

Chairmanship: Mongolia**783rd PLENARY MEETING OF THE FORUM**

1. Date: Wednesday, 18 March 2015

Opened: 10.05 a.m.

Suspended: 1 p.m.

Resumed: 3.05 p.m.

Closed: 4.10 p.m.

2. Chairperson: Ambassador G. Batjargal
Mr. P. Gansukh

Prior to taking up the agenda, the Chairperson expressed condolences to the families of the victims of a military helicopter crash in Serbia.

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

Agenda item 1: SECURITY DIALOGUE

- *Presentation on Russia and the future of European security, by Mr. A. Grushko, Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to NATO*
- *Presentation on the military doctrine of the Russian Federation: new version, by Mr. Y. Ilyin, Deputy Chief, Main Directorate for International Military Co-operation, Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation*

Chairperson, Ambassador A. Grushko (FSC.DEL/54/15 OSCE+), Mr. Y. Ilyin, Latvia-European Union (with the candidate countries Albania, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Iceland and Montenegro; the country of the Stabilisation and Association Process and potential candidate country Bosnia and Herzegovina; the European Free Trade Association country Norway, member of the European Economic Area; as well as Georgia, Moldova, San Marino and Ukraine, in alignment) (FSC.DEL/52/15), United Kingdom (Annex 1), Belarus (FSC.DEL/49/15 OSCE+), Canada, Ukraine (Annex 2), United States of America, Georgia (Annex 3), Poland (Annex 4), Turkey, France, Germany

Agenda item 2: GENERAL STATEMENTS

- (a) *Situation in and around Ukraine*: Ukraine (Annex 5) (FSC.DEL/51/15), Latvia-European Union (with the candidate countries Albania, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Iceland and Montenegro; the country of the Stabilisation and Association Process and potential candidate country Bosnia and Herzegovina; the European Free Trade Association country Norway, member of the European Economic Area; as well as Georgia, Moldova, San Marino and Ukraine, in alignment) (FSC.DEL/53/15), United States of America, Russian Federation, Belgium, Netherlands, Austria
- (b) *Response to the statement made by Georgia at the 782nd plenary meeting of the FSC held on 11 March 2015*: Russian Federation, Georgia

Agenda item 3: ANY OTHER BUSINESS

- (a) *Proposed OSCE meeting to review the implementation of OSCE practical assistance projects on small arms and light weapons and stockpiles of conventional ammunition, to be held on 2 and 3 June 2015 (FSC.DEL/48/15 OSCE+)*: Montenegro
- (b) *Conference on the Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security for OSCE participating States and the Asian Partners for Co-operation, held in Ulaanbaatar from 10 to 12 March 2015*: Representative of the Conflict Prevention Centre, FSC Co-ordinator for the Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security (Czech Republic), Chairperson
- (c) *Matters of protocol*: Representative of the Conflict Prevention Centre, Chairperson
- (d) *Vienna City Marathon charity event, to be held on 12 April 2015, in which military advisers of delegations of OSCE participating States are taking part*: Netherlands, Chairperson

4. Next meeting:

Wednesday, 25 March 2015, at 10 a.m., in the Neuer Saal



**Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
Forum for Security Co-operation**

FSC.JOUR/789
18 March 2015
Annex 1

Original: ENGLISH

783rd Plenary Meeting
FSC Journal No. 789, Agenda item 1

**STATEMENT BY
THE DELEGATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM**

Thank you, Mr. Chairperson.

I'm grateful for the presentation by Ambassador Grushko, and would like to respond with a statement in my national capacity, in addition to the one by the EU.

Mr. Chairperson,

We are experiencing the worst crisis of European security since the end of the Cold War. I shall therefore predominantly focus my remarks on Ukraine.

The Minsk agreements offer the best chance available for a sustainable political solution. The UK supports this process and recognizes the progress made in implementation.

That said, the path has not been smooth. There have been some egregious violations of the agreements undertaken. For example, the latest Minsk agreement called for a ceasefire to begin on 15 February and for the withdrawal of heavy weaponry to start from 16 February. Yet within 40 minutes of coming into effect, the ceasefire was shattered by a Russian-backed separatist offensive on Debaltseve. On 19 February, Ukrainian forces withdrew from the city. Scores of Ukrainian soldiers were left dead or injured.

To this day, there is a continued presence of Russian military hardware in Ukraine, including Uragan rocket launchers and T-72 tanks. Russia's commitment to withdraw foreign military formations continues to be disregarded. OSCE reports also show that Russian "humanitarian" convoys are still crossing the international border.

We welcome the exchange of a number of prisoners at the end of February between the Ukrainian armed forces and Russian-backed separatists. However, many more remain in detention, including the Ukrainian pilot, Nadia Savchenko.

Mr. Chairperson,

Much more needs to be done. As a signatory to the Minsk agreements, Russia needs to ensure that the separatist forces respect the ceasefire and other commitments. Unfortunately, we can take nothing for granted in light of how the separatists cynically and

systematically undermined the September Minsk accord. We recall how the line of contact was ignored and redrawn as the separatists seized an additional 550 square kilometres of Ukrainian territory.

Russia must fulfil its own commitment to fully withdraw the heavy weapons it has supplied to the separatists, as well as its military formations, from Ukrainian territory. Russian influence can help expedite the full exchange of prisoners and guarantee the humane treatment of any soldiers currently detained. And Russia can also play a significant part in ensuring that the Special Monitoring Mission is able to continue its important work in monitoring the ceasefire and other provisions of the Minsk agreements.

It is with regret that the UK notes that Russia has refused to allow the expansion of the OSCE Border Observation Mission to help enable full monitoring of the international border, leaving hundreds of kilometres of border open to the flow of weapons and soldiers. Furthermore, Russia continues to block the OSCE, including the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights and the High Commissioner on National Minorities, from appropriate access to Crimea.

Mr. Chairperson,

A year on from the illegal annexation of Crimea, we are faced with a crisis that has expanded far beyond the Black Sea and now threatens the security of the region. The pattern is familiar from Russian behaviour in Georgia and Moldova. Crises are stoked, agreements reached, ceasefires arranged, territorial gains consolidated.

Quite apart from the terrible human costs, these actions also have profound consequences for international relations. It is in no one's interests to return to an era where agreements between leaders become worthless. Organizations like the OSCE and the UN were founded on the principles of dialogue and a respect for peace and stability, based on territorial integrity and sovereignty. We should be celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act, rather than condemning its violation by Russia. Therefore, it is incumbent on Russia to show through its actions a clear commitment to established fundamental principles and commitments. It is vital that all countries that have a stake in the rules-based international system remain clear and united against Russian transgressions.

There will be no let-up in our efforts in the EU, through NATO and with a broad range of countries to ensure that Moscow hears a clear and consistent message: those of us who live by the rules-based international system will be steadfast in defending it.

And let me end on a more parochial note. We have seen a trend over recent times of a Russian policy to undermine the integrity and relevance of conventional arms control in Europe, while trying, unconvincingly, to pin the blame on others. Just last week we saw Russia "suspend" its participation in the Joint Consultative Group. The last few years have seen Russia refuse to modernize the Vienna Document, meaning that this valuable confidence- and security-building measure has become more and more out of step with evolving European security. For example, the vast majority of participating States could agree to a key proposal to lower thresholds. But Russia blocks. It would appear this is an attempt to diminish the current framework, with a view to coercing others to rebuild on

Moscow's terms. The deficit in trust has been caused by Russia, so they are the ones that need to prove they have the integrity to implement any agreement fully and in good faith.

As I speak, Russia is executing a significant snap drill around Murmansk. As we know, there is a "get-out" in the Vienna Document for otherwise notifiable activities carried out without advance notice to troops and lasting 72 hours or less. There is a trend which shows Russia's increasing use of this clause to avoid using systematic military transparency as a tool to build confidence and security. There will always be ways to try to circumvent the intent of such agreements. Ultimately, it is the political will put into implementing such architecture that really counts.

Mr. Chairperson,

I'd be grateful if you could attach this statement to the journal of this meeting.

Thank you.



783rd Plenary Meeting

FSC Journal No. 789, Agenda item 1

STATEMENT BY THE DELEGATION OF UKRAINE

Mr. Chairperson,

The Delegation of Ukraine thanks today's speakers Ambassador Alexander Grushko, Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to NATO, and Major-General Yevgeni Ilyin of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation, for their presentations.

At the outset, I would like to draw the attention of this Forum to the fact that today marks the one-year anniversary of the military occupation and annexation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol by the Russian Federation, which the international community does not recognize and condemns as a flagrant violation of international law. The international community remains firmly committed to respect for Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders, which is safeguarded by international law and United Nations General Assembly resolution of 27 March 2014, "Territorial integrity of Ukraine".

Russia's annexation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea in 2014 was qualified by the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office as "a breach of fundamental OSCE principles and not compatible with international law". Russia's illegal actions are seen today as a direct challenge to international security, with grave implications for the international legal order that protects the unity and sovereignty of all States.

The Russian Federation has breached such fundamental principles of the Helsinki Final Act as sovereign equality and respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty, refraining from the threat or use of force, inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity of States, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-intervention in internal affairs and fulfilment in good faith of obligations under international law.

Mr. Chairperson,

Last Sunday night Channel One Russia screened a new documentary film entitled "Crimea: Way back home". In the film Russian President Vladimir Putin said that he had been personally involved in the events in Crimea starting from 22 February 2014, which had ended with the illegal annexation of the peninsula by Russia. He admitted that he had been ready to place the nuclear attack forces on alert when seizing Crimea a year ago. It was also

admitted that Russia's Bastion high-precision coastal missile defence systems had been deployed to Crimea in such a way that they could be seen perfectly well from outer space.

Those confessions added to the ample evidence that the military occupation and annexation of Crimea was the result of a well-planned military operation carried out by the Russian armed forces and Russian special forces. This aggression was carried out a country which had undertaken to respect the independence, sovereignty and existing borders of Ukraine and to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of Ukraine when Russia signed up to the Budapest Memorandum of 1994.

Ahead of the 40th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act the current deep crisis, stemming from Russia's breach of its commitments and obligations, underlines the imperative to restore respect for the fundamental principles enshrined therein as a necessary prerequisite to overcoming the security threats and challenges in the OSCE region.

Mr. Chairperson,

Ukraine believes that building and maintaining a sound system of European security is a common endeavour for all OSCE participating States. It is impossible to restore confidence, security and stability in Europe without the participation and constructive involvement of the Russian Federation.

However, to re-engage in a collective effort to build a security community in the OSCE space we need to revert to the common commitment to ensuring full respect for, and implementation of, the core principles and commitments that have been undertaken in the politico-military dimension, the economic and environmental dimension and the human dimension.

We will conclude by urging the Russian Federation to return to the tenets of international law, to reverse the annexation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and to implement in good faith the Minsk agreements as it committed itself to doing in September 2014 and on 12 February 2015.

In view of the topic of today's security dialogue we reiterate our conviction that the return of the Russian Federation to observing the agreed principles and commitments and to observing the rule of law, not the rule of force, will serve the genuine interests of European security and the Russian Federation itself.

I kindly request the Chairperson to attach this statement to the journal of this meeting.

Thank you, Mr. Chairperson.



**Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
Forum for Security Co-operation**

FSC.JOUR/789
18 March 2015
Annex 3

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783rd Plenary Meeting
FSC Journal No. 789, Agenda item 1

STATEMENT BY THE DELEGATION OF GEORGIA

Mr. Chairperson,

At the outset I would like to join previous speakers and thank Ambassador Grushko and General Ilyin for their presentations.

My delegation fully shares the position of the European Union and aligns itself with the statement delivered by the distinguished Ambassador. At the same time we have some remarks in our national capacity.

We believe that the major challenges affecting the modern security architecture are global in nature, and undoubtedly require a co-ordinated and broader multinational response. Bearing this in mind we are confident that the OSCE should exercise a significantly greater influence in the field of its competence, especially in the light of the extremely challenging international security situation.

Throughout recent years, there have been discussions questioning the adequacy of the existing security arrangements, especially the major cornerstones which create the foundation of the contemporary security architecture with twenty-first century requirements.

We partially share this view. However, taking into account the universal nature of the fundamental principles upon which the European security architecture rests, we are confident that the main problem is rather related to the unwillingness to strictly comply with the obligations undertaken than to the imperfection of the system itself. Perhaps disregard for the obligations is the major challenge to our common security, which has resulted in the crisis we are facing today in Ukraine. Regrettably it has to be admitted that we failed to adequately respond to this dangerous tendency at an early stage.

The first causes for alarm occurred more than a decade ago, when the Russian Federation put the European security architecture to the test by failing to fulfil obligations undertaken in accordance with the Istanbul commitments thus blocking the entry into force of the adapted Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE Treaty).

In 2007 Russia once again jeopardized the proper functioning of conventional arms control by imposing an absolutely illegal moratorium on the implementation of the CFE Treaty, thus shattering the very foundations of the European security system.

The full-scale aggression committed against Georgia in 2008 with all its grave consequences was a continuation of this dramatic process. Since the Georgian delegation has made numerous statements and presentations on the Russia-Georgia war as well as on the ongoing extensive military build-up in the occupied regions of Georgia, we will refrain from going deeply into the details. I would like to remind the distinguished audience that the Russian Federation is currently occupying 20 per cent of Georgia's sovereign territory, while continuing the absolutely illegal build-up of its military facilities in grave violation of the fundamental norms and principles of international law, the provisions of the 12 August 2008 ceasefire agreement and its obligations under numerous international treaties and agreements. By providing a vast quantity of conventional arms including small arms and light weapons to the occupation regimes in Sokhumi and Tskhinvali, the Russian Federation is gravely violating OSCE principles and contributing to a destabilizing accumulation of weapons in Georgia's occupied regions.

Despite the unfortunate reality, an evident threat of further erosion of the security architecture with all its far-reaching consequences has once again been inadequately assessed and responded to and now we have to deal with another precedent involving the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of an OSCE participating State and consequently, additional occupied territories and grey zones in the OSCE area.

I would also like to touch upon the recent decision by the Russian Federation to fully suspend implementation of the CFE Treaty through suspending its participation in Joint Consultative Group meetings. We consider this decision as aimed at ultimately undermining the European conventional arms control regime, thus deepening the security crisis that we are facing today. We are concerned that through this irresponsible and destructive action, Russia intends to attain its own political goals and contribute to legalizing the so-called new reality being so vigorously created by Russia itself including through military aggression against its sovereign neighbours.

In conclusion, as a representative of a country which aspires to become a NATO member, I would like to declare that Euro-Atlantic integration is the national choice of the people of Georgia and is based on the right of every nation to choose its own alliances. Georgia's NATO membership is a matter of a political decision agreed on and taken between Georgia and NATO member countries and no third party has a right of veto in this process. As the experience of NATO enlargement shows, membership of the Alliance is a major stabilizing factor for new members and plays an explicitly positive role in strengthening regional security.

Thank you Mr. Chairperson.



**Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
Forum for Security Co-operation**

FSC.JOUR/789

18 March 2015

Annex 4

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783rd Plenary Meeting

FSC Journal No. 789, Agenda item 1

STATEMENT BY THE DELEGATION OF POLAND

Mr. Chairperson,
Distinguished delegates,

We welcome our guest-speakers Ambassador A. V. Grushko and Major-General Y. Y. Ilyin to today's discussion on security dialogue.

Poland fully associates itself with a the statement delivered on behalf of the European Union, however, we would like to make a few comments and observations on the presentations by our guest-speakers in our national capacity.

All of us are aware that nowadays Europe is facing a gradual and serious deviation by one State from previously agreed commitments and rules relevant to the security architecture. By implementing such a policy, the Russian Federation is putting in jeopardy the whole system of European as well as global security.

Poland firmly believes that Ukraine, like any other State, has every right to defend its independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders. We are convinced that the conflict in eastern Ukraine can be solved only by peaceful means and we fully support all diplomatic efforts to achieve a sustainable political solution to that conflict based on full respect for OSCE principles and commitments. The Minsk agreements: the Minsk Protocol and the Minsk Memorandum of September last year, as well as the latest Package of Measures agreed in February this year, must be fully implemented. Poland has been a strong supporter of the Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine since its establishment. We welcomed last week's extension of the Mission's mandate, which covers the whole of Ukraine, including Crimea. It is of paramount importance that all sides ensure the full safety and security of the monitors, and allow them to fulfil their mandate in an unhindered way, also through providing unconditional access to all areas, including all parts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions and along the border with Russia.

Mr. Chairperson,

Ambassador Grushko has presented a long list of NATO actions that are considered by Russia as dubious at best if not dangerous, from Russia's point of view. But the fact is that in using defensive methods, NATO is simply reacting to Russian behaviour and the illegal actions carried out in Crimea and eastern Ukraine, as well as the military exercises and alerts

which have been announced or carried out in the western part of the country. This applies for example to the most recent sudden inspection of the readiness of the Northern Fleet troops and some military units stationed on the territory of the Western Military District of the Russian Federation. We welcomed the certain level of transparency shown by the Russian Federation in the latter case. However, we found it insufficient and believe that there is room for improvement in this respect.

Mr. Chairperson,

The growing importance of nuclear weapons in the new Russian military doctrine is clearly considered as a wrong signal sent at the wrong time. In particular, we are concerned by the announcement of high-ranking Russian diplomats and military about the possible deployment of potential nuclear forces in Crimea, an integral part of Ukraine. This is absolutely unacceptable.

We have also noted with deep concern the increasing number of incidents caused by Russian military aircraft flown close or very close to the national borders of NATO allies or other countries in the Baltic Sea region in the last few months. Those actions generate tension between the Russian Federation and NATO countries and can cause dangerous incidents. We think that attitude should be reconsidered.

Finally, we are of the view that a policy of confrontation aimed at rebuilding the European security order by using force is a road leading nowhere. Therefore, we appeal once again to the Russian Federation to return to a real dialogue, since the only solution to this crisis situation remains a diplomatic, not military.

I thank you for your attention and kindly request you, Mr. Chairperson, to attach this statement to the journal of the day.



**Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
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Annex 5

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783rd Plenary Meeting

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STATEMENT BY THE DELEGATION OF UKRAINE

Mr. Chairperson,

In connection with today's statement by the Russian delegation on the status of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (ARC), the delegation of Ukraine wishes to emphasize the following.

International law prohibits the acquisition of part or all of another State's territory through coercion or force. The Autonomous Republic of Crimea, which remains an integral part of Ukraine, was illegally occupied and annexed by the Russian Federation in violation of OSCE principles and commitments and norms of international law. Illegitimate actions on the part of the Russian Federation do not have any legal consequences with regard to the status of the ARC as an integral part of Ukraine. The territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders is safeguarded by international law and UN General Assembly resolution 68/262 of 27 March 2014, "Territorial integrity of Ukraine".

The Russian Federation is now in breach of such fundamental principles of the Helsinki Final Act as sovereign equality and respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty, refraining from the threat or use of force, inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity of States, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-intervention in internal affairs, and fulfilment in good faith of obligations in international law.

We call on the Russian Federation to return to the tenets of international law and reverse the annexation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea.

The delegation of Ukraine requests that this statement be registered in the journal of the day.

Thank you, Mr. Chairperson.