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**Chairmanship: Greece****761st PLENARY MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

1. Date: Thursday, 14 May 2009  
  
Opened: 10.10 a.m.  
Suspended: 1.10 p.m.  
Resumed: 3.05 p.m.  
Closed: 4.20 p.m.
  
2. Chairperson: Ambassador M. Marinaki  
Mr. D. Kyvetos
  
3. Subjects discussed – Statements – Decisions/documents adopted:

## Agenda item 1: OSCE OFFICE IN TAJIKISTAN

Chairperson, Head of the OSCE Office in Tajikistan (PC.FR/9/09 OSCE+), Czech Republic-European Union (with the candidate countries Croatia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; the countries of the Stabilisation and Association Process and potential candidate countries Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia; the European Free Trade Association country Iceland, member of the European Economic Area; as well as Moldova and Ukraine, in alignment) (PC.DEL/342/09), United States of America (PC.DEL/335/09), Switzerland (PC.DEL/353/09), Kazakhstan (PC.DEL/372/09), Norway (PC.DEL/339/09), Russian Federation (PC.DEL/359/09 OSCE+), Uzbekistan, Tajikistan (PC.DEL/365/09)

Agenda item 2: PRESENTATION BY  
MAJOR GENERAL KASYM GAFAROV,  
FIRST DEPUTY HEAD OF THE STATE COMMITTEE  
FOR NATIONAL SECURITY OF TAJIKISTAN

Chairperson, Major General Kasym Gafarov, Director of the Conflict Prevention Centre, Czech Republic-European Union (with the candidate countries Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey; the countries of the Stabilisation and Association Process and potential candidate countries Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia; the European Free Trade Association countries Iceland and Norway,

members of the European Economic Area; as well as Armenia, Moldova and Ukraine, in alignment) (PC.DEL/343/09), United States of America (PC.DEL/337/09), Russian Federation (PC.DEL/360/09 OSCE+), Kazakhstan (PC.DEL/371/09), Uzbekistan

Agenda item 3: REPORT BY THE HEAD OF THE OSCE ACTION  
AGAINST TERRORISM UNIT

Chairperson, Head of the OSCE Action against Terrorism Unit (SEC.GAL/68/09 OSCE+), Czech Republic-European Union (with the candidate countries Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey; the countries of the Stabilisation and Association Process and potential candidate countries Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia; the European Free Trade Association countries Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway, members of the European Economic Area; as well as Armenia, Moldova and Ukraine, in alignment) (PC.DEL/344/09), United States of America (PC.DEL/350/09), Azerbaijan (PC.DEL/368/09 OSCE+), Russian Federation (PC.DEL/361/09 OSCE+), Kazakhstan (PC.DEL/369/09)

Agenda item 4: REVIEW OF CURRENT ISSUES

- (a) *Draft decision on the OSCE Office in Tbilisi and on the deployment of OSCE monitors in the framework of the implementation of the six-point Agreement of 12 August 2008 (PC.DD/11/09/Rev.1):* Chairperson (Annex 1), Czech Republic-European Union (with the candidate countries Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey; the countries of the Stabilisation and Association Process and potential candidate countries Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro; as well as the European Free Trade Association countries Iceland and Liechtenstein, members of the European Economic Area; as well as Ukraine, in alignment) (Annex 2), United States of America (Annex 3), Canada (Annex 4), Georgia (Annex 5), Switzerland (Annex 6), Russian Federation (Annex 7), Norway (Annex 8), Azerbaijan (PC.DEL/366/09 OSCE+), Belarus (PC.DEL/363/09 OSCE+), Armenia, Tajikistan
- (b) *Death penalty in the United States of America:* Czech Republic-European Union (with the candidate countries Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey; the countries of the Stabilisation and Association Process and potential candidate countries Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia; the European Free Trade Association countries Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway, members of the European Economic Area; as well as Armenia, Azerbaijan, Moldova and Ukraine, in alignment) (PC.DEL/346/09), United States of America (PC.DEL/351/09)
- (c) *Fifteenth anniversary of the ceasefire in Nagorno-Karabakh:* Chairperson, France (also on behalf of the Russian Federation and the United States of America) (PC.DEL/355/09), Czech Republic-European Union (with the candidate countries Croatia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; the countries of the Stabilisation and Association Process and potential

candidate countries Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro; the European Free Trade Association countries Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway, members of the European Economic Area, in alignment) (PC.DEL/349/09), Turkey (PC.DEL/358/09), Azerbaijan (PC.DEL/367/09 OSCE+), Armenia (PC.DEL/364/09 OSCE+)

- (d) *European Union Eastern Partnership Summit, held in Prague on 7 May 2009*: Czech Republic-European Union (PC.DEL/347/09), Ukraine (PC.DEL/356/09), Belarus, Armenia
- (e) *Situation of Roma and Sinti in the OSCE area*: United States of America (PC.DEL/352/09), Czech Republic-European Union (PC.DEL/348/09)
- (f) *Freedom of the media in the United States of America*: United States of America (PC.DEL/357/09/Corr.1), Russian Federation (PC.DEL/362/09)

Agenda item 5:           REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE  
                                  CHAIRPERSON-IN-OFFICE

- (a) *Appointment of Head of the OSCE Office in Zagreb*: Chairperson
- (b) *Statement by the Chairperson-in-Office on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the ceasefire in Nagorno-Karabakh, issued on 11 May 2009 (SEC.PR/192/09)*: Chairperson
- (c) *Visit of the Special Representative of the Chairperson-in-Office, Ambassador Charalampos Christopoulos, to Ukraine from 12 to 16 May 2009*: Chairperson
- (d) *Informal meeting with the Special Representative of the Chairperson-in-Office for the Strengthening of the Legal Framework of the OSCE, Mrs. Zinovia (Jenny) Stavridi, held in Vienna on 13 May 2009*: Chairperson

Agenda item 6:           REPORT OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL

*Announcement of the distribution of a written report of the Secretary General (SEC.GAL/72/09 OSCE+)*: Secretary General

Agenda item 7:           ANY OTHER BUSINESS

- (a) *Organizational matters related to the informal ministerial meeting to be held in Corfu, Greece, on 27 and 28 June 2009*: Chairperson
- (b) *Conference on future OSCE chairmanships, to be held in Vienna on 9 June 2009*: Austria, Kazakhstan

4. Next meeting:

Thursday, 28 May 2009, at 10 a.m., in the Neuer Saal



**Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe  
Permanent Council**

PC.JOUR/761  
14 May 2009  
Annex 1

Original: ENGLISH

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**761st Plenary Meeting**

PC Journal No. 761, Agenda item 4(a)

**STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRPERSON**

Dear colleagues,

Over the past two days, the Preparatory Committee has examined the draft decision tabled by the Chairmanship on 8 May, regarding the OSCE Office in Tbilisi and the deployment of monitors in the framework of the implementation of the six-point agreement of 12 August 2008.

Today, I regret to inform the Permanent Council, on behalf of the Chairmanship, that consensus was not reached in the Preparatory Committee for the adoption of the draft decision, despite the fact that this text is the final outcome of a long and difficult consultation process and was accepted as the optimal compromise solution by the overwhelming majority of the participating States. In this regard, I would like to reiterate on behalf of all my colleagues in Vienna our sincere gratitude to all the delegations that repeatedly expressed their trust and unconditional support for our efforts and unreservedly endorsed the Chairmanship's proposal and continue to do so. As I mentioned in my statement to the PC on 2 April, the Chairmanship throughout the consultations adopted as its basic premise the assumption that all the participating States concurred regarding the need to find a status-neutral solution.

Therefore, following the official circulation of its proposal on 8 April, the Chairmanship resumed intensive informal consultations with all the key parties. We were consistent in keeping the framework of the various drafting proposals within the "status-neutral" limitations set down by our partners. In revision 1 of its draft decision, dated 8 May, the Chairmanship, true to its commitment as an honest broker, already included all the amendments proposed by the parties that fulfilled the *conditio sine qua non* of a status-neutral formula, while we opted to leave out all proposals that clearly did not meet this requirement. For all the delegations involved in the consultation process, the draft decision of 8 May came as no surprise; this is also confirmed by the fact that all the delegations were able to provide their comments at very short notice.

Let me also remind all the participating States that the Chairmanship consciously opted to prolong the consultations for more than four months, a policy which was sometimes criticized by our partners. During this time, the Chairmanship was engaged with the delegations in numerous drafting exercises, presented numerous proposals and consulted both in Vienna and in the capitals. We wanted to explore and exhaust all possible alternatives, to let the outcome of the process ripen slowly and without undue haste; we refrained from

setting any strict deadlines, thus allotting the necessary time requested by the key delegations; it was our choice to avoid precipitous actions and not to confront any participating State with a “take-it-or-leave-it” type of dilemma. This would have been an easy way out for the Chairmanship, but we opted for the more challenging path. We tried to best utilize the momentum both in Vienna and in the capitals.

We are convinced, on behalf of the Chairmanship, that the drafting exercise has now run its course. The draft decision of 8 May reflects in our view the last fine-tuning of the first draft circulated by the Chairmanship on 8 April, following a full month of intense consultations with the main parties and exploration of their suggestions, views, positions and red lines. Therefore, we deem that any further drafting exercise would only be detrimental to the quality of the current text of the draft decision, while the trust that we earned for our persistent efforts would also begin to erode. What is required now is not more drafting, but for all the main actors to summon the political will to reach an agreement – the text for this agreement is already crafted and awaits its formal adoption.

Dear colleagues,

The Greek Chairmanship knew from the start that our efforts were taking place against all the odds, the more so since the Mission to Georgia had already entered into the phase of technical closure, due to the non-renewal of its mandate by 31 December 2008. We also stated from the outset that we would not persevere at any cost to ensure continuation of the OSCE presence, as we were not willing to compromise the OSCE’s fundamental principles. We have also clearly stated that what is at stake is not only the continuation of the much-needed OSCE presence in Georgia, but our ability to build consensus and rebuild trust in order to facilitate our long overdue *bona fide* dialogue in the Euro-Atlantic area.

Therefore, we presented our proposal in good conscience; we deem that as the holders of the Chairmanship we have fulfilled our duty to the OSCE community and to the concept of co-operative security that the OSCE represents. However, at this moment, we are saddened by the fact that, ultimately, the price for the discontinuation of the OSCE Mission to Georgia will be paid by innocent civilians, who have benefited so much and for so long from the OSCE’s activities, and, if finally we do not succeed in preserving the OSCE presence, it will also be detrimental to the efforts aimed at restoring stability in the region.

Our thoughts also go out to the staff members of the OSCE Mission to Georgia, who have been working with the utmost dedication and commitment throughout this extremely difficult time for all of us. I would like to express to each and every one of them the personal appreciation of the Chairperson-in-Office for their loyalty to the Mission and the OSCE.

Finally, the Chairmanship, being fully aware that the time is not ripe for the formal adoption today of draft decision PC.DD/11/09/Rev.1 of 8 May, has decided to suspend all negotiations on this decision until further notice; this decision is effective immediately. At the same time, the draft decision remains on the table ready to be adopted, and we can only appeal to the very few participating States that could not join the consensus at this juncture to show the necessary political will and reconsider their approach, so as to maintain a meaningful and cross-dimensional OSCE presence in the region, which is now more necessary than ever before.

Thank you for your attention.



**761st Plenary Meeting**

PC Journal No. 761, Agenda item 4(a)

**STATEMENT BY THE EUROPEAN UNION**

The European Union regrets that no consensus could be reached in the Preparatory Committee meeting on the Greek Chairmanship's draft decision on an OSCE Office in Tbilisi and the deployment of OSCE monitors in the framework of the implementation of the six-point agreement of 12 August 2008, that was circulated on 8 May 2009. This was particularly disappointing considering the tireless endeavours by the Chairmanship-in-Office, many months of consultations, and the support of an overwhelming majority of participating States – including all the Member States of the EU.

We have repeatedly stressed the urgent need for a timely decision on continued cross-dimensional OSCE presence in Georgia, including a meaningful OSCE monitoring capacity able to operate unhindered across the administrative boundary lines, which would contribute to security and stability in the region.

We were pleased to note yesterday that consensus exists on the basic assumption that a status-neutral approach is the only possible way towards a solution. In this spirit, we reiterate our support for the Greek Chairmanship's draft decision, which is indeed status-neutral and aims for practical solutions while avoiding political sensitivities.

We commend the Georgian Delegation for their constructive approach in the same spirit. We are disappointed that very few participating States were not yet ready to join consensus on this issue, which is not only important for the region, but also has wider implications for European security.

For the moment the room for negotiations seems to be exhausted. We therefore support the Chairmanship's decision to discontinue the negotiations and we encourage those participating States who were not ready to join the consensus, first and foremost the Russian Federation, to show the necessary political will and urgently reconsider their position in a constructive spirit.

Finally, the EU reiterates its firm commitment to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia within its internationally recognized borders.

The candidate countries Turkey, Croatia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia\*, the countries of the Stabilisation and Association Process and potential candidate countries Albania, Bosnia And Herzegovina and Montenegro, the European Free Trade Association countries and members of the European Economic Area Iceland and Liechtenstein, as well as Ukraine align themselves with this statement.

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\* Croatia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia continue to be part of the Stabilisation and Association Process.



**Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe  
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**761st Plenary Meeting**

PC Journal No. 761, Agenda item 4(a)

**STATEMENT BY  
THE DELEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

Thank you, Madam Chairperson.

We commend the Chairmanship's intensive efforts over the last four months to ensure a continued OSCE presence in Georgia, which we and other delegations consider critical to efforts to restore stability in the region, promote the implementation of OSCE commitments, and contribute to greater European security. You and your staff have worked tirelessly to find a solution acceptable to all delegations, and we sincerely appreciate your remarkable dedication and extraordinary creativity.

The United States strongly supports the Chairmanship's 8 May draft decision. The proposed OSCE Office in Tbilisi could do important work in the human, economic, and political-military dimensions, and continue the OSCE's long-standing efforts to build confidence, encourage dialogue, promote respect for human rights, and improve security. OSCE monitors likewise could continue to play a key role in reducing tensions in the region and in furthering implementation of the 12 August and 8 September agreements through their observation of events on the ground, particularly if they are allowed free access to the South Ossetian region of Georgia.

We believe the Chairmanship's proposal, crafted through months of intense negotiations, artfully seeks to avoid the primary divisive issue, focusing instead on practical arrangements which would allow the OSCE to continue to support the jointly-agreed Geneva process and facilitate conflict resolution efforts. In our view, the proposal goes to great lengths to be neutral on the status of the South Ossetian and Abkhaz regions of Georgia – something we at first had a hard time accepting, given the priority we place on Georgia's territorial integrity.

Regrettably, the opposition of one participating State this week has brought us to an impasse. The Russian Federation rejected the Chairmanship's sound draft decision, preferring instead to submit extensive amendments that it knew in advance were entirely unacceptable to the great majority of OSCE participating States. This action followed a similar move at the end of last year, when Russia blocked consensus on the Finnish Chairmanship's constructive proposal for the renewal of the mandate of the OSCE Mission to Georgia, forcing it to cease many of its activities, and demanding a rapid move to close out operations, dismiss personnel, and sell off OSCE assets.



At the same time negotiations on an OSCE presence in Georgia were taking place, Russia established military bases in the breakaway regions and deployed its FSB border guards to the administrative boundary lines, claiming these boundaries are now international “borders”. These actions are inconsistent with Russia’s declared interest in seeing a continued OSCE presence in the region, and cast doubt on Russia’s commitment to ensuring long-term peace and stability within the territory of a fellow OSCE participating State and neighbour. They also violate Russia’s commitments in the 12 August agreement to withdraw Russian troops to pre-war levels and locations and to allow free and unhindered humanitarian access to the South Ossetian region of Georgia.

The United States sincerely regrets the Russian Federation’s decision to block the Chairmanship’s proposal. Despite our differences with Russia over the causes and consequences of last summer’s conflict, we were and are prepared to work with Russia and other OSCE participating States in common efforts to stabilize the situation in Georgia. We sought genuine compromise, in the belief that a continued OSCE presence in Georgia would facilitate the international community’s efforts to build confidence and resolve the protracted conflicts peacefully. We call one last time for the Russian Federation to reconsider its response to the Greek compromise proposal, in the spirit of co-operation, to avoid the deterioration of a critical security architecture we have worked so hard over the years to build.

Despite this week’s lamentable development, the United States remains committed to finding a peaceful resolution to the conflicts in Georgia, and will continue to support Georgia’s sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders.

Thank you, Madam Chairperson.



**Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe  
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**761st Plenary Meeting**

PC Journal No. 761, Agenda item 4(a)

**STATEMENT BY THE DELEGATION OF CANADA**

Madam Chairperson,

Canada would like to join others in thanking the Greek OSCE Chairperson-in-Office, especially Ambassador Mara Marinaki and her team, for its formidable and unrelenting efforts at forging a fair, balanced and status-neutral compromise package in draft decision PC.DD/11/09/Rev.1 of 8 May 2009 designed to secure the OSCE's continued presence in Georgia. Your work on this has been nothing less than superb, and has built effectively on the efforts of Finland last fall, in their role as the holders of the former OSCE Chairmanship.

We are clearly very disappointed that – after five months of hard negotiations in Vienna – an agreement could not be reached due to the intransigence of one participating State about accepting the status-neutral approach that was advocated almost unanimously.

Georgia, as the host State, wants an OSCE presence in its territory and has requested OSCE assistance, as there are still real needs to be addressed, especially in the wake of the armed conflict last August. We greatly regret that the OSCE was prevented from fulfilling this wish of Georgia and from continuing its longstanding role in this country, as well as its important work in conflict prevention and resolution.

Canada continues to lend its firm support to the Greek Chairmanship's compromise proposal of 8 May because it captures the minimal common denominator for maintaining a status-neutral approach, and for securing a meaningful OSCE presence in all the war-affected regions of Georgia. In our view, given the increasing tensions and incidents in Georgia, there is a need for a greater international presence, not a lesser one.

Canada's position on Georgia is well known: We firmly support Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders.

The Russian Federation bears the responsibility for this unfortunate impasse on Georgia and for the termination of the OSCE presence there. This development does not send a positive signal, nor does it build the much-needed trust and confidence we require to address European security challenges. There can be no doubt that Russia's intransigence will have an impact on the Geneva Process and on our CFE talks, as well as on our discussions on the European security architecture.

Canada also concurs with the CiO's assessment that the price for the discontinuation of the OSCE Mission in Georgia will, unfortunately, be paid by innocent civilians, because this is a step backward in our efforts to bring peace and stability to the South Caucasus region.

Madam Chairperson, I would like this statement to be attached to the journal of the day.

Thank you, merci, epharisto.



**Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe  
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**761st Plenary Meeting**

PC Journal No. 761, Agenda item 4(a)

**STATEMENT BY THE DELEGATION OF GEORGIA**

Madam Chairperson,

I am indeed grateful to you for the efforts that you and your dedicated team invested in seeking a consensus concerning the continuation of the OSCE presence in Georgia. The Greek OSCE Chairmanship elaborated a number of alternative proposals and held numerous formal and informal talks, as a result of which we were able to deliberate for more than four months. The last formal proposal tabled by you on 8 May 2009, and discussed twice at the Preparatory Committee of the PC on 12 and 13 May, is the document to which Georgia, as the host country, agreed. This is also the document for which the overwhelming majority of the OSCE participating States expressed support.

To our great disappointment, the slimmest hope that had been nurtured during the negotiations this year were crushed yesterday, on 13 May, as Russia once again blocked the proposal of the OSCE Chairmanship regarding the continuation of the OSCE Mission's activities in Georgia.

Madam Chairperson,

To be honest, unfortunately, this kind of behaviour by Russia was not a big surprise at all. This OSCE participating State has constantly failed to reciprocate the continued efforts of the OSCE community, as well as the constructive approach and full engagement of the Georgian delegation. From the first day of negotiations, the Russian attitude was one of obstruction, negligence and confrontation. And this comes from the country that wants to be a "founder" of a "new European security architecture".

Madam Chairperson,

The process that came to such an unfortunate end yesterday started last year and consisted of a complex mixture of formal and informal meetings and negotiations. On 22 December 2008, Russia blocked consensus on the draft decision on the extension of the mandate of the OSCE Mission to Georgia. Six months later, Russia has repeated itself. In both cases, carefully drafted proposals by the chairmanships, which were built on compromises, were rejected by Russia without any meaningful arguments. The only rationale behind Russia's actions in both cases was the desire to confront the international community, to try to use the international forum to justify its illegal actions and violations of international

law and to cover up its failures to comply with international and bilateral commitments *vis-à-vis* its neighbours and the international community. Once again, these actions come from the State whose President claims to be an “author” of a new idea of a European security architecture.

It is indeed a high time to question the credibility of the State which has been misleading the whole OSCE community for several months now, giving us false hopes and in the end rejecting the document which, we all agree, could have been accepted, had there been a political will to do so.

Madam Chairperson,

As I said above, the recurrent Russian veto is not anything new for us. We all remember how, several years ago, Russia vetoed the continuation of the extremely successful Border Monitoring Operation in Georgia. We all know who for years opposed an increase in the number of OSCE monitors and their area of responsibility in the Tskhinvali region. We all know why the OSCE community has been unable to adopt ministerial declarations for the last seven years. We all witnessed the Russian veto over the deployment of the additional 70 MMOs to the Tskhinvali region. And during the last six months we registered two vetoes over the continuation of OSCE activities in Georgia.

Georgia believes that these actions should constitute a clear warning to the OSCE about its future, or in fact to the whole European security area about its future.

Madam Chairperson,

I believe that this option by Russia will have implications that reach far beyond a mere presence of this Organization in my country. By vetoing the OSCE presence in Georgia, Russia has once again failed to live up to its international commitments. And I mean not only the agreements of 12 August and 8 September that my Russian colleagues attribute so much “importance” to, but also bilateral commitments that the Russian leadership has assumed towards the leadership of some of the countries present in this room.

By saying no to the OSCE presence in Georgia and its occupied regions, Russia once again broke with the principles of transparency and accountability. These two principles are exactly what Russian decision-makers are afraid to see realized in the occupied regions of Georgia. We need to look at the reality. This long exercise was not about the concrete wordings of the mandate, or the titles of the mission, or the lack of time. Russia disagreed with us because of its unwillingness to have international oversight, no matter how slight, of the military build-up that it is undertaking in the Tskhinvali region. This territory, which is only 3,800 km<sup>2</sup>, will have three military bases! There will be one military base in Java, one in Tskhinvali and one in Akhagori in the Tskhinvali region. We all know that eight monitors would not be enough to monitor the situation on the ground, but at least we were agreeing that it would have been a good first step. As for the Russian decision-makers, they knew all along that they would not allow a single international monitor to see how their tanks and heavy equipment are accumulating in the occupied regions of Georgia.

Moreover, there are other even more serious reasons why Russia is unwilling to allow international observers into the Tskhinvali region. And it is about ethnic cleansing. The proxy

regime in this territory committed heinous crimes against humanity in August 2008 with the help of the Russian military. They cleansed the regions of ethnic Georgians, 30,000 of them. Many international organizations have noted in their reports, the ODIHR and the HCNM among them, that atrocities have occurred in this territory and that Georgian villages have been eradicated from the face of earth.

And what does this tell us about Russia, if it is not its inability to abide by the principles of transparency and accountability, and to live up to its international commitments? And once again, bear in mind that this State is proposing to us that we should change the current European security architecture. I wonder whether any security architecture can function without the principles of transparency, international oversight and accountability, and whether an ability to implement one's commitments is not the foundation of any security system in the world.

Madam Chairperson,

To conclude, once again, I want to thank all, at any rate almost all, the delegations for their constructiveness and engagement in the negotiation process. I would also like to thank the Greek Chairmanship and other delegations for their appreciation of the efforts and flexibility of my delegation during the negotiations.

Thank you.



**Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe  
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Annex 6

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**761st Plenary Meeting**

PC Journal No. 761, Agenda item 4(a)

**STATEMENT BY THE DELEGATION OF SWITZERLAND**

Madam Chairperson,

The Swiss delegation notes with great regret that it has not been possible to reach a consensus on the proposal by the Greek Chairmanship providing for the establishment of an OSCE office in Tbilisi and the deployment of civilian and military OSCE monitors on both sides of the administrative border. We should like to express our particular gratitude at this point to the Greek Chairmanship for its efforts in this extremely important matter for the OSCE.

Madam Chairperson,

The number of security-related incidents near the administrative border has increased over the last few months, with a constant risk for the civilian population in particular. We consider an OSCE presence on both sides of the administrative divide to be more important than ever under these circumstances. Now that the withdrawal of the OSCE's military monitoring officers is almost unavoidable, a stabilizing element in a region characterized by so many uncertainties is being lost.

The OSCE's potential in post-conflict management is being considerably reduced because of the lack of political will. In view of the present accumulation of military capabilities in the region, it is more important than ever for the OSCE to be assigned a significant role in conflict management and, in particular, early warning so that a rekindling of conflicts can be averted. The continuing humanitarian plight of many inhabitants of the region also demands a presence on the part of our Organization.

We are convinced that the Greek proposal with its status-neutral wording offers a realistic chance for the necessary compromise, a chance that has now possibly been wasted. We very much hope that the credibility of the OSCE and its values will not suffer too much damage as a result of the current development. Without a greater ability to reach a compromise in an organization based on strict consensus, it is difficult to see how the OSCE is going to be able to retain its capacity to act at all.

Thank you, Madam Chairperson.



**Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe  
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**761st Plenary Meeting**

PC Journal No. 761, Agenda item 4(a)

**STATEMENT BY  
THE DELEGATION OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION**

Madam Chairperson,

The Russian Federation regrets the decision by the Chairmanship to suspend further consultations regarding the parameters of the OSCE field presence in Georgia and South Ossetia. The refusal, for which we are not to blame, to seek a mutually acceptable solution to this highly sensitive issue will inevitably result in the complete winding up of the Organization's field activities there after 30 June 2009 on expiry of the mandate of the OSCE military observers in the parts of Georgia adjacent to South Ossetia. We should like to emphasize once again that this was not our choice.

Russia consistently spoke in favour of continuing the OSCE's activities on the territory of Georgia and South Ossetia even after the expiry of the mandate of the OSCE Mission to Georgia on 31 December 2008, at which time we were willing to agree to the technical extension of that mandate with the exception of the components relating to South Ossetia and Abkhazia that had become irrelevant. To our intense disappointment, however, this was obstructed by the prejudiced and partisan position of a number of partners, who ignored the legitimate concerns not only of Russia but also of the South Ossetian people, who had been the victims of the military adventure by the current Georgian leadership.

Russia immediately played an active role when the negotiations on the draft mandates of the OSCE presence in Georgia and South Ossetia were resumed this year. Along with other partners we agreed to an extension of Permanent Council Decision No. 861 of 19 August 2008 on additional OSCE military monitoring officers. We have taken part in all of the rounds of consultations to which we were invited by the Greek Chairmanship and have regularly made suggestions and elucidated the Russian position in detail.

In essence, the only thing that needed to be agreed upon was the parameters of the OSCE's activities in the region in the new politico-legal situation following the terrible shooting of civilians in Tskhinval and of Russian peacekeepers, who for many years had been reliably ensuring stability and security in this extremely troubled region.

With this in mind and in an effort to find a solution acceptable to everyone, we suggested the most flexible approach possible through the adoption by the Permanent Council



of two separate decisions: on the OSCE Office in Tbilisi, giving it a standard set of tasks to provide the Government of Georgia with assistance in meeting its commitments undertaken within the framework of the OSCE, and also on monitoring on both sides of the border between Georgia and South Ossetia.

Obviously, the scope of monitoring activities of this type, including the area of responsibility, must be agreed with both Tbilisi and Tskhinval. This is the cardinal point. Without the agreement of both sides, the observers will be simply unable to fulfil their obligations properly.

Moreover, agreement with South Ossetia became even more important after 8 August 2008 when the OSCE observers effectively left the inhabitants of South Ossetia to the vagaries of fate and fled from the territory in the wake of the Georgian assault. For Tskhinval this behaviour understandably highlighted the OSCE's failure to respond to the aggression by Tbilisi.

We are still interested in preserving the OSCE field presence, including the activities of the observers in the border regions adjacent to Georgia and South Ossetia.

As you know, the Russian Federation officially circulated amendments to the Greek draft as a constructive contribution to our common efforts. We note that our opinions have been simply ignored on the spurious grounds that they concern the status question and that no consensus could be formed.

Madam Chairperson,  
Distinguished colleagues,

We are not demanding the immediate recognition of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, either directly or indirectly. At the same time, we do not expect to have wording and approaches thrust upon us that run contrary to Russia's commitments under international law and force us to indirectly confirm the territorial integrity of Georgia within its old borders. We are willing to work on a basis of mutual respect and urge our partners to do the same.

Turning to the decision by the Greek Chairmanship, I should like to conclude by stating that the OSCE has regrettably once again demonstrated its inability to find a solution to a complex problem that is entirely within the Organization's mandate.

I would ask that this statement be attached to the journal of this meeting of the Permanent Council.



**761st Plenary Meeting**  
PC Journal No. 761, Agenda item 4(a)

## **STATEMENT BY THE DELEGATION OF NORWAY**

Madam Chairperson,

Let me first join previous speakers in paying a sincere tribute to the Greek Chairmanship for the tremendous and honest efforts it has made in the search for a compromise solution that would secure a robust and meaningful OSCE presence throughout Georgia, with full respect for her independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The CiO's proposal, if not ideal, was still a viable and very reasonable compromise that we and the rest of the participating States should have been able to live with, as it was status-neutral. Norway is sincerely disappointed at Russia's failure to join the consensus, and we deeply regret this situation, since our Organization still has so much important work to do throughout Georgia. While we fully understand and respect the Chairmanship's decision to discontinue the efforts to find yet another, hitherto untried, solution, I would like to join your appeal, Madam Chairperson, which was also seconded by other speakers, and once more urge Russia to reconsider its position and support the Chairmanship's draft decision.

Madam Chairperson,

As we have stated on numerous previous occasions, there is a clear need for a strengthened OSCE presence in the region. Norway, together with the vast majority of the participating States, wants an OSCE presence in Georgia with two main components: (a) a strong presence by military observers, *inter alia*, to oversee adherence to the six-point agreement of 12 August by all the parties to the conflict, to contribute to easing tensions and preventing unfortunate incidents, and to provide reliable and unbiased information; and (b) a full-fledged regular mission to assist the host country in promoting the further positive development of Georgian society and institutions.

Finally, Madam Chairperson, I would like to echo your remarks and the remarks of several previous speakers commending the Georgian delegation for its flexible and constructive attitude throughout the process.

Thank you, Madam Chairperson.