influence, but applying existing procedures and formats within the OSCE in order to address the security concerns of other participating States in good faith.

However, I believe that our meeting today should not end simply with a compilation of the recommendations raised by delegations in the course of the meeting.

Despite all the previous recommendations raised by the delegations in April 2021, no significant de-escalation followed. Rather, in total disregard for these recommendations, new reinforcements were brought to Ukraine’s borders.
As Russia backs up its demands with additional military clout, we should reinforce our recommendations by taking further consecutive steps. Our meeting today should not end in Vienna with proposals, which Russia most likely would ignore anyway.

We believe that this week’s discussion under the Vienna Document and the compilation of our respective recommendations should serve as a basis for the continuation of deliberations and the drawing up of concrete actions within different formats in Brussels and other capitals that would induce Russia to embark on a path of de-escalation.

If the Russian Federation is serious about its words on the indivisibility of security in the OSCE area, it must fulfil its commitment to military transparency in order to reduce tensions and strengthen security for all participating States. We urge the Russian Federation to promptly respond to and take into account the recommendations expressed today.

**Recommendations**

As regards measures for clarifying the situation and halting the activities that give rise to concern, we recommend that all relevant provisions under the Vienna Document and other CSBMs be used to the fullest, and in particular:

- We recommend the Russian Federation:
  - To take immediate steps to de-escalate the situation, dispel all the concerns expressed and increase military transparency in the region;
  - To reverse immediately its military deployments near the borders to Ukraine and in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine, and to withdraw additionally deployed troops;
  - To engage in a meaningful dialogue and constructive consultations within the OSCE;
  - To provide, in accordance with its commitments under the Vienna Document 2011, credible information regarding its military activities, in particular on the size and structure of its troops permanently and additionally deployed in the areas concerned, the major weapon and equipment systems involved, and the duration and locations of this deployment;
  - To provide the participating States with information on the Russian troops redeployed to Belarus within the framework of the “Union Resolve 2022” exercise;
  - To stabilize the security situation in Donbas and ensure a full and comprehensive ceasefire in line with the Minsk agreements and the various Normandy Four decisions and TCG agreements;
  - To conduct regular voluntary briefings within the FSC on its military activities in the border areas.
Having said that, we remain convinced that the most effective way to dispel our concerns would be the immediate withdrawal by Russia of its troops from the border with Ukraine and from the temporarily occupied Crimean peninsula; the abandonment of its belligerent rhetoric, threats to use force and disinformation campaign against Ukraine; and the fulfilment in good faith of the security provisions of the Minsk agreements and of its commitments under the Vienna Document.

Mr. Chairperson, I kindly request that these recommendations and our statement be attached to the journal of the day.

Thank you, Mr. Chairperson.
Mr. Chairperson(s),

Thank you for convening this important special joint meeting. We appreciate the efforts of you and your teams in the face of this urgent and troubling situation.

Canada is deeply concerned by Russia’s ongoing military build-up of forces and equipment along Ukraine’s eastern border, on the illegally occupied Crimean peninsula in the south of Ukraine, and now along Ukraine’s northern border in Belarus. The large-scale movements of troops, tanks and other artillery units, along with supporting elements, significant combat aviation and offensive missile systems – all without prior notification – are threatening and destabilizing activities. These have just been laid out in helpful detail by Ambassador Tsymbaliuk. It is also accompanied by unprecedented naval activity in the Black Sea and a near complete closure of the waters adjacent to Ukraine’s littoral regions. Particularly worrying is the arrival of amphibious assault ships, a clear inflection point in the escalation. All of this represents the largest build-up of combat power on the continent of Europe since the end of the Cold War. It should not be misunderstood, nor understated: we are in a period of deep crisis.

Canada is likewise deeply concerned by Russia’s continued attempts to spread a false narrative regarding Ukrainian intentions and to stage supposed “provocations”, which seem intended to establish a pretext for possible offensive actions in Donbas. Indeed, we have seen examples, even in the past day as was reported by Ambassador Tsymbaliuk. Reports of increasing cyberattacks and other malign activity against Ukraine are also a source of great concern. We remain fully supportive of Ukraine’s efforts to counter this malicious campaign of disinformation and cyberattacks.

We have heard the statements by Russia that some Russian troops have completed their “exercises” and are returning to their home stations. However, we have yet to see any evidence that de-escalation is actually under way. In fact, open source satellite imagery points to the opposite: not only are Russian troop numbers now above 150,000 troops along the border with Ukraine, but the flow toward Ukraine of further Russian battalion tactical groups continues.
In this context, we commend Ukraine’s efforts to use the risk reduction mechanisms afforded by the Vienna Document to de-escalate this situation and seek clarity on not only the scope and scale of these movements by Russia, but also on their strategic intent.

Russia’s response to Ukraine’s reasonable F10 request for information on “unusual military activity” made no attempt to address the legitimate concerns expressed by a neighbouring participating State, nor to allay any perception of malicious intent. Additionally, Russia’s refusal to attend the special meeting called by the Chairperson-in-Office on 15 February was another clear signal of Russia’s lack of desire to de-escalate this situation.

We are, of course, deeply disappointed that the Russian Federation has chosen not to attend this joint meeting, or in fact to participate in good faith in any of the Vienna Document risk reduction mechanisms.

Russia claims to have no ill will, that there is no intention to act aggressively against its neighbour, but yet at every step the Russian Federation refuses to participate in mechanisms to provide actual transparency. This forces us to conclude that Russia only wants Vienna Document participation on its terms, and has no regard for our shared commitments to reciprocal transparency. It is worth noting that Russia takes every opportunity to avail itself of the mechanisms provided by the Vienna Document, routinely participating in visits and conducting inspections in other participating States, while taking a minimalist, obstructionist approach to the intended reciprocal nature of its provisions. In other words, Russia supports the Vienna Document when it matters to Russia, but not when it matters to anyone else.

We call on Russia to fully meet its obligations under the Vienna Document 2011 in both letter and spirit, and offer a reasonable and thoughtful response regarding its large-scale military activity, with focus on its broader intent. The Vienna Document provides these tools.

Without such engagement, we are left with a number of troubling questions:

– Why is Russia choosing to not engage in the recent activities convened under the Vienna Document Chapter III? Today’s meeting clearly demonstrates this.

– Why is it not taking the opportunity to convey to neighbouring participating States an openness and transparency which would help allay concerns?

– Why does it continue its aggressive rhetoric if it has no malicious intent?

– If Russia were truly returning its troops to their peacetime locations, then why not offer additional transparency and disclose the numbers of troops, their current locations and when, exactly, they will be returning to home base?

If what Russia claims is true, what do they have to hide? This lack of engagement leaves the distinct impression that Russia seeks to avoid all efforts to reduce tensions with its neighbours.
We renew our call on Russia to act in good faith and to address the concerns not only of its neighbours, but of a vast majority of OSCE participating States.

Canada remains unwavering in our support for Ukraine’s independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders, including its navigational rights within its territorial waters and beyond.

We commend Ukraine for its posture of restraint in particular in the face of Russia’s provocative actions. It is clear that Ukraine desires a peaceful solution to this crisis. We sincerely hope that the Russian Federation will choose the path of diplomacy and dialogue and move to de-escalate this dangerous situation immediately.

Thank you, Mr. Chairperson.
STATEMENT BY
THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

The delegation of France, in its capacity as EU Presidency, passed the floor to the representative of the European Union, who delivered the following statement:

The European Union and its Member States welcome this joint meeting of the Forum for Security Co-operation (FSC) and the Permanent Council, convened by the Polish and Azerbaijani Chairmanships at the request of the delegation of Ukraine. In view of the current heightened tensions and the blunt refusal by Russia to engage in a meaningful dialogue, such discussion in this special configuration as foreseen by Chapter III of the Vienna Document is urgently needed.

Distinguished Co-Chairpersons, Russia’s unprecedented and threatening massive military build-up and troop movements near the border with Ukraine as well as its unwillingness to provide sufficient transparency about the deployment of combat forces in, and joint drills with Belarus are of great concern. In addition, Russia’s increased military presence in the Black and Azov Seas and in the illegally annexed Crimean peninsula, as well as the closure of large parts of the Black Sea, add to the current escalation and the threat of the use of force also in the maritime sphere. To this date, we have not seen any signs of de-escalation near the Ukrainian borders. No credible and verifiable information has been provided on these unusual military activities. Neither have we witnessed a sign of willingness by the Russian Federation to engage in a much needed dialogue in order to dispel the justified and serious concerns by Ukraine as well as those of numerous other participating States.

We are also concerned about increasingly aggressive rhetoric and recent false allegations against Ukraine. Against this background, and taking into account the recent experience of Ukraine, we express our full understanding and support for Ukraine’s decision to invoke the risk reduction mechanism as foreseen in paragraph 16 of the Vienna Document. Voicing concerns about unusual military activities and the threatening posture of a neighbouring participating State is not a provocation but a legitimate right.

Regretfully, Russia is again not present here today to answer the pertinent questions posed by Ukraine and other interested participating States. We underline that responding in good faith to our common consultation mechanism as foreseen in Chapter III of the Vienna Document, a confidence- and security-building measure, is key to reducing risks and
dispelling concerns. Failing to comply with this commitment, refusing a meaningful dialogue, undermines the goals and the spirit of the Vienna Document and is disrespectful to the Organization and all participating States.

This week, another risk reduction mechanism process was activated by Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia with regard to unusual military activities in the Republic of Belarus. Although we appreciate that Belarus, in contrast to Russia, engaged in a dialogue, we regret that our Belarusian colleagues did not provide the necessary level of transparency on the numbers, size and scope of the military activities in the context of the exercise “Union Resolve 2022” and unspecified “border security measures” in the vicinity of the State border between Belarus and Ukraine. The latter is also a cause of serious concern which Russia could dispel if it participated in a constructive attitude in the meeting today.

At the meeting on 15 February, organized in accordance with paragraph 16.2 of the Vienna Document, which Russia did not attend, we posed a series of concrete questions in relation to Russia’s ongoing military build-up. Unanswered, these questions remain also valid today. We urge Russia to acknowledge these questions, which were also distributed for information to all participating States, and to provide substantial, verifiable answers to dispel our concerns.

We recall our principled position that the full implementation of the Minsk agreements is the only way forward. We underline Russia’s responsibility in this regard as a party to the conflict. We strongly support the efforts of both the Normandy format and the Trilateral Contact Group to find a peaceful resolution of the conflict, in full respect of Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders. The work of the OSCE’s Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine is of crucial importance and we call on Russia to ensure that the Mission can fully implement its mandate and has full freedom of movement and access to the entire territory of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders.

We recall our unwavering support to the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and independence of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders and call upon Russia to do likewise. We strongly condemn the clear violation of Ukrainian sovereignty and territorial integrity by Russia since February 2014 and the illegal annexation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol to the Russian Federation, which we will not recognize. Any further military aggression by Russia against Ukraine will have massive consequences and severe cost, including a wide array of sectoral, financial and individual restrictive measures.

Recommendations

As regards measures for clarifying the situation as well as halting activities that give rise to concern, the European Union and its Member States recommend to use all relevant provisions under the Vienna Document and other confidence- and security-building measures to the fullest, and in particular:

– To Russia:
To provide, in accordance with its commitments under the Vienna Document, full transparency on its military activities in the region, in particular about the total number of troops, major weapons and equipment systems involved in these activities, the units and formations these Russian military forces belong to, and the exact return date of Russian units and formations back to their peacetime locations;

To host a visit to the areas which are the cause of concern, including the exercise and training areas on the Russian-Ukrainian and Belarusian-Ukrainian borders, in accordance with paragraph 18 of the Vienna Document to dispel concerns about the unusual military activities in question, as well as open its territory for inspection visits where the specified area could be inspected for any potentially notifiable military activity;

To take significant and verifiable steps to de-escalate the situation and to engage in a meaningful dialogue and constructive consultations;

To provide information on the reported redeployment of Russian units from the locations of military exercises in the vicinity of Ukraine’s borders and in the illegally annexed Crimean peninsula and provide full transparency on these movements if confirmed, including the number of troops and equipment concerned by this redeployment and schedule for return of all remaining troops.

– To the participating States to use the verification mechanism as stipulated in Chapters IX and X of the Vienna Document 2011.

– To the participating States involved to regularly brief the FSC, in particular on military activities in border areas.

Mr. Chairperson, I kindly request that these recommendations and our statement today be attached to the journal of the day.

The candidate countries the Republic of North Macedonia¹, Montenegro¹ and Albania¹ and the EFTA countries Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway, members of the European Economic Area, as well as Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova and Georgia align themselves with this statement.

¹ The Republic of North Macedonia, Montenegro and Albania continue to be part of the Stabilisation and Association Process.
STATEMENT BY
THE DELEGATION OF ICELAND

Mr. Chairperson,

My delegation thanks the Chairperson of the Permanent Council and the Chairperson of the Forum for Security Co-operation for organizing today’s special joint meeting.

Although Iceland aligns itself with the statement by the European Union, I have requested the floor to make a few remarks in my national capacity.

Mr. Chairperson,

We have all agreed to our joint OSCE commitments, which are politically binding. Not only do these commitments reflect our obligations under international law: respecting them is also fundamental to the very security of our region. In this regard, the Vienna Document – and the measures that it contains for risk reduction, transparency and confidence- and security-building – plays a key role.

We emphasize that the risk reduction mechanisms outlined in the Vienna Document were designed for participating States to be able to voice concerns and find meaningful ways to ensure transparency, thereby dispelling such concerns and de-escalating tensions. The use of these mechanisms cannot be disregarded or interpreted as a hostile act.

Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have the full right to request clarification on any unusual and unscheduled activities of military significance taking place close to their borders, as provided by Chapter III, paragraph 16, of the Vienna Document, and to call on Russia and Belarus to provide substantive information regarding their unscheduled military activity.

Mr. Chairperson,

Iceland, like other peace-loving States, is deeply concerned about the tensions on the Ukrainian border and the risk of a military escalation. We urge all our partners to respect and make full use of the relevant political and diplomatic means to address this serious situation.

Thank you.
STATEMENT BY
THE DELEGATION OF GERMANY (ALSO ON BEHALF OF FRANCE)

While aligning itself with the statement and questions made by the European Union on behalf of the Member States, Germany wishes to intervene, also on behalf of France, to underline the following points.

Mr. Chairperson of the Permanent Council,
Mr. Chairperson of the Forum for Security Co-operation,
Dear colleagues,

Our rules-based security architecture in Europe, which has been built over decades, is under serious threat today. For several weeks, we, alongside other OSCE partners, have been observing continued Russian movements of troops and military equipment in Russia and Belarus, close to the Ukrainian borders, as well as on the territory of the illegally annexed Autonomous Republic of Crimea.

These unprecedented activities, which are unprovoked by Ukraine, are a cause for grave concern and threat perceptions, especially when elementary transparency and plausible explication are not provided.

It is exactly for such situations that the risk reduction mechanism of the Vienna Document was created. Ukraine was and is fully entitled to activate this mechanism in light of the Russian large-scale troops’ build-up and movements, and enjoys the full support of France and Germany in this endeavour.

Against this background, it is very disappointing that Russia has been boycotting this mechanism from the very beginning. Russia did not reply properly to the initial request of Ukraine, Russia contested the legitimacy of the procedure, Russia did not provide any information at all, Russia did not attend any meeting convened according to the rules, including today’s joint meeting of the Forum for Security Co-operation and the Permanent Council.

By completely lacking any engagement, Russia did not only not adhere to the rules and procedures of the Vienna Document as an important cornerstone of our collective and comprehensive security in Europe it committed to. It also displayed a great deal of disrespect for the OSCE, participating States and the rules-based international order.
We continue to urge the Russian Federation to provide a sufficient level of transparency on the size, scope, and purpose of its military activities near the border with Ukraine and in the illegally annexed Autonomous Republic of Crimea and contribute to dispelling the justified concerns of Ukraine and other participating States.

There is no other possibility than pursuing the diplomatic path for de-escalation and peaceful settlement. An open and frank exchange on mutual security concerns is needed. The OSCE with its comprehensive understanding of security and unique instruments at its hands can serve as an inclusive platform in this process.

With well-established formats such as the Forum for Security Co-operation and the Structured Dialogue, a long and successful record of talks and negotiations on arms control and confidence- and security-building measures, as well as the informal Renewed OSCE European Security Dialogue set up by the Chairperson-in-Office last week, the Organization stands ready for this dialogue. It is up to Russia to seize this opportunity.

We therefore call upon Russia to reconsider its approach and commit in good faith to live up to its politico-military commitments towards the OSCE and to work constructively and in the spirit of Helsinki with the OSCE participating States concerned.

Germany and France would like to reiterate their unwavering support for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and independence of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders, including its territorial waters. We take note of the announcement by the Russian authorities that some of the Russian troops currently deployed at Ukraine’s borders and in the illegally annexed Crimean peninsula will be returning to their home bases. We will hold Russia to its word, as for the time being convincing action in that regard by Russia is still lacking. We will continue to closely monitor developments on the ground.

In the current situation, it is crucial to get impartial information about developments in the conflict zone. The OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine (SMM) plays a key role in de-escalation efforts and as the eyes and ears of the international community. France and Germany will keep their seconded SMM personnel on the ground to keep the mission operable at this critical time. We reiterate the need to ensure free, safe, secure and unhindered access for the Mission in the entire territory of Ukraine and call on Russia to ensure that the Mission can carry out its mandate and have full access to non-government controlled areas.

We call for the full implementation of the Minsk agreements, starting with the unconditional observance of the ceasefire, as last stated in the declaration of the political advisors of the Normandy format of 26 January 2022. Yesterday’s unusual intensity of shelling close to the line of contact, in particular in Stanitsya Luhanska, including targeting a kindergarten, is highly preoccupying and is unacceptable. All participants of the Normandy format committed to the full implementation of the Minsk agreements and to the corresponding negotiation formats: the Normandy format and the Trilateral Contact Group.

We welcome commitments by the Ukrainian authorities to provide proposals on outstanding legislation required by the Minsk agreements. Ukraine would thereby contribute constructively to moving forward. We call on Russia to engage constructively as well and
fulfil all its commitments, including on humanitarian and security issues, in order to achieve progress in the full implementation of the Minsk agreements.

We express strong concern regarding the resolution of the Russian State Duma calling for the recognition by the President of the Russian Federation of the self-proclaimed “Peoples’ Republics” of Donetsk and Luhansk. We expect that the Russian Government as a party to the Minsk agreements will refrain from any such measures that would constitute a further violation of Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity and directly contradict the spirit and the letter of the Minsk agreements.

Both our countries are keeping up their efforts, within the Normandy format, and negotiations are continuing. Be assured that France and Germany’s commitment to find a lasting political solution to this conflict shall not falter.

To conclude, we support the OSCE Chairmanship-in-Office in its task to take into account all the participating States’ interventions today and reflect them into a dedicated report. Germany and France reaffirm their readiness to continue consultations based on the upcoming report and within the relevant provisions of the Vienna Document.

I kindly request this statement be attached to the journal of the meeting.

Thank you.
Ambassadors,
Dear colleagues,

Lithuania aligns itself with the statement delivered by France on behalf of the European Union. Allow me to add a few remarks in my national capacity.

First of all, I wish to extend my gratitude to the Chairpersons of the Permanent Council and the Forum for Security Co-operation.

Dear Adam and dear Farid, thank you for convening us today to discuss the concerns expressed by Ukraine vis-à-vis Russia. These have been very busy days and weeks. However, we the OSCE participating States should spare no effort to prevent further military escalation, which could well lead to full-scale aggression by Russia against Ukraine.

I also wish to welcome all the endeavours of the Polish OSCE Chairmanship, including the visits by the Chairperson-in-Office to Russia and Ukraine, and the early warning call by the Secretary General of the OSCE. No effort is too much when it comes to preventing war and preserving peace, no matter how fragile such peace may seem to be.

Like many other participating States around this table, Lithuania is gravely concerned about the continuous unusual and unprecedented concentration of Russian military forces close to the Ukrainian border, in the illegally annexed Crimean peninsula, in the Black Sea and in Belarus. Despite Russia’s statements about its plans to withdraw the troops, the reality is quite the opposite, since the number of troops in border areas is increasing. We need to see very concrete and immediate actions on the ground. Lithuania calls on the Russian Federation to take steps to de-escalate the situation near the Ukrainian border, and to immediately return its units and formations to their normal peacetime locations.

Russia’s continued aggression against Ukraine, which will soon enter its ninth year, its unprecedented aggressive military posturing around the Ukrainian border, its extremely hostile rhetoric and impositions aimed at curtailing Ukraine’s sovereign decisions with regard to its foreign and security policy orientation are in blatant violation of a number of OSCE principles. Russia’s demands vis-à-vis Ukraine stand in stark contradiction to our consensual
agreement that every OSCE participating State is entitled to choose freely its own security arrangements.

Lithuania has strongly supported Ukraine’s request to invoke the mechanism for consultation and co-operation as regards unusual military activities provided for by the chapter on risk reduction in the Vienna Document. In so doing, Ukraine demonstrated its readiness to engage in consultations aimed at clarifying possible misunderstandings and reducing unpredictability and military risks. This is how all OSCE participating States should act.

Russia’s refusal to provide concrete answers in a timely and proper manner, and to participate in the consultations on Tuesday and in today’s meeting, is inconsistent with the provisions of the Vienna Document. This is yet another example of Russia’s failure to implement the confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs) agreed on by all participating States to address such situations.

Instead of taking part in dialogue, Russia has chosen to use its CSBM notifications as an opportunity to accuse Ukraine of allegedly preparing to resolve the conflict in Donbas by force. We deplore Russia’s attempts to misuse the Vienna Document and the OSCE Communications Network as yet more instruments for spreading its false narratives and fabricating pretexts for an invasion of Ukraine.

We also deplore the fact that Belarus, a neighbour of both Ukraine and Lithuania, has lately subscribed to Russia’s aggressive stance against Ukraine. The unusual and unscheduled joint Russian-Belarusian military exercise “Union Resolve 2022” belongs to the same aggressive and non-transparent military playbook of Russia. The exercise is part of a broader strategy by Russia to increase pressure on Ukraine and the West. The statements by the regime in Minsk to the effect that the troops involved in this exercise could be used against Ukraine and the NATO member countries are very disturbing. We continue calling on Belarus to use all the available tools to increase military transparency and reduce tensions.

Chairpersons,

Allow me to reiterate that Russia must return to the negotiating table – both within the Trilateral Contact Group and under the Normandy format – and start implementing its own commitments in good faith. This conflict instigated by Russia will not be resolved if Russia continues to deny its role in it, and if Russia neglects its commitments undertaken within the aforementioned formats. Russia is a party to this conflict, not a mediator. It is high time for Russia to match the political will demonstrated by Ukraine in seeking to settle this conflict peacefully. The OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine must be allowed to continue its monitoring activities without any impediments for its monitors or technical assets. Moreover, we strongly condemn the Russian State Duma’s decision to call on President Putin to recognize the non-government-controlled areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine as independent entities. Such recognition would be a clear violation of the Minsk agreements.

On top of an already highly tense situation, yesterday a Ukrainian kindergarten and other civilian objects were shelled. We condemn this horrifying act perpetrated by Russian-backed militants. The Russian Government cannot at one and the same time blame
others for not implementing the Minsk agreements and sponsor those who keep violating them.

Lithuania calls on the Russian Federation to take steps to de-escalate the situation on the ground, and to engage in a meaningful dialogue and constructive consultations. We exhort Russia to implement fully the provisions of the Vienna Document in both letter and spirit.

In closing, I wish once again to express my country’s unwavering support for and commitment to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine. Only the people of Ukraine can decide the future of their country and its domestic, foreign and security policy.

Chairpersons, I would kindly ask that this statement be attached to the journal of today’s meeting.

Thank you.
STATEMENT BY
THE DELEGATION OF ROMANIA

Distinguished Chairpersons,

    Romania fully subscribes to the statement made on behalf of the European Union. In addition, I would like to make the following remarks, in my national capacity.

    Let me start by thanking the Polish OSCE Chairmanship and the Azerbaijani Chairmanship of the Forum for Security Co-operation (FSC) for convening this timely meeting at the request of the delegation of Ukraine. Indeed, such a discussion is urgently needed at this juncture.

    Romania has fully supported the activation of the Chapter III mechanisms by Ukraine. This step demonstrates Ukraine’s strong commitment to the use of dialogue and the established transparency measures within the OSCE to de-escalate and overcome the current situation.

    We regret that the Russian Federation is not following the same path and has decided not to participate in the meeting. By doing so, Russia not live up to the commitments it freely subscribed to.

    The mechanism outlined in Chapter III of the Vienna Document concerning consultation and co-operation as regards unusual military activities is aimed at dispelling concerns over such activities. After two recent activations of this mechanism, which included two consultation meetings and one special joint meeting of the Permanent Council and the FSC on Wednesday, we remain deeply concerned about the large-scale, unprovoked and unjustified Russian military build-up in and around Ukraine, in the Black Sea and in Belarus.

    Therefore, substantial responses and in good faith to the legitimate questions addressed both to Belarus and the Russian Federation under the aforementioned risk reduction mechanism, which is a confidence-building measure in its own right. There is no such thing as an “unjustified activation” of this mechanism.

    As a littoral country of the Black Sea, Romania is particularly concerned that the Russian Federation has continued to consolidate its military presence and activities in the illegally annexed Crimea, alongside its naval presence and amphibious capabilities in the
region. As a result, huge maritime areas of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov are blocked, under the pretext of live-fire exercises, in violation of international norms and principles such as freedom of navigation. In our assessment, these activities cannot and should not be regarded as regular military activities and we should continue to follow developments closely.

We therefore urge Russia to immediately de-escalate tensions, to abide by international law, and to engage constructively in dialogue through the established international mechanisms, including the mechanisms under the Vienna Document. Russia should, without delay, host a visit to the areas of concern on Ukraine’s borders in accordance with paragraph 18 of the Vienna Document and reopen its territory for verification activities under the Vienna Document, including specified area inspections.

Finally, I would like to reiterate our unwavering support for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and independence of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders. At the same time, I wish to reiterate Romania’s strong support for a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Ukraine, in line with OSCE principles and commitments. Full implementation of the Minsk agreements is the only way forward, dialogue is key and the OSCE remains the privileged platform in this respect.

Distinguished Chairpersons,

I kindly request that this statement be attached to the journal of the meeting.

Thank you.
STATEMENT BY
THE DELEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Thank you, Chairpersons,

The United States fully supports Ukraine’s decision to call for this joint meeting of the Forum for Security Co-operation and Permanent Council in accordance with the Vienna Document’s risk reduction mechanism for “unusual and unscheduled military activities.”

We assess that Russia probably has massed between 169,000 and 190,000 personnel in and near Ukraine as compared with about 100,000 on 30 January. This estimate includes military troops along the border, in Belarus and in occupied Crimea; Russian National Guard and other internal security units deployed to these areas; and Russian-led forces in eastern Ukraine. While Russia has sought to downplay or deceive the world about their ground and air preparations, the Russian military has publicized its large-scale naval exercises in the Black Sea, Baltic Sea and the Arctic. Russia has publicly said the Black Sea exercise alone involves more than 30 ships, and we assess that amphibious landing ships from the Northern and Baltic Fleets were sent to the Black Sea to augment forces there.

Colleagues, this is the most significant military mobilization in Europe since the Second World War. Yet the Russian Federation absents itself from today’s important joint meeting and refuses to shed further light on its unprecedented military build-up. Instead, it has characterized the request for clarification of its military operations under the Vienna Document, which I would remind everyone is a mechanism that Moscow voluntarily signed up to, as a “provocation.”

Rather than provide transparency and engage in risk reduction, Russia has chosen to provide disinformation and engage in denial and deception. It cynically tries to portray Ukraine, NATO and the United States as aggressors at the same time as it positions a massive strike force, threatening to invade its neighbour. This of course would follow its invasion and occupation of Georgia in 2008 and its invasion and occupation of Ukraine in 2014.

We are aware that Russia is intent on creating a pretext to justify an invasion into Ukraine. We have reports from multiple sources that provide detail on Russia’s efforts to fabricate supposed “Ukrainian provocations” and shape a public narrative that would justify a Russian invasion. Starting several weeks ago, we acquired information that the Russian Government was planning to stage a fabricated attack by Ukrainian military or security forces.
against Russian sovereign territory, or against Russian-speaking people in separatist-controlled territory, to justify military action against Ukraine. Just this week, we have also seen an uptick in cyber operations against Ukraine’s defence and banking sectors.

Therefore, we must resolutely rebut the false narrative about a Ukrainian “escalation,” which finds no evidence whatsoever in the reports of the OSCE’s Special Monitoring Mission. We must stay vigilant about the possibility of a false-flag operation to spuriously justify an attack, and beware of false claims of “genocide,” which instrumentalize a term that should never be taken lightly in this chamber. We must be circumspect about Russia’s claims to be withdrawing units even as the Russian Federation substantially buttresses its posture elsewhere on Ukraine’s borders.

Moscow’s rejection of its Vienna Document risk-reduction commitments reinforces our grave concerns about the implications of Russia’s highly unusual military activities. The Russian Federation is now in a position to further invade the sovereign territory of Ukraine at any moment, if President Putin so chooses. Russia’s absence from this joint meeting and the previous Vienna Document meeting on Wednesday; its unwillingness to provide any credible explanation for its large, unusual and unscheduled force build-up; and its unwillingness to notify these activities or open them up to inspections or observation under the Vienna Document is the height of irresponsibility and non-transparency. Moscow’s silence today strikes at the very foundation of the Vienna Document. Indeed, menacing the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine undermines the principles and commitments to which we have all subscribed in the Helsinki Final Act and the United Nations Charter.

To dispel our serious concerns regarding the goals of the Russian Federation’s large-scale and unusual military activities in regions adjacent to Ukraine, we sought concrete responses to the specific questions that we posed on 15 February regarding the following:

1. The precise locations of these operations;
2. The dates of completion for the operations;
3. The number and types of military formations and units involved, as well as dates when these units will return to their permanent peacetime locations;
4. An explanation of Russia’s statement that the Vienna Document Chapter III mechanism for “unusual military activities” does not apply to this massive build-up;
5. In light of the concentration of Russian amphibious forces in the Black Sea, clarification as to whether the Russian Federation intends to conduct an amphibious landing and, if so, where, with how many troops, and why the Russian Federation did not notify the activity in advance;
6. An explanation why the Russian Federation, which – ironically enough – has itself complained about “provocative exercises” near sensitive border areas, is conducting an unannounced military build-up within mere kilometres of Ukraine’s borders for the second time in less than a year.
We believe it is neither credible nor possible that such a large number of Russian forces could fall short of Vienna Document thresholds for notification and observation. We have grave concern about these highly unusual and provocative military activities.

As we have underscored previously, NATO Allies, in stark contrast to the Russian Federation today, are committed to transparency and have provided comprehensive information on their large military exercises. This year’s “Cold Response”, “Defender Europe” and “Saber Strike” exercises were all notified in accordance with Vienna Document procedures. Allies and partners stand by their arms control and confidence-building commitments and regularly notify even their below-threshold participation in these exercises and activities.

Under the Vienna Document, we all committed to respond in good faith to the concerns that other States raise regarding unusual military activities as part of our collective efforts to reduce the risk of miscalculation, lower tensions and build confidence.

Among such immediate steps to reduce risk of miscalculation and lower tensions, the United States recommends that the Russian Federation:

1. Answer the specific questions posed in the F10 request by Ukraine regarding the number of troops, major weapons and equipment systems and units involved from the Russian armed forces, as well as all questions raised in the Chairmanship’s F14 report, including those pertaining to command and control and the date of return of these troops to peacetime locations;

2. Account for all military activities associated with its deployments in the vicinity of Ukraine and other nearby neighbours;

3. Host a visit, including a helicopter overflight, under paragraph 18 of the Vienna Document, to dispel the concerns of participating States present here today;

4. Broaden the scope of its paragraph 18 actions to encompass visits under Chapter IX and Chapter X verification measures, to include aerial inspections of areas of concern, and confirmation of the redeployment of all forces to peacetime locations;

5. Brief the Forum for Security Co-operation on its redeployment of forces.

6. We recommend that Russia join all participating States to endorse a full and open dialogue on modernizing and improving military transparency, which is so clearly lacking at the present time.

7. Finally, we recommend that Russia immediately de-escalate its military posture in and around Ukraine by withdrawing its troops and equipment and fulfilling in good faith its Minsk agreement obligations.

Thank you, Chairpersons. Please attach this statement, including our recommendations, to the journal of the day.
STATEMENT BY
THE DELEGATION OF ALBANIA

Thank you, Chairpersons,

Albania fully aligns itself with the statement delivered on behalf of the European Union, but I should like to add a few brief remarks in my national capacity.

Indeed, a discussion on the ongoing unusual military activities of the Russian Federation in and around Ukraine is urgently needed. The information provided to date can hardly be considered adequate.

In this regard, we fully support Ukraine’s invocation of the risk reduction mechanism provided for in paragraph 16 of the Vienna Document. We thank the Polish and Azerbaijani Chairmanships for convening this joint meeting of the Permanent Council and the Forum for Security Co-operation today. We likewise support the earlier invocation of this mechanism by Lithuania, which it did also on behalf of Latvia and Estonia.

The urgent need for transparency, for the reduction of military risks and elimination of misunderstandings, and for the building of confidence among the participating States makes the Vienna Document today as relevant as it could possibly be. Hence the importance of adhering to its provisions.

We urge Russia to reverse its unprovoked and unjustified military build-up and to demonstrate full transparency in order to dispel the serious and legitimate concerns about the activities in question. We call on it to make use of the full range of OSCE instruments to defuse tensions and honour the commitments that we have all undertaken.

We reiterate Albania’s firm and unchanged position of support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders, including Crimea and its territorial waters. We emphasize our continued commitment to reaching a peaceful, diplomatic resolution of the conflict.

I kindly request that this statement be attached to the journal of today’s meeting.

Thank you.
85th Joint Meeting of the PC and the FSC
FSC-PC Journal No. 72, Agenda item 2

STATEMENT BY
THE DELEGATION OF SWEDEN

Mr. Chairperson,
Dear colleagues,

Sweden fully aligns itself with the EU statement and would in its national capacity like to make a few remarks.

Sweden would like to thank the Chairmanship for organizing, for the second time in a week and in accordance with Chapter III paragraph 16 in the Vienna Document, a special joint meeting of the Forum for Security Co-operation and the Permanent Council. This meeting is necessary only because the prior steps on risk reduction have not led to requested clarifications and the easing of concerns among the participating States.

Russia’s unusual military activity along Ukraine’s borders and in the illegally annexed Crimea has an influence on the security of the whole region. It is therefore legitimate to ask questions and use the tools that are available for risk reduction.

I also thank Ukraine as well as Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia for activating these important risk reduction mechanisms. These meetings show that the absolute majority of participating States share the same concerns regarding the current situation.

We note with real disappointment that Russia, in this challenging and tense situation, chooses not to participate and engage in dialogue. Today would have been an excellent opportunity to present the intentions, timings, locations and numbers of the current military build-up.

Ignoring the legitimate concerns of participating States in no way contributes to transparency and confidence-building. Calling for deepened dialogue, as we do today, can never be seen as an escalating factor.

Mr. Chairperson,

We find it discouraging that the lack of adherence to the spirit of the Vienna Document by some participating States is visible once again, something we unfortunately
saw also during 2021. When it is claimed that the current situation is not a matter for the Vienna Document, that begs the question when the right time actually would be?

I would also like to point out that the Vienna Document does not give a participating State interpretive precedence if another participating State raises concern regarding what it sees as unusual military activity.

It is thereby not up to the responding participating State to judge if the current situation causes apprehension or not. On the contrary, it must, in good faith, try to clarify and give as much information as possible regarding, in this case, the massing of troops.

If we cannot recognize and adhere to this, the whole purpose of the guidance in the Vienna Document and its crucial role to enhance confidence and security is seriously undermined.

Let us instead use our tools as intended. Engaging in an honest and sincere dialogue in accordance with the Vienna Document Chapter III is a good start.

Thank you, Mr. Chairperson.

I kindly request this statement to be attached to the journal of the day.
STATEMENT BY
THE DELEGATION OF BULGARIA

Mr. Chairperson of the Permanent Council,
Mr. Chairperson of the Forum for Security Co-operation,
Distinguished colleagues,

I should like to extend our appreciation to both Chairmanships for convening this special joint meeting at the request of the delegation of Ukraine.

Bulgaria fully aligns itself with the statement delivered on behalf of the European Union and the recommendations contained therein. I should like to add some remarks in my national capacity.

The worsening security situation – in particular, the massive unprovoked Russian military build-up in close proximity to Ukraine’s State borders, including in Belarus, and the increased Russian military presence in the illegally annexed Crimean peninsula and in parts of the Black Sea – is a matter of grave concern. We urge Russia to revert to full compliance with OSCE principles, to fulfil its commitments, to provide much-needed transparency and to take urgent measures aimed at de-escalation.

The support of Bulgaria for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders is unwavering. We commend Ukraine for its remarkable restraint and fully support its determined efforts to reduce risks and defuse tensions by using the mechanism provided for in the Vienna Document.

As a Black Sea littoral State, Bulgaria is especially interested in de-escalation in the region. We sincerely regret that the Russian Federation decided not to make use of the opportunity to attend the consultations held on 15 February 2022 in accordance with Chapter III, paragraph 16.2, of the Vienna Document. It would have been able to dispel the concerns by being fully transparent and by providing information about the ongoing large-scale military build-up. Today’s meeting could also have been such an opportunity.

I should like once again to recall that our Organization has been guided for decades by a robust set of norms and commitments. They have worked thanks to transparency, predictability, mutual accountability and trust. We regard the Renewed OSCE European Security Dialogue process recently launched by the Polish Chairmanship as an attempt to
reinstate these norms and commitments in our discussions against a challenging security backdrop.

Allow me to take this opportunity to reiterate Bulgaria’s full commitment to the principles and norms underlying arms control regimes and confidence- and security-building measures, which are aimed at reducing risks and increasing predictability and trust in the politico-military sphere.

Chairpersons,

I request that this statement be attached to the journal of today’s meeting.
STATEMENT BY
THE DELEGATION OF DENMARK

Thank you, Chairpersons,

Denmark fully subscribes to the statement delivered on behalf of the European Union, and to the recommendations made therein. In my national capacity, though, I should like to add the following:

The Vienna Document is the OSCE’s key document setting out confidence- and security-building measures, notably risk reduction, openness and transparency.

We strongly support Ukraine’s invocation of Chapter III of the Vienna Document. This clearly demonstrates its commitment to engaging in meaningful dialogue and using the established transparency mechanisms to defuse tensions, even in the face of Russia’s aggression.

We call on Russia to revert to full compliance with OSCE principles, to fulfil its commitments, and to take the necessary steps to de-escalate the situation. Russia’s continued failure to do so poses a grave threat to the security of the whole OSCE area not seen since the Cold War.

Chairpersons, I kindly request that this statement be attached to the journal of the day.
STATEMENT BY
THE DELEGATION OF THE NETHERLANDS

Mr. Chairperson,

Thank you for convening this meeting and for giving me the floor.

Dear colleagues,

The Netherlands fully aligns itself with the statement delivered earlier on behalf of the European Union. We support all the recommendations made in that statement. My delegation is not in the habit of repeating what has already been stated on our behalf, but on this particular topic, I should like to explicitly add my voice to those of the delegations that have expressed their deep regret at the refusal by the Russian Federation to provide a meaningful, credible and substantive response to the justified request by Ukraine. This blatant refusal to make full use of the Vienna Document as an important confidence-building measure is extremely worrisome and merely adds to the tensions in our region, at a time when de-escalation is direly needed.
STATEMENT BY
THE DELEGATION OF LATVIA

Chairpersons,

Latvia fully aligns itself with the statement delivered on behalf of the European Union; however, I should like to add the following remarks in my national capacity.

We thank the Chairmanships of the Permanent Council and the Forum for Security Co-operation (FSC) for convening this meeting at Ukraine’s request in accordance with Chapter III of the Vienna Document.

We fully support Ukraine’s legitimate request for information from Russia about its unprecedented, massive military build-up and unusual military activities in and around Ukraine.

Latvia is following closely, and with growing concern, the security situation in eastern Ukraine, Russian troop movements, and the large-scale and highly unusual military build-up on the borders of Ukraine, including the Ukrainian border with Belarus, and in the illegally annexed Crimean peninsula.

Allow me to remind you that, owing to our concern about the gravity of this situation, Latvia submitted, jointly with Lithuania and Estonia, a similar formal request for additional explanations about the unusual military activities in Belarus, including those conducted jointly with Russia in close proximity to the Ukrainian border.

Following the unsatisfactory response received from Belarus, Lithuania, also on behalf of Latvia and Estonia, called for consultations with Belarus on 14 February 2022, and then also for a special joint meeting of the Permanent Council and the FSC, which took place just two days ago.

Despite engaging in dialogue, which we see as a positive sign, Belarus regrettably did not provide the information we requested on the extent of the ongoing military exercise, the major weapon and equipment systems involved, the time frame within which the formations and units of the Russian armed forces intend to return to their original locations in Russia, and other aspects of concern and alarm to not only the Baltic countries, but also to other OSCE participating States.
Although Belarus along with many other OSCE participating States attended the aforementioned meetings, Russia did not. Russia also failed to declare its participation in large-scale military exercise conducted jointly with Belarus.

Chairpersons,

We have been witnessing the massing of troops along Ukraine’s border and in the illegally occupied territory of Crimea for now the second time in the past twelve months, and it is therefore natural that we should ask Russia about the purpose of these unannounced and unusual large-scale military activities.

While Russia and Belarus have used the COVID-19 pandemic as a pretext for suspending arms control activities and also declining inspection requests by Latvia, thereby evading their arms control commitments, the challenges of the pandemic have not prevented them from concentrating very large numbers of troops.

The Russian Federation’s refusal to respond to Ukraine’s request for information in a meaningful way, or to participate in the consultations that took place on 15 February 2022 with a view to allaying concerns, highlights its true intentions – namely, to deliberately put pressure on Ukraine and increase tensions throughout the region.

How can we trust Russia when its actions belie its words? Well, this is certainly not the first time that Russia’s neighbours have asked themselves this rhetorical question.

Respect for internationally recognized borders, the peaceful resolution of conflicts, trust and transparency are all at the core of the OSCE’s founding principles and commitments. The Vienna Document, which all participating States have signed up to, was expressly designed to assist us in abiding by these principles and commitments, and its risk reduction mechanisms are of particular importance today.

Russia, though, is taking a highly selective approach to its international commitments and arms control obligations.

Latvia emphasizes the importance of openness and the full implementation of arms control treaties and commitments. In order to ensure international peace and security, States must fully respect their international obligations and treaties, including their arms control commitments and international humanitarian law.

In this deeply troubling context, Latvia strongly supports the recommendations set out in the EU statement on appropriate measures – as referred to in paragraph 16.3.1.2 of the Vienna Document – for stabilizing the situation and halting activities that give rise to concern.

In addition, measures based on the OSCE document “Stabilizing Measures for Localized Crisis Situations”, such as transparency measures, should be applied by the Russian Federation – in particular, the following:
1. Providing regular extraordinary information on military activities in the border area, including the numbers of military formations and units, and their locations; details of relevant weapon and equipment systems and personnel strengths; information on the stationing of major weapon and equipment systems in the border area; and detailed information on the command structure, broken down to the lowest possible level;

2. Providing regular briefings to the FSC on military activities in the relevant border area;

3. Hosting a voluntary visit to allay concerns about the Russian Federation’s military activities, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 18 of the Vienna Document 2011, and providing the necessary transparency to de-escalate the situation.

These measures would contribute to confidence- and security-building and help to dispel mistrust among participating States in the region.

We urge the Russian Federation to de-escalate the situation, and to engage in constructive consultations in accordance with the Vienna Document’s provisions on risk reduction, which the Russian Federation has itself committed to.

Latvia expresses once again its strong and unwavering support for Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders.

In closing, I should like to cite a poem written by the Ukrainian poet Anastasia Dmytruk in 2014, entitled “We will never be brothers”. The author was born in 1991 – the year in which Ukraine regained its independence from the Soviet Union. I shall cite excerpts from it in Russian, the language in which it was written (see English translation below):

Никогда мы не будем братьями
ни по родине, ни по матери.
Духа нет у вас быть свободными –
нам не стать с вами даже сводными.

Вы себя окрестили «старшими» –
нам бы младшими, да не вашими.
Вас так много, а, жаль, безликые.
Вы огромные, мы – великие.

[…]

А у нас всех глаза бесстрашные,
без оружия мы опасные.
Повзрослели и стали смелыми
все у снайперов под прицелами.

[…]

(English translation of the excerpt:

“Never will we be brothers, neither by homeland nor by mother.
There is no spirit of freedom for you –
we cannot be even half-siblings.
You yourselves consecrated yourselves “the older”,
we want to be younger, but not your.
You are many, and, alas, faceless.
You are huge, we – huge.

[…]

And our eyes are fearless,
without weapons we are dangerous.
We have grown and become brave
all under the sniper’s sights.”)
Вам шлют новые указания –
a у нас тут огни восстания.
У вас Царь, у нас – Демократия.
Никогда мы не будем братьями.

I kindly ask to attach my statement to the journal of the day.

Thank you, Chairpersons.

English translation of the poem:

We will never be brothers,
Neither by fatherland, nor by mother.
You don’t have the spirit to be free –
You and we cannot even be allies.

You have proclaimed yourself to be senior –
We may be the younger, but we are not yours.
You are so many, but, what a pity, all so faceless.
You are big, but we are grand.

[...]

Our eyes are fearless,
Unarmed we are still dangerous.
We have grown, matured and become courageous
At the gunpoint of a sniper.

[...]

You keep getting new orders,
We have flames of uprising burning here.
You have a Tsar, we have Democracy.
We will never be brothers.
STATEMENT BY
THE DELEGATION OF ITALY

Mr. Co-Chairpersons,

Italy aligns itself with the statement made on behalf of the European Union. I should now like to add a few remarks in a national capacity.

Italy is deeply engaged in international efforts to find a diplomatic solution to the current crisis, as demonstrated by the recent visits of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Luigi Di Maio, to Ukraine and Russia. We are committed to working together to avoid a conflict, which would have devastating consequences for the entire OSCE area.

In this regard, I should like to stress the crucial importance of the work of the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine and reiterate Italy’s full support for the Mission. We greatly appreciate the contribution of our monitors, who remain on the ground to ensure that the Mission can continue its activities and fulfil its mandate.

We continue to monitor closely the deteriorating security situation in Ukraine. Russia’s military build-up and troop movements near the border with Ukraine, as well as increased Russian military presence and naval exercises in the Black Sea and on the illegally annexed Crimean peninsula, cannot be considered normal military activities and raise serious security concerns.

The Vienna Document is a key tool among those available to our Organization to address these concerns. It constitutes one of the pillars of the OSCE’s architecture of confidence- and security-building measures. All the participating States subscribed to the Vienna Document with the aim of reducing military risks and misperceptions. The current situation is a clear example of when such a valuable tool should be used.

We believe that the full implementation of the Vienna Document represents an opportunity for Russia to demonstrate transparency and ease the current tensions in the region. Acting on the recommendations proposed by the European side would be a real step in the right direction.
Mr. Co-Chairpersons, I kindly request that this statement be attached to the journal of the meeting.

Thank you.
Thank you, Chairpersons,

Ireland fully aligns with the statement by the European Union and would like to make the following remarks in our national capacity.

Ireland welcomes the convening of this joint meeting of the Forum for Security Co-operation and the Permanent Council by the Polish and Azerbaijani Chairmanships at the request of the delegation of Ukraine. We express our full support for Ukraine’s decision to invoke the risk reduction mechanism under Chapter III of the Vienna Document 2011.

We remain gravely concerned about the alarming security situation in and around Ukraine.

We are following very closely and with serious concern the unprecedented and large-scale military build-up near the border with Ukraine, Russia’s increased military presence in the Black Sea, in the illegally annexed Crimean peninsula and the deployment of combat forces, and joint drills with Belarus. The scale of these activities is concerning. We urge the Russian Federation to take the necessary steps to de-escalate the situation and to engage immediately in meaningful dialogue and constructive consultations. We need to see sustained and credible moves on the ground toward de-escalation. Genuine de-escalation will imply a significant withdrawal of both troops and equipment.

All of us as participating States have signed up to the Vienna Document precisely to reduce military risks and misperceptions, to improve understanding of threat perceptions and to build trust among participating States. Indeed, it constitutes a key element of our common security. It is regrettable that Russia has not provided substantive explanations, in accordance with the provisions of the Vienna Document on risk reduction.

We are extremely disappointed with the Russian Federation’s disregard of the common OSCE commitments on military transparency it has signed up to and their unwillingness to engage in institutionalized and commonly agreed processes to dispel tensions and concerns regarding its ongoing military build-up.
This refusal of the Russian Federation to engage in meaningful dialogue does not contribute to efforts to de-escalate. We therefore call on Russia to engage in good faith based on the OSCE politico-military commitments that we have all mutually agreed.

Co-Chairpersons, Ireland’s support for Ukraine’s sovereignty, territorial integrity and right to choose its own foreign and security policy path remains unwavering.

I kindly ask that this statement be attached to the journal of the meeting.
STATEMENT BY
THE DELEGATION OF GEORGIA

Dear Co-Chairpersons,

While Georgia aligns itself with the statement delivered on behalf of the European Union statement, allow me to make the following remarks in my national capacity.

We thank the Chairmanships of the Permanent Council and the Forum for Security Co-operation for organizing this joint meeting.

As indicated at the special meeting on 15 February, we are extremely concerned over the mobilization of Russian military forces and equipment in Ukraine, including the temporarily occupied Crimea and around the country. The Secretary General’s letter of 14 February providing early warning about the risks of possible escalation (SEC.GAL/25/22) attests to the gravity of the situation.

Georgia welcomes Ukraine’s decision to use the mechanism under paragraph 16.1 of the Vienna Document 2011 and seek clarification regarding these unusual military activities. The Vienna Document is a key instrument of military confidence-building between the participating States and it is the most suitable tool for addressing situations such as this. Having said that, we regret that the Russian Federation chose to disregard its commitments and did not provide answers to the questions raised by Ukraine. More so, Russia refused to participate in the meeting organized by the Chairmanship on Tuesday as well as in today’s meeting.

Russia’s decision not to engage adds to the concerns over the intent and nature of its unusual and provocative military activities.

In closing, I would like to reiterate Georgia’s unwavering support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders.

Recommendations

We recommend that the best use be made of all the relevant provisions of the Vienna Document and any other relevant confidence- and security-building measures, and that
immediate and effective steps be taken to de-escalate the situation. In particular, we recommend Russia to:

– Provide answers to the questions raised by Ukraine in its F10 notification (CBM/UA/22/0014/F10/O), together with any other relevant information, so as to explain the activity in question;

– Host visits in line with paragraph 18 of the Vienna Document and inspections to dispel the concerns that have arisen.

Co-Chairpersons, I kindly ask that my statement be attached to the journal of the day.

Thank you.
STATEMENT BY
THE DELEGATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

Thank you, Mr. Chairperson. I would like to start by thanking you, the Chairperson-in-Office and your team for your efforts to convene the series of important and urgent meetings that have unfortunately been required this week.

Mr. Chairperson, we are all fully aware of the gravity and scale of the unusual and unscheduled Russian military activity being conducted along Ukraine’s borders, and in illegally annexed Crimea. And we remain gravely concerned about its true intent. Russia, and Russia alone, has created the hostile and fragile security environment in which the risk of miscalculation continues to grow every day. It is having a destabilizing impact on the entire OSCE area.

Russia’s repeated refusal to address participating States’ legitimate concerns over the past three months unfortunately leads us to draw the only logical conclusion – that Russia’s intentions are malign.

Mr. Chairperson, we are clear that any Russian military incursion into Ukraine would be a massive strategic mistake and would come at a severe cost. In the face of this, we must commend Ukraine for their remarkable restraint and fully support their determined efforts to reduce risk and de-escalate tensions through use of this mechanism. They are our friends and partners.

Mr. Chairperson, at the meeting the Chairmanship chaired on Tuesday, in which 44 participating States took part, Ukraine and a number of other States raised specific concerns and called on Russia to answer specific questions. These are contained in the Chairmanship’s report, CBM/PL/22/0004/F14/O, and unfortunately remain unanswered. If Russia genuinely sought a diplomatic resolution to the crisis, it would answer them genuinely and constructively.

Unfortunately, Russia’s refusal to do so is just one example of its abhorrent behaviour and disregard for established confidence- and security-building measures; measures that Russia itself freely signed up to. We saw this behaviour borne further out at the Forum for Security Co-operation on Wednesday when the Russian delegation stated that it would not and would never take part in the Vienna Document risk reduction mechanism.
Whilst Russia unfortunately has precedence for refusing to take part in Chapter III proceedings, we are clear such statements, which appear to reject even the possibility of offering transparency, are wholly unacceptable, undermine the entire OSCE, and we condemn them in the strongest terms.

We call on Russia to return to full compliance with OSCE principles, to fulfil its commitments, and to take urgent de-escalatory measures. Russia’s continued failure to do so poses a serious threat to the security of the whole OSCE area not seen since the Cold War.

Recommendations

We have the following recommendations, that:

1. Russia abandon its attempts at coercive diplomacy, de-escalate now and engage in meaningful dialogue;

2. Russia recognize that the OSCE remains the appropriate, and importantly an inclusive and equal platform for discussions on European security, and participates in the Chairperson-in-Office’s Renewed OSCE European Security Dialogue in this regard;

3. Russia return to full compliance with OSCE principles and fulfil its Vienna Document commitments, including the Chapter III risk reduction mechanism and transparency around large-scale exercises;

4. Russia should answer the referenced questions contained in the Chairmanship’s report CBM/PL/22/0004/F14/O) without delay;

5. Russia should, without delay, host a visit to the areas of concern on Ukraine’s borders in accordance with paragraph 18 of the Vienna Document;

6. Russia should reopen its territory for Vienna Document verification activity, including specified area inspections.

I ask that this statement and these recommendations be attached to the journal of the day.
STATEMENT BY
THE DELEGATION OF NORWAY

Chairpersons,
Colleagues,

Norway has aligned itself with the statement delivered on behalf of the European Union and fully subscribes to its content and recommendations. In my national capacity, though, I should like to underline the following:

We are disappointed at the Russian Federation’s failure to respond to the questions raised in various notifications and statements, and at its decision not to participate in the meetings held on Tuesday and today. We are deeply concerned about the Russian Federation’s flouting of both the letter and the spirit of the Vienna Document, including the risk reduction mechanism provided for in Chapter III, paragraph 16.

The military build-up in and around Ukraine and the incendiary rhetoric coming from Moscow are deeply worrying. The Russian Government has the clear option of choosing diplomacy.

Norway shares Ukraine’s legitimate security concerns about the unusual and unscheduled military activity of the Russian Federation close to the Ukrainian border.

The security situation is alarming – not only for the people of Ukraine, but also for the people in the Russian Federation and in the entire OSCE area. We must make use of the available tools to de-escalate the situation. We, therefore, recommend and urge Russia to come to the negotiating table, engage in dialogue, answer the questions raised, demonstrate transparency and take part in the implementation of the Vienna Document.

The disregard for OSCE commitments and mechanisms that we are currently seeing from the Russian Federation is further contributing to the degradation of confidence and trust in bilateral and multilateral relations, and undermining the concept of equal and indivisible security in Europe.
I certainly echo the point made by my Swedish colleague, namely that it is not for one participating State to decide by itself when the Vienna Document is applicable. We are all in this together.

Thank you.
STATEMENT BY
THE DELEGATION OF TURKEY

Thank you, Mr. Chairperson,

As we have already expressed in the meeting organized in accordance with the Vienna Document, Chapter III, paragraph 16, on 15 February 2022, my country strongly supports the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine, including Crimea and its territorial waters.

Ukraine’s independence, sovereignty and political unity, in line with the OSCE commitments and international law, must be respected.

We are going through a crisis which requires all to act in restraint. Dialogue channels should be kept open. All participating States – without exception – should focus on diplomacy and act with prudence. We have to take wise and careful steps to de-escalate the ongoing tension.

My country will continue to engage in and constructively contribute to all diplomatic efforts to de-escalate the tension. Meanwhile, we will also continue our bilateral talks and contacts with all relevant sides at all levels and in every occasion available.

The OSCE is a suitable platform for dialogue and consultation processes. The Renewed OSCE European Security Dialogue process initiated by the Polish Chairmanship provides common ground to that end. We call on all the participating States to seize the opportunity and engage actively in and with good faith.

Apart from that, all relevant confidence- and security-building measures (CSBM) mechanisms, including those within the Vienna Document context, must be fully utilized. As stipulated in the 1999 Istanbul Charter, the security of each participating State is inseparably linked to that of all others.

Transparency is crucial for risk reduction and incident prevention. The Vienna Document is a valuable tool for all of us to consult and co-operate with each other about any unusual and unscheduled activities of military forces outside their normal peacetime locations.
In fact, the latest developments have proven that our CSBM tools within the politico-military dimension are still valid and useful.

In this context, we would like to underline that the Turkish Government’s precise and sensitive implementation of the Montreux Convention fully in accordance with its letter and spirit will continue.

Mr. Chairperson,

When we first established the Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine (SMM) by consensus, our main goal was to reduce tensions and foster peace, stability and security, as expressed in Permanent Council Decision No. 1117. That goal is more valid today and to urgently attain it is more vital.

Therefore, we – one more time – underline our unwavering support to the SMM which conducts its work impartially and transparently.

Particularly these days – under the current circumstances – the SMM’s presence in Ukraine is crucial to objectively report the facts on the ground.

As we all often remind: facts matter. Therefore, we should keep the SMM and its monitors out of harm’s way.

I kindly ask my statement to be attached to the journal of the day.
85th Joint Meeting of the PC and the FSC
FSC-PC Journal No. 72, Agenda item 2

STATEMENT BY
THE DELEGATION OF ESTONIA

I thank the Chairpersons of the OSCE Permanent Council and the Forum for Security Co-operation for convening today’s special joint meeting.

Estonia is fully aligned with the statement delivered on behalf of the EU Member States, including the recommendations contained therein. Additionally, I should like to make a few remarks in my national capacity.

I reiterate Estonia’s full support for Ukraine in initiating the consultation process under Chapter III of the Vienna Document. Our joint aim is to defuse the tensions that have been exacerbated by Russia’s unusual and unscheduled military activities around Ukraine’s borders and in illegally occupied Crimea. We are seeking clarifications to ensure transparency and to obtain an explanation for these activities. We deeply regret that Russia has consciously and deliberately chosen not to engage in the risk reduction mechanism under the Vienna Document, thereby failing to show goodwill and good faith with a view to reducing the tensions in the region. This refusal to co-operate adds to the gravity of the situation.

Despite the numerous appeals to strive for de-escalation that have been voiced by a large number of OSCE participating States at several meetings this week, Russia continues to build up its military forces and equipment in areas adjacent to the territory of Ukraine and in illegally annexed Crimea.

The significance of the repercussions of this situation is not theoretical. Only yesterday, during the Permanent Council meeting, we received news of the shelling of a kindergarten in Stanytsia Luhanska by the Russia-backed militants. Earlier today, Ukraine provided evidence of a number of other such dangerous incidents.

Russia’s actions are a threat not only to Ukraine, but to European security as a whole. We call on Russia to de-escalate the situation and to provide answers under the Vienna Document’s risk reduction mechanism, as requested by Ukraine, and supported by a large number of participating States at the consultation meeting on Tuesday and at today’s special joint meeting.
Our recommendation to the Russian Federation is to participate meaningfully in the OSCE dialogue processes, and to take concrete steps to reverse the situation, reduce tensions in the region and engage in confidence-building. Genuine engagement in dialogue and in the Vienna Document mechanisms would be a natural way for Russia to prove that it really does mean its professed interest in diplomatic solutions.