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Statement by Ukraine at the Special Session of the OSCE Annual Security Review Conference

29 June 2022

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished participants,

As we all gather here today there is nothing to rejoice – European security architecture is, to put it mildly, at the worst shape since the end of the Cold War, destroyed by Russian all-out unprovoked/unjustified aggression against Ukraine. Having lost its status of one of the most peaceful continents in the world, Europe again became an arena for the large-scale interstate war – the first one since 1945. 77 years after it seemed that large-scale interstate war had been forever banished from this continent, "Never again" is alas "again" on the agenda.

Though a horrendous thing, Russian all-out war against Ukraine is not totally unexpected for those who for some time tracked Russian foreign policy trajectory — or better to say how Russia's foreign policy progressively deteriorated into the outright militarized revisionism. Limited aggressions against its neighbours, disregard for arms control agreements and confidence building measures, rearmament and military demonstrations — there are the things that international community has witnessed and with some exceptions turned a blind eye with negative consequences as the result.

Now the Ukraine-Russia all-out war is in 5th month – though many people expected that Kyiv would fall maximum in 96 hours. The Ukrainian political nation, using its own arsenal of heavy weaponry and light Western equipment like ATGMs/grenade launchers and MANPADs, shattered the Russian original plan and made Russia to limit its goals. Russians were forced out of Northern Ukraine, Mykolayiv region and outskirts of Kharkiv. However difficult it was to endure first Russian blow, Ukraine performed superbly, well paving a way from gloomy predictions to hope, that justice would prevail. Universal condemnation of Russian

aggression and Western actions like sanctions/military assistance also aided in derailing the Russian original amateurish blitzkrieg.

But as war switched from suburbs of Kyiv to the settlements and plains of Eastern Ukraine we should not fall into complacency. Otherwise, weariness would replace alertness and instead of unity of opinion we would see emerging cracks in countries' perspectives to Ukraine-Russia war.

We should be especially cautious with regard to increasing calls for ceasefire or even peace here and now – at the price of the Ukraine's territorial integrity. Though peace itself is the ultimate goal of Ukraine, present calls for peace are questionable at best. Those calling for ceasefire/peace right now, when Russian troops occupy 20% of Ukraine and continues their creeping frontal advances in Donbas, cannot explain what would prevent Russia from breaching new agreements. Fate of Minsk 1 and 2 agreements should be a warning for those, calling for ceasefire for the sake of ceasefire.

The OSCE participating States cannot indefinitely buy a fake sense of normalcy at the expense of Ukraine's territorial integrity/sovereignty and fundamental principles of our organisation. Peace-loving OSCE participating States should not repeat their past mistakes, being distracted and allowing Russia to consolidate gains before launching new round of dismemberment of Ukraine.

To bring really lasting peace, Europe must return to basics – learning one more time the importance of true balance of power, which must underpin any diplomatic effort. This all-out war was made possible because locally a balance of power had been progressively favouring revisionist Russia and all Ukrainian pleas to preemptively strengthen us were largely unheard with some valuable exceptions, which Ukraine appreciate.

We hope this mistake will not be repeated again at this crucial moment of the Ukraine-Russia war. This war some time ago has turned into the war of attrition at battlefield and the war of exhaustion more broadly. And Ukraine can't definitely endure this confrontation on its own – nobody could as it is the biggest regional war since 1945 with unprecedented consumption of resources.

Militarily, it's largely artillery vs artillery contest with little of contact warfare where ATGMs/grenade launchers might make a difference. Ukraine needs more tube/rocket artillery and surface to surface missiles. Long-range fires would make it possible to interdict Russian reinforcements/follow-on echelons before they might make any difference at frontline.

Ukraine also needs long-range fires to target Russian C2 nodes, logistics and conduct effective counter battery fight. And in this case no precision can substitute mass – quantity is quality of its own in case of artillery. Only this way Ukraine can at least stabilize frontline fully with many lives saved.

But to enhance Ukrainian negotiation position stabilization of the front-line alone is not enough — Ukraine needs to conduct at least one major counteroffensive. Only counteroffensive can deal a decisive physical/psychological blow to already humiliated Russian army. Only through strengthening of Ukraine proper conditions can be created to implement OSCE core principles in practice.

More broadly, Ukraine needs consistent financial and economic aid to endure. We hope nobody doubts the ability of more than 50% of the world GDP, Western countries represent, to confront meagre Russian share of GDP, which is progressively shrinking.

The bottom line is the following one - Russia must not be allowed to out-wait other peace-loving OSCE participating States in this war. And that's why this is not a time for hesitation - it's time for those, who cherish peace to redouble their efforts in support of Ukraine.

There should be no cracks for Russia to exploit. Only consistency and resolve, translated into constant flow of heavy weaponry and financial assistance to Ukraine can bring this war to such a conclusion, that would favour the cause of peace and security all over the world.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.