

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

***ALLEGATIONS OF GENOCIDE UNDER THE CONVENTION ON THE PREVENTION
AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE***

(UKRAINE V. RUSSIAN FEDERATION)

**PRELIMINARY OBJECTIONS
SUBMITTED BY THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION**

**Volume II
(ANNEXES 1- 60)**

1 October 2022

TABLE OF CONTENTS
VOLUME II

Annexes 1 - 60

Legal instruments

- Annex 1* Law of Ukraine No. 743-VII “On Preventing the Prosecution and Punishment of Persons in Connection with the Events that Occurred during Peaceful Assemblies and on Invalidating Certain Laws of Ukraine”, 21 February 2014
- Annex 2* Resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR on Declaration of Independence of Ukraine, 24 August 1991
- Annex 3* Decree of the Acting President of Ukraine No. 405/2014 “On the Decision of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine dated 13 April 2014 “On Urgent Measures to Overcome the Terrorist Threat and Preserve the Territorial Integrity of Ukraine”, 14 April 2014
- Annex 4* Decision of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine “On Urgent Additional Measures to Counter Hybrid Threats to the National Security of Ukraine”, 15 March 2017
- Annex 5* Concept Note of Economic Development of Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts, adopted by Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 1660-p, 23 December 2020
- Annex 6* Law of Ukraine No. 1682-VII “On Government Cleansing (Lustration Law)”, 16 September 2014
- Annex 7* Law of Ukraine No. 1680-VII “On the Special Procedure for Local Self-Government in Certain Areas of Donetsk and Lugansk Regions”, 16 September 2014
- Annex 8* Resolution of the Verkhovnaya Rada of Ukraine No. 795-IX “On Calling Regular Local Elections in 2020”, 15 July 2020
- Annex 9* Law of Ukraine No. 2268-VIII “On the Peculiarities of the State Policy on Ensuring Ukraine’s State Sovereignty Over Temporarily Occupied Territories in Donetsk and Lugansk Regions”, 18 January 2018
- Annex 10* Decree of the President of the Russian Federation On the Recognition of the Donetsk People’s Republic, 21 February 2022
- Annex 11* Decree of the President of the Russian Federation On the Recognition of the Lugansk People’s Republic, 21 February 2022

- Annex 12* Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Russian Federation and the Donetsk People’s Republic, 21 February 2022
- Annex 13* Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Russian Federation and the Lugansk People’s Republic, 21 February 2022
- Annex 14* Federal Law No. 403-FZ “On the Investigative Committee of the Russian Federation”, 28 December 2010 (as amended on 1 April 2022)

Official and other public statements

- Annex 15* Remarks by Secretary of State John Kerry in Ukraine, 4 March 2014
- Annex 16* Radoslaw Sikorski, Chair of Polish Sejm, “*No coup in Kiev. Gov. buildings got abandoned...*” Twitter, 22 February 2014
- Annex 17* Address of the Acting President of Ukraine, Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Alexander Turchinov to compatriots, 02 May 2014
- Annex 18* The Kremlin, News conference following Russian-Belarusian talks (18 February 2022)
- Annex 19* The Kremlin, Signing documents on recognition of the Donetsk and Lugansk Peoples Republics, 21 February 2022
- Annex 20* Address by the President of the Russian Federation, 21 February 2022
- Annex 21* Address by the President of the Russian Federation, 24 February 2022
- Annex 22* Speech by the President of Ukraine at the 58th Munich Security Conference, 19 February 2022
- Annex 23* Address by the President of Ukraine, 25 February 2022
- Annex 24* Statement by the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation, 14 March 2022
- Annex 25* Statement by the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation, 8 April 2022
- Annex 26* Report of the Donetsk Office in the Joint Center for Coordination and Control, 22 September 2022
- Annex 27* Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine on Russia’s False and Offensive Allegations of Genocide as a Pretext for Its Unlawful Military Aggression, 26 February 2022
- Annex 28* Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Statement by H.E. Mr Dmytro Kuleba, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, at the UN General

Assembly Debate on the Situation in the Temporarily Occupied Territories of Ukraine, 23 February 2022

- Annex 29* Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine on the Russian Federation's decision to recognise the "independence" of the so-called "DPR" and "LPR", 22 February 2022
- Annex 30* Ukraine qualifies Russia's latest actions as a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our state - Volodymyr Zelenskyy, 22 February 2022
- Annex 31* Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine on the new wave of aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, 24 February 2022
- Annex 32* Joint statement by the President of Ukraine, the President of the Republic of Lithuania, the President of the Republic of Poland on the Russian Federation's decision to recognise the so-called "DPR" and "LPR", 23 February 2022
- Annex 33* Statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Regarding the Severance of Diplomatic Relations with the Russian Federation, 24 February 2022
- Annex 34* Statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine regarding the Russian Federation's ongoing military aggression against Ukraine, 25 February 2022
- Annex 35* Ukraine filed a case against the Russian Federation at the International Court of Justice in Hague, 27 February 2022
- Annex 36* US Department of State Daily Press Briefing No. 40, Briefer: James P. Rubin (30 March 1999)
- Annex 37* On-the Record Briefing on Atrocities in Kosovo released by the Office of the Spokesman, US Department of State, Washington, DC (9 April 1999)
- Annex 38* Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and UK Foreign Secretary Robin Cook Press Conference, Washington, D.C. (22 April 1999)
- Annex 39* The Crisis in Kosovo: Hearings before the Subcommittee on European Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate (6 May and 24 June 1998)

Mass media articles

- Annex 40* The Guardian, *Ukraine's Western Pro-European Cities Warn They Could Break Away* (21 February 2014)

- Annex 41* The Guardian, *Ukraine Civil War Fears Mount as Volunteer Units Take Up Arms* (15 May 2014)
- Annex 42* SRB Podcast, *Interview with Dmytro Yarosh, Leader of Right Sector* (7 February 2014)
- Annex 43* The Washington Post, *In Violent Turn, Ukraine Fighting Kills at Least 25* (19 February 2014)
- Annex 44* The World, *Who Were the Maidan Snipers?* (14 March 2014)
- Annex 45* BBC News Ukraine, *The Maidan Shooting: a Participant's Account* (13 February 2015)
- Annex 46* Reuters, *Leaked Audio Reveals Embarrassing U.S. Exchange on Ukraine, EU* (7 February 2014)
- Annex 47* Russia Today, *Kiev Snipers Shooting From Bldg Controlled by Maidan Forces – Ex-Ukraine Security Chief* (13 March 2014)
- Annex 48* Global Research, *Who was Maidan Snipers' Mastermind?* (5 June 2014)
- Annex 49* The New York Times, *U.S. Points to Russia as Diplomats' Private Call Is Posted on Web* (6 February 2014)
- Annex 50* The Guardian, *Agreement on the Settlement of Crisis in Ukraine - Full Text* (21 February 2014)
- Annex 51* Time, *Kerry: We Stand With Ukraine's People* (1 February 2014)
- Annex 52* Agence Europe, *EU Recognises Legitimacy of New Government* (1 March 2014)
- Annex 53* BBC News, *Ukraine crisis: Transcript of Leaked Nuland-Pyatt Call* (7 February 2014)
- Annex 54* CNN, *PRES OBAMA on Fareed Zakaria GPS* (1 February 2015)
- Annex 55* Interfax, *Congress of Deputies from South-Eastern Regions of Ukraine and Crimea Begins in Kharkov. Yanukovich Is Not There Yet* (22 February 2014)
- Annex 56* RIA, *Congress of Deputies of the South-Eastern Regions of Ukraine opened in Kharkov* (22 February 2014)
- Annex 57* Channel One Russia, *Congress of South-Eastern Regions of Ukraine and Crimea Took Place in Kharkov* (22 February 2014)
- Annex 58* Time, *Right-Wing Thugs Are Hijacking Ukraine's Liberal Uprising*, (28 January 2014)

- Annex 59* *Time, Exclusive: Leader of Far-Right Ukrainian Militant Group Talks Revolution with Time (4 February 2014)*
- Annex 60* *The Conversation, Far-Right Party Jeopardises Ukraine's Path to Democracy (7 March 2014)*

Annex 1

Law of Ukraine No. 743-VII “On Preventing the Prosecution and Punishment of Persons in Connection with the Events that Occurred during Peaceful Assemblies and on Invalidating Certain Laws of Ukraine”, 21 February 2014

(translation)

Translation from Ukrainian

Law of Ukraine No. 743-VII “On Preventing the Prosecution and Punishment of Persons in Connection with the Events that Occurred during Peaceful Assemblies and on Invalidating Certain Laws of Ukraine”, 21 February 2014, available at: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/go/743-18>

LAW OF UKRAINE**On Preventing the Prosecution and Punishment of Persons in Connection with the Events that Occurred during Peaceful Assemblies and on Invalidating Certain Laws of Ukraine**

(Journal of the Verkhovnaya Rada, 2014, No. 12, Article 186)

The Verkhovnaya Rada of Ukraine **decides:**

I. Article 1. To exempt from criminal liability, in accordance with the procedure and under the conditions determined by this Law, the persons who participated in the mass protests that began on 21 November 2013 and are:

suspected or accused of (defendants in connection with) committing, in the period from 21 November 2013 through the effective date of this Law, acts containing elements of criminal offences under articles 109, 112, 113, 121, 122, 125, 128, 129, 146, 147, 151-1, 161, 162, 170, 174, 182, 185, 186, 187, 189, 194, 195, 196, 197-1, 231, 236, 239, 241, 255, 256, 257, 258, 258-1, 258-2, 258-3, 258-4, 258-5, 259, 260, 261, 264, 267, 270, 270-1, 277, 279, 280, 286, 289, 291, 293, 294, 295, 296, 304, 325, 335, 336, 337, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 355, 356, 376, 377, 382, 386, 396, and 436 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine, provided that such acts are related to the participation in the mass protests that began on 21 November 2013;

the persons who committed acts which may contain elements of criminal offences under the above-mentioned articles of the Criminal Code of Ukraine, provided that the acts of such persons are related to the participation in mass protests.

To terminate the relevant criminal proceedings.

For the purposes of this Act, a person's participation in the mass protests shall be confirmed by their application submitted to the competent body or official.

Article 2. To release the persons convicted of the crimes set forth in Article 1 of this Law from a punishment in the form of imprisonment for a fixed period and from other punishments that do not involve imprisonment, under the procedure and conditions determined by this Law.

Article 3. To terminate the criminal proceedings initiated in connection with the crimes set forth in article 1 of this Law, in which no person has been notified of a suspicion.

Article 4. To exempt from administrative liability the persons who participated in the mass protests that began on 21 November 2013 for committing any of the administrative offences set forth in the Code of Administrative Offences of Ukraine, in the period from 21 November 2013

through the effective date of this Law, provided that such offences are related to the mass protests, in accordance with the procedure envisaged by this Code.

Article 5. The implementation of this Law with regard to the exemption of the persons referred to in Articles 1 and 2 of this Law from criminal liability and from punishment shall be entrusted to courts and with regard to terminating the criminal proceedings referred to in Article 3 of this Law shall be entrusted to prosecution bodies.

The implementation of this Law with regard to the exemption of the persons referred to in Article 4 of this Law from administrative liability shall be entrusted to courts.

Article 6. This Law shall be applied:

1) With respect to the suspects whose criminal proceedings are pending before the pre-trial investigation bodies: by the court within whose territorial jurisdiction the pre-trial investigation is conducted, upon an application from the suspect or their defence counsel or legal representative or the prosecutor who exercises the procedural management of the relevant pre-trial investigation; the relevant applications are filed without conducting a pre-trial investigation in full;

(2) With respect to the accused (defendants) whose criminal proceedings are pending before the court and have not been completed prior to the entry of this Act into force, and with regard to the accused (defendants) whose criminal proceedings were completed but the sentences have not entered into force: by the courts conducting the relevant proceedings, upon an application from the accused (defendant) or their defence counsel or legal representative or the prosecutor maintaining the public prosecution;

(3) With respect to the convicted persons: by the court that issued the respective sentence, upon an application from the convicted person or their defence counsel or legal representative or the prosecutor who maintained the public prosecution;

4) In criminal proceedings under Article 3 of this Law: by the prosecutor who exercises procedural management of the respective pre-trial investigation, without conducting the pre-trial investigation in full.

Article 7. The court shall make a decision on the application of this Law in a court session. Failure to attend a court session by the persons who have been duly notified of the time and place of the hearing shall not prevent the court session from being held.

Article 8. The provisions of the Law of Ukraine "On the Application of Amnesty in Ukraine", the Criminal Code of Ukraine, the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine, and the Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offences may be applied in the implementation of this Law to the extent they do not contradict it.

Article 9. To prohibit collection, registration, accumulation, storage, adaptation, modification, recovery, use and dissemination (distribution, sale, transfer) of personal data of the persons who participated in the mass protests that began on 21 November 2013, which were obtained in connection with participation of such persons in the protests. Such personal data shall be destroyed in the manner prescribed by law.

Article 10. The officials and officers shall be held liable in accordance with the procedure envisaged by the laws of Ukraine for failure to comply with this Act within one month from the effective date of this Law.

II. FINAL AND TRANSITIONAL PROVISIONS

1. To declare null and void:

Law of Ukraine No. 712-VII "On Eliminating Negative Consequences and Preventing Prosecution and Punishment of Persons in Connection with Events That Took Place During Peaceful Assemblies" dated 19 December 2013;

Law of Ukraine No. 731-VII "On Making Amendments to the Law of Ukraine on Eliminating Negative Consequences and Preventing Prosecution and Punishment of Persons in Connection with Events That Took Place During Peaceful Assemblies" dated 16 January 2014;

Law of Ukraine No. 737-VII "On Eliminating Negative Consequences and Preventing Prosecution and Punishment of Persons in Connection with Events That Took Place During Peaceful Assemblies " dated 29 January 2014.

2. The Prosecutor General of Ukraine shall, without delay, but no later than the day following the effective date of this Law, instruct lower-level prosecutors who exercise procedural management of pre-trial investigations to file an application with the court within whose territorial jurisdiction the pre-trial investigation is conducted, for exempting the persons referred to in Articles 1 and 2 of this Law from criminal liability and from punishment and carry out procedural actions for and take procedural decisions on the termination of the criminal proceedings.

The prosecutors shall, without delay, from the day following the effective date of this Law, file an application with the court within whose territorial jurisdiction the pre-trial investigation is conducted for exempting the persons referred to in Articles 1 and 2 of this Law from criminal liability and from punishment and carry out procedural actions for and take procedural decisions on the termination of the criminal proceedings set forth in Article 3 of this Law.

The courts shall, without delay, but no later than the day following the day of receipt of an application from a suspect, accused (defendant), convicted person, their defence counsel or legal representative, the person on whom an administrative penalty was imposed, or the prosecutor for exempting the persons referred to in Articles 1 and 2 of this Law from criminal and administrative liability and from punishment, consider such application.

(3) The authorities and their officials (officers), enterprises, institutions, and organisations of any form of ownership shall be prohibited from discriminating against, prosecuting or holding liable any persons for their participation in the mass protests that began on 21 November 2013 and went on until the effective date of this Law.

4. The provisions of this Law shall apply to the criminal proceedings information about which was entered into the Unified Register of Pre-Trial Investigations under No. 12013110100018056 on 6 December 2013 in respect of Viktor Nikolaevich Smaly, born on 25 August 1976, for the commission of a criminal offense under Article 15, part two, and Article 377 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine, and to the criminal proceedings that were initiated against Yuri Vitalyevich Lutsenko, born on 14 December 1964, for the commission of a criminal offense under Article 110 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine.

5. This Law shall come into force on the day following the day of its publication.

Annex 1

**Acting President of Ukraine
President of Ukraine,
Chairman of the Verkhovnaya Rada of Ukraine**

A. TURCHINOV

**Kiev
21 February 2014
No. 743-VII**

Annex 2

Resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR on Declaration of Independence of
Ukraine, 24 August 1991

(translation)

Translation from Ukrainian

Resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR on Declaration of Independence of Ukraine, 24 August 1991, available at: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1427-12>

RESOLUTION

of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR

On Declaration of Independence of Ukraine

(Journal of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, 1991, No. 38, Art. 502)

The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic decides:

To declare Ukraine an independent democratic state on 24 August 1991.

From the moment of declaration of independence only the Constitution, laws, resolutions of the Government and other acts of legislation of the Republic shall be effective in the territory of Ukraine.

To hold a republican referendum on 1 December 1991 in confirmation of the act of declaration of independence.

**Chairman of the Supreme Soviet
of Ukrainian SSR**

L. KRAVCHUK

**Kiev,
24 August 1991
No. 1427-XII**

ACT

OF DECLARATION

OF INDEPENDENCE OF UKRAINE

Proceeding from the deadly danger hanging over Ukraine after the *coup d'état* in USSR of 19 August 1991,

- Carrying on the millennial tradition of nation building in Ukraine,
- Proceeding from the right to self-determination enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and other international legal instruments, and
- Implementing the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic solemnly

declares

Annex 2

the independence of Ukraine and the creation of an independent Ukrainian State, **UKRAINE**.

The territory of Ukraine shall be indivisible and inviolable.

Henceforth only the Constitution and the laws of Ukraine shall be in force in the territory of Ukraine.

This act shall enter into force from the moment of its approval.

SUPREME SOVIET OF UKRAINE

24 august 1991

Annex 3

Decree of the Acting President of Ukraine No. 405/2014 “On the Decision of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine dated 13 April 2014 “On Urgent Measures to Overcome the Terrorist Threat and Preserve the Territorial Integrity of Ukraine”, 14 April 2014

(translation)

Translation from Ukrainian

Decree of the Acting President of Ukraine No. 405/2014 “On the Decision of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine dated 13 April 2014 “On Urgent Measures to Overcome the Terrorist Threat and Preserve the Territorial Integrity of Ukraine”, 14 April 2014, available at: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/405/2014#text>

***Decree of the
President of Ukraine***

On the Decision of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine dated 13 April 2014 "On Urgent Measures to Overcome the Terrorist Threat and Preserve the Territorial Integrity of Ukraine"

In accordance with Articles 107 and 112 of the Constitution of Ukraine, **I decree that:**

1. The decision of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine "On Urgent Measures to Overcome the Terrorist Threat and Preserve the Territorial Integrity of Ukraine" dated 13 April 2014 (attached, secret) be put into effect.
2. Monitoring over the compliance with the decision of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine put into effect by this Decree be entrusted to the Secretary of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine.
3. This Decree shall come into force from the date of its publication.

Acting President of Ukraine

Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine

A. TURCHINOV

**Kiev
14 April 2014
No. 405/2014**

Annex 4

Decision of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine “On Urgent Additional Measures to Counter Hybrid Threats to the National Security of Ukraine”, 15 March 2017

(translation)

Translation from Ukrainian

Decision of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine “On Urgent Additional Measures to Counter Hybrid Threats to the National Security of Ukraine”, 15 March 2017, available at: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/go/n0002525-17>

THE NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEFENCE COUNCIL OF UKRAINE**DECISION****of 15 March 2017**

Enacted by

Decree of the President of Ukraine

No. 62/2017 dated 15 March 2017

On Urgent Additional Measures to Counter Hybrid Threats to the National Security of Ukraine

Noting the significant escalation of the security situation in the area of the anti-terrorist operation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions and given the seizure of Ukrainian enterprises located in the isolated areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions,

Being aware of the growing threats to the economic and energy security of Ukraine provoked by the deliberate actions of terrorists,

Taking into consideration Decree of the President of the Russian Federation No. 74 "On the Recognition in the Russian Federation of Documents for and Registration Plates of Vehicles Issued to Citizens of Ukraine and Stateless Persons Who Permanently Reside in the Territories of the Isolated Areas of Donetsk and Lugansk Regions in Ukraine" dated 18 February 2017,

Noting the escalation of the aggression by the Russian Federation against Ukraine,

With a view of protecting the rights and freedoms of Ukrainian citizens and ensuring the national security of Ukraine,

the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine **has decided that:**

1. Temporarily, until Clauses 1 and 2 of the Minsk "Package of Measures" of 12 February 2015 are implemented and until the seized enterprises start operating again under the laws of Ukraine, the movement of cargoes across the line of contact within the Donetsk and Lugansk regions cease.

2. The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine should take immediate measures to: cease the movement of cargoes across the line of contact within the Donetsk and Lugansk regions, except for humanitarian cargoes provided by Ukrainian and international humanitarian organizations;

ensure safe and reliable operation of the fuel and energy and metallurgical complexes of Ukraine and eliminate threats to the economic security of Ukraine and minimize their consequences for the economy and treasury of Ukraine by ensuring unconditional and complete implementation of the decisions of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine "On the

Status of Energy Security of the State and Urgent Measures for Ensuring Sustainability in the 2014/15 Heating Season" of 4 November 2014 enacted by Decree of the President of Ukraine No. 876 of 6 May 2015 "On the Progress in Implementing the Decision of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine of 4 November 2014 "On the Status of Energy Security of the State and Urgent Measures for Ensuring Sustainability in the 2014/15 Heating Season " and Additional Measures to Guarantee Energy Supply to Domestic Consumers" enacted by Decree of the President of Ukraine No. 298 of 28 May 2015, and "On Urgent Measures to Eliminate Threats to the Energy Security of Ukraine and to Strengthen the Protection of Critical Infrastructure" of 16 February 2017 enacted by Decree of the President of Ukraine No. 37 of 16 February 2017.

3. The Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine, the National Police of Ukraine, the National Guard of Ukraine, and the State Fiscal Service of Ukraine with the participation of the Security Service of Ukraine should without delay:

ensure the implementation of this decision by ceasing the movement of cargoes across the contact line within the Donetsk and Lugansk regions by rail and road;

create conditions for involving the public in monitoring the implementation of the measures envisaged by this decision;

take additional measures to strengthen the public security and counter sabotage and terrorist manifestations and attempts to disrupt public order.

4. A proposal be made to the leadership of the anti-terrorist operation in the Donetsk and Lugansk regions to take exhaustive measures to counteract possible armed provocations.

Secretary of the National Security and
Defence Council of Ukraine

A. TURCHINOV

Annex 5

Concept Note of Economic Development of Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts, adopted by Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 1660-p, 23 December 2020

(excerpt)

ADOPTED
by Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine
No. 1660-p as of 23 December 2020

CONCEPT NOTE
of Economic Development of Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts

General Provisions

Restoration of territorial integrity of the country, de-occupation and reintegration of the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts represent the key strategic goal of Ukraine.

Development of a new modern competitive economy in Eastern Ukraine and establishment of an additional stimulus for development of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts are an integral prerequisite for gradual reintegration of the temporarily occupied territories into the unified constitutional space of Ukraine.

Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts shall become a territory for implementation of special economic and legal conditions for comprehensive implementation of the system of economic processes management and organization that may be subsequently scaled up to the entire territory of Ukraine.

Introduction of special conditions will envision formation of priority development territories, state incentivizing of development and implementation of new economic development models that will serve as the unifying mechanism, the basis of which is simple and clear logic, namely, well-being of residents.

Conceptual approaches to the economic development of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts are the following:

Implementing the Concept Note of Economic Development of Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts (hereinafter referred to as the Concept Note) which covers territories of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts where public authorities perform their authorities in full with the possibility of further scale-up of the economic system to the temporarily occupied territories after their reintegration into the unified constitutional space of Ukraine;

Taking into consideration requirements under international commitments of Ukraine, namely, the Association Agreement between Ukraine, on the one hand, and the European Union, the European Atomic Energy Community, and their member states, on the other hand, other regulations on European and Euro-Atlantic integration, Protocol of Accession of Ukraine to the World Trade Organization as of 5 February 2008, agreements on free trade zones;

Taking into consideration the vector of sustainable development of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts pursuant to Decree No. 722 of the President of Ukraine as of 30 September 2019 “On Sustainable Development Goals of Ukraine till 2030”.

Authorities to make expenses from the state and local budgets shall correspond to the scope of revenues and shall be formed based on realistic indicators of economic and social development of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. Special modes on the priority development territories shall be introduced simultaneously with measures aimed at ensuring the balanced nature of the state budget.

Taking into account the key role of production in generation of demand for innovation, focus on the production sphere will have a decisive meaning for recovery of the economy of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. In this region there will be formed priority development territories, industrial, agricultural production, infrastructure, and tourist clusters, innovation centers. The priority will be a wide use of the ideology of partnership between the state and business as the organizational and economic framework for development of the investment model of relations between the state, local self-government bodies, and economic entities.

In order to achieve this, within the shortest possible period there will be formed a pool of industrial, construction, logistic, transport, engineering, financial suggestions that may generate a comprehensive solution for recovery and modernization of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. In many instances, production capacities of enterprises of Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhzhia, Kharkiv, and many other oblasts of Ukraine will be engaged.

Problems That Need to Be Solved

Armed aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine has caused temporary occupation of about 3 percent of the territory of Ukraine located in Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts where about 4 million people resided. The total number of the population in Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts in 2020 amounts to 6.2 million people.

Consequences of the armed aggression of the Russian Federation have primarily impacted the real sector of economy, namely, coal, metallurgic, machine building, chemical industrial enterprises located in eastern regions which accounted for a significant share of internal industrial production and export. Over 40 percent of the negative contribution to the Gross Domestic Product dynamics in 2014–2015 was caused by the armed aggression of the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. Hence, the country's Gross Domestic Product has decreased by approximately 10 percent as compared to 2013.

The industrial and agricultural economic complex with the predominant development of heavy industry was formed in Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. Regions with the area amounting to 8.8 percent of the area of the country produced 25 percent of industrial produce and 8 percent of agricultural produce. Enterprises were located in clusters (coal, metallurgic, heavy machine building, energy, chemical), most industries of the specialty were of interregional and international significance. According to different estimates, Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts accounted for one fourth of all export of Ukraine.

Annex 6

Law of Ukraine No. 1682-VII “On Government Cleansing (Lustration Law)”, 16 September
2014



Strasbourg, 21 October 2014

CDL-REF(2014)046
Engl. only

Opinion no. 788 / 2014

EUROPEAN COMMISSION FOR DEMOCRACY THROUGH LAW
(VENICE COMMISSION)

LAW ON
GOVERNMENT CLEANSING
(« LUSTRATION LAW »)
OF UKRAINE

On Government Cleansing

This Law establishes legal and organizational principles of cleansing the government (lustration) to protect and affirm democratic values, the rule of law and human rights in Ukraine.

Article 1. Main principles of cleansing the government

1. Cleansing the government (lustration) is a ban imposed by the Law or a court judgment on particular individuals to take certain positions (serve) (hereinafter □□positions or offices) (except for elective positions) in central and local government authorities.

2. Cleansing of the government (lustration) shall be performed to keep away from public governance those persons who made decisions, took actions or inaction (and/or contributed to their taking) facilitating power usurpation by the President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich and seeking to undermine the foundations of the national security and defense or violate human rights and freedoms. Lustration to be based on the following principles:

the rule of law and lawfulness;

openness, transparency and public accessibility;

presumption of innocence;

individual liability; and

guarantees of the right to defense.

3. The persons specified in Article 3.1, 3.2, 3.4 and 3.8 hereof, and the persons who failed to file statements as required by Article 4.1 hereof within the term established by this Law shall not be allowed to occupy positions being cleansed (lustration) for ten years after this Law takes effect.

4. The persons specified in Articles 3.3, 3.5 - 3.7 of this Law may not occupy positions being cleansed (lustration) for five years after a corresponding court judgment takes effect.

5. A ban specified in part 3 or 4 of this Article may be imposed on a person only once.

6. Imposition of the ban specified in part 3 of this Article shall not be a ground to deny imposition of the ban specified in part 4 of this Article in the manner established hereof if grounds are in place.

7. The ban specified in parts 3 and 4 of this Article shall not be imposed on persons specified in Article 3.2 - 3.4 of this Law who have been recognized as participants of military activities during the counterterrorism operation in the east of Ukraine as established by law.

8. Decisions, actions or inaction of public administration entities in the course of application of this Law can be challenged in court.

Article 2. Positions subject to cleansing (lustration)

1. Cleansing of the government (lustration) shall be applied to:

1) Prime Minister, First Vice Prime Minister, Vice Prime Ministers and ministers, heads of central executive authorities who are not members of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, Chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine, Chairman of the Antimonopoly Committee of Ukraine, Chairman of the State Property Fund, Chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting of Ukraine, their first deputies and deputies;

2) Prosecutor General, Head of the Security Service, Head of the Foreign Intelligence Service, Head of the Department of the State Guard, head of a central executive authority that develops and implements public tax and/or customs policy, head of the tax police service, head of a central executive authority that develops and implements public policy for civil protection, their first deputies and deputies;

3) military officials of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and others military units established in line with the laws, except for conscripts and mobilized servicemen;

4) members of the High Council of Justice, members of the High Qualification Commission of Judges of Ukraine, professional judges, Chairman of the State Court Administration of Ukraine, his/her first deputy and deputies;

5) Chief of Staff of the Presidential Administration, Head of Administrative Department, Head of the Secretariat of the Cabinet of Ministers, Government Commissioner for anti-corruption policy, their first deputies and deputies;

6) senior officers of police, the central executive authority that develops and implements the public policy on criminal penalties, the State Service of Special Communications and Information Protection, a central executive authority that develops and implements the public tax and/or customs policy, tax police, and central executive authority that develops and implements the public policy for civil protection;

7) officers and officials of public prosecutor's offices, the Security Service of Ukraine, the Foreign Intelligence Service, the Department of the State Guard and the National Bank of Ukraine;

8) members of the Central Election Commission, the National Television and Radio Broadcasting Council of Ukraine, chairmen and members of national commissions responsible for government regulation of natural monopolies, communications and IT, securities and financial services markets;

9) heads of national enterprises including state-owned companies in defense industry and public companies managed by the administrative services entity;

10) other officers and officials (except for elective positions) of central and local governments;

11) persons intending to occupy the positions specified in clauses 1-10 of this part.

Article 3. Government cleansing (lustration) criteria

1. The ban specified in Article 1.3 of this Law shall be imposed on persons who occupied a position (positions) for at least a year cumulatively between February 25, 2010 and February 22, 2014 of:

1) President of Ukraine, Prime Minister of Ukraine, First Vice Prime Minister, Vice Prime Minister;

2) minister, head of a central executive authority who is not a member of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, Chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine, Chairman of the Antimonopoly Committee of Ukraine, Chairman of the State Property Fund of Ukraine, Chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting of Ukraine, their first deputy, chairman or member of the national commission responsible for the government regulation of natural monopolies, communications and IT, securities and financial services markets;

3) Prosecutor General, Head of the State Security Service, Head of the Foreign Intelligence Service, Head of the Department of the State Guard, head of the central executive authority that develops and implements the public tax and/or customs policy, head of tax police, their first deputy or deputy, Vice Minister of Internal Affairs of Ukraine;

4) Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council, his/her first deputy or deputy;

5) Chief of Staff of the Presidential Administration, Head of Administrative Department, Head of the Secretariat of the Cabinet of Ministers, Government Commissioner for anti-corruption policy, their first deputy, deputy;

6) member of the High Council of Justice (except for the President of the Supreme Court of Ukraine), member of the High Qualification Commission of Judges of Ukraine, Chairman of the State Court Administration of Ukraine, his/her first deputy, deputy;

7) head, deputy head of an independent structural unit of the central office (administration) of the Prosecutor General's Office, the Security Service, the Foreign Intelligence Service, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the central executive authority that develops and implements the public tax and/or customs policy, tax police;

8) head or deputy head of a territorial (regional) office of public prosecution, the Security Service, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the central executive authority that develops and implements the public tax and/or customs policy, tax police in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, oblasts, the cities of Kyiv and Sevastopol;

9) Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, head of oblast, Kyiv or Sevastopol city state administrations, their first deputy, deputy, head of district state administrations, head of Kyiv district state administration;

10) Chief of General Staff who is the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Commander of Ground Forces, Commander of Air Forces, Commander of the Navy, their first deputy.

2. The ban specified in Article 1.3 of this Law shall be imposed on persons who occupied a position (positions) between November 21, 2013 and February 22, 2014 and were not dismissed from the corresponding position (positions):

1) Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council, Prime Minister, First Vice Prime Minister, Vice Prime Minister, minister, head of a central executive authority who is not a member of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, Chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine, Chairman of the Antimonopoly Committee of Ukraine, Chairman of the State Property Fund of Ukraine, Chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, Prosecutor General, Head of Security Service, Head of Foreign Intelligence Service, head of Department of the State Guard, head of the central executive authority that develops and implements the public tax and/or customs policy, head of tax police, head of the central executive authority that develops and implements the public policy for civil protection, Chief of Staff of the Presidential Administration, Head of Administrative Department, Head of the Secretariat of the Cabinet of Ministers, Government Commissioner for anti-corruption policy, their first deputy, deputy;

2) member of the High Council of Justice (except for the President of the Supreme Court of Ukraine), member of the High Qualification Commission of Judges of Ukraine, Chairman of the State Court Administration of Ukraine, his first deputy, deputy;

3) head, deputy head of an independent structural unit of the central office (administration) of the Prosecutor General's Office, the Security Service, the Foreign Intelligence Service, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the central executive authority that develops and implements the public tax and/or customs policy, tax police;

4) head or deputy head of a territorial (regional) office of public prosecution, the Security Service, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the central executive authority that develops and implements the public tax and/or customs policy, tax police in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, oblasts, the cities of Kyiv and Sevastopol, districts in Kyiv;

5) Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, head of oblast, Kyiv or Sevastopol city state administrations, their first deputy, deputy, head of district state administrations, head of Kyiv district state administration;

6) Chief of General Staff who is the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Commander of Ground Forces, Commander of Air Forces, Commander of the Navy, their first deputy, deputy;

7) head or member of a national commission responsible for the government regulation of natural monopolies, communications and IT, securities and financial services markets;

8) head of a state company managed by the administrative services entity that takes necessary actions in line with the law to provide administrative services;

9) a law enforcement officer who took part in detaining persons relieved from criminal or administrative liability according to the Law of Ukraine No.737□VII of January 29, 2014 *On eliminating negative consequences and preventing prosecution and punishment of persons in regard to events that happened during peaceful assemblies* and the Law of Ukraine No.743□VII of February 21, 2014 *On preventing prosecution and punishment of persons in regard to events that happened during peaceful assemblies, and recognizing certain laws of Ukraine as invalid.*

10) a law enforcement officer who drafted and/or contributed by their actions to draft reports, administrative offence reports, reports of suspicion of criminal offence or indictments in regard persons relieved from criminal or administrative liability according to the Law of Ukraine No.737□VII of January 29, 2014 *On eliminating negative consequences and preventing prosecution and punishment of persons in regard to events that happened during peaceful assemblies* and the Law of Ukraine No.743□VII of February 21, 2014 *On preventing prosecution and punishment of persons in regard to events that happened during peaceful assemblies, and recognizing certain laws of Ukraine as invalid.*

11) an investigator of a pre-trial investigation agency, inquiry officer, operative, inspector who conducted investigative and operative actions in regard to persons relieved from criminal or administrative liability according to the Law of Ukraine No.737□VII of January 29, 2014 *On eliminating negative consequences and preventing prosecution and punishment of persons in regard to events that happened during peaceful assemblies* and the Law of Ukraine No.743□VII of February 21, 2014 *On preventing prosecution and punishment of persons in regard to events that happened during peaceful assemblies, and recognizing certain laws of Ukraine as invalid.*

12) a public prosecution officer who administered procedures, filed motions, approvals, supported motions for measures of restraint or supported public prosecution in courts against the persons relieved from criminal or administrative liability according to the Law of Ukraine No.737□VII of January 29, 2014 *On eliminating negative consequences and preventing prosecution and punishment of persons in regard to events that happened during peaceful assemblies* and the Law of Ukraine No.743□VII of February 21, 2014 *On preventing prosecution and punishment of persons in regard to events that happened during peaceful assemblies, and recognizing certain laws of Ukraine as invalid.*

13) a judge who approved a decision to enforce compelled appearance in the court on custodial measure of restraint or, approved decisions on bringing to administrative or criminal liability the persons relieved from criminal or administrative liability according to the Law of Ukraine No.737□VII of January 29, 2014 *On eliminating negative consequences and preventing prosecution and punishment of persons in regard to events that happened during peaceful assemblies* and the Law of Ukraine No.743□VII of February 21, 2014 *On preventing prosecution and punishment of persons in regard to events that happened during peaceful assemblies, and recognizing certain laws of Ukraine as invalid.*

3. The ban specified in Article 1.4. of this Law shall be imposed on judges who approved decisions to enforce compelled appearance in the court on custodial measure of restraint, approved or upheld guilty verdicts in regard to the persons subject to full personal amnesty according to the Law of Ukraine No. 792□VII of February 27, 2014 *On amending the Law of Ukraine On granting amnesty in Ukraine regarding full rehabilitation of political prisoners* officers of police, public prosecution or other law enforcement agencies who, through their decisions, actions or inaction, took steps (and/or contributed to their taking) to criminally prosecute and bring to criminal liability the persons subject to full personal amnesty according to the Law of Ukraine No. 792□VII of February 27, 2014 *On amending the Law of Ukraine On granting amnesty in Ukraine regarding full rehabilitation of political prisoners*.

4. The ban specified in Article 1.3 of this Law shall be imposed on persons who:

1) were elected and worked in senior positions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Ukraine, the Communist Party of another union republic in the former USSR starting from the position of a secretary of a district committee and higher;

2) were elected and worked in senior positions starting from the secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol and higher;

3) worked as full-time employees or covert agents of the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR, KGB of the USSR, KGB of other union republics in the former USSR, Main Intelligence Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Defense, graduated from higher education institutions of KGB of the USSR (except for technical qualifications).

5. The ban specified in Article 1.4 hereof shall be imposed on officials and officers of central and local government authorities (except for persons indicated in parts 1–4 of this Article) who occupied the corresponding position between February 25, 2010 and February 22, 2014 by their decision, action or inaction - which are proven by a court judgment against them that has taken effect - contributed to power usurpation by the President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich and seeking to undermine fundamentals of the national security, defense or territorial integrity of Ukraine which caused violation of human rights and freedoms.

6. The ban specified in Article 1.4 hereof shall be imposed on officials and officers of central and local government authorities, including judges, officers in police, public prosecutor's offices and other law enforcement agencies whose decisions, actions or inaction – which are proven by a court judgment against them that has taken effect – sought to prevent the exercise of the constitutional right of Ukrainian nationals to peaceful assemblies, and hold rallies, demonstrations, marches or to harm human life, health or property between November 21, 2013 and February 22, 2014.

7. The ban specified in Article 1.4 hereof shall be imposed on officials and officers of central and local government authorities, including judges, officers in police, public prosecutor's offices and other law enforcement agencies if a court judgment against them, which has taken effect, established that they had:

1) cooperated as secret informers with special services of other countries to provide regular information;

2) taken decisions, actions, failed to take actions and/or facilitated such actions, decisions or inaction to undermine the national security, defense or territorial integrity of Ukraine;

3) called publicly for the breach of Ukraine's territorial integrity and sovereignty;

4) incited ethnic hostility;

5) taken unlawful decisions, actions or inaction that violated human rights and fundamental freedoms where violations were proven by judgments of the European Court of Human Rights.

8. The ban specified in Article 1.3 hereof shall be imposed on persons whose screening has found unreliability of information about possession of property (property rights) in their transparency returns on the property, income, expenses and financial obligations for a previous year prepared in a form prescribed by the Law of Ukraine *On the Principles of Preventing and Combating Corruption* and/or a mismatch between the cost of property (property rights) acquired by them during their stay in offices specified in Articles 2.1.1–2.1.10 hereof (where the cost is indicated in their transparency returns) and incomes received from legitimate sources.

9. Deciding on cases involving persons specified in parts 5–7 of this Article, courts of general jurisdiction shall apply this Law, impose the ban specified in Article 1.4 hereof and submit the respective decision to the State Court Administration of Ukraine for it to be submitted to the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine and entered in the Uniform Register of persons who are subject to the Law of Ukraine *On Government Cleansing*.

10. Sentencing persons specified in parts 5–7 of this Article, courts shall impose the ban specified in Article 1.4 hereof as a primary or additional punishment according to the Criminal Code of Ukraine. If the ban specified in Article 1.4 hereof is imposed as an additional punishment, it shall last for five years.

Article 4. Statements of officials and officers

1. Persons who are in offices specified in Articles 2.1.1 – 2.1.10 shall submit to their chiefs or an agency indicated in Article 5.4 hereof personal written statements that they are subject (not subject) to the bans indicated in Article 1.3 or Article 1.4 hereof and consent to screening and publishing of information about them according to this Law (hereinafter referred to as the statement).

2. The statement shall be submitted not later than on the tenth day of screening which started in a respective agency or enterprise according to a screening schedule to be approved pursuant to Article 5.2.3 hereof.

3. Failure to submit the statement within the period established by part 2 of this Article shall be a ground to dismiss the person not later than on the third day of expiration of the period and to impose a ban on him/her as specified in Article 1.3 hereof.

If a person states that he/she is subject to the ban specified in Article 1.3 or 1.4, such statement shall be a ground to dismiss him/her from the occupied position within three days of submission of the statement and to impose the ban on him/her.

Article 5. Screening procedures

1. The Ministry of Justice of Ukraine is an agency authorized to ensure the screening provided for by this Law.

The Ministry of Justice of Ukraine shall, within one month following the effective date of this Law, establish an advisory public council for lustration which shall comprise representatives of mass media and general public to ensure civil control over the government cleansing (lustration).

2. The Ministry of Justice of Ukraine shall, within one month following the effective date of this Law, develop and submit to the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine the following documents:

1) a list of agencies that check, within their competence, the reliability of information about imposition of bans specified in Article 1.3 and Article 1.4 hereof;

2) procedures of screening provided for by this Law;

3) a screening schedule for every central, local government authority or enterprise employing persons specified in Articles 2.1.1– 2.1.10 of this Law, in order of priority established by part 6 of this Article.

3. Draft documents specified by part 2 of this Article and submitted by the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine shall be approved by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine not later than on the tenth day of submission by the Ministry and published on the Ministry's official website within ten days of approval.

The Ministry of Justice of Ukraine shall, not later than on the tenth days of approval by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine of a list of agencies as provided for by part two, clause 1 of this Article, post on its official website information about postal address, e-mail and telephone number of every agency responsible for screening and the advisory public council for lustration under the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine. Individuals and legal entities may, within one month of the start of screening, send information to the agencies or council about imposition of bans established by this Law on a person being screened. Such information submitted by individuals and legal entities shall be considered by the government authorities responsible for screening.

4. Responsibility for organization of the screening (except for the screening of professional judges and persons specified in paragraph 3 of this part) shall lie with the head of a respective agency authorized to dismiss a person being screened.

Responsibility for organization of the screening of professional judges shall lie with the president of a court where the judge works.

Responsibility for organization of the screening of members of the High Council of Justice, High Qualification Commission of Judges of Ukraine, Central Election Commission and National Television and Radio Broadcasting Council of Ukraine lies with the head of an agency where the person works.

5. The following data shall be screened:

1) reliability of information indicated in the statement that he/she is not subject to the bans specified in Articles 1.3 and 1.4 of this Law;

2) reliability of information about possession of property (property rights) and a match between the cost of property (property rights), indicated in the transparency returns on the property, income, expenses and financial obligations for a previous year prepared in a form prescribed by the Law of Ukraine *On the Principles of Preventing and Combating Corruption* (hereinafter the transparency return), acquired while occupying the positions specified in Article 2.1.1 – 2.1.10, and incomes received from legitimate sources.

6. Screening shall be conducted in the following order of priority:

1) the Minister of Justice of Ukraine, officials and officers of the Ministry of Justice, heads, officials and officers of agencies specified in part 2, clause 1 of this Article;

2) heads of agencies specified in Article 2.1.1 – 2.1.10 hereof;

3) deputy heads of agencies specified in Articles 2.1.1 – 2.1.10 hereof, heads of their structural units, heads of their regional offices and persons specified in Article 2.1.9 hereof;

4) other persons specified in Article 2.1.1 – 2.2.10 hereof.

7. The head of an agency specified in part 4 of this Article shall, not later than on the third day of receipt of the statement, send a screening request in regard to a person being screened to respective regional, city or district government authorities located at the place of residence of the person and responsible for screening of the data specified in part 5, clause 1 of this Article. Copies of the statement shall be attached to the screening request.

The head of an agency specified in part 4 of this Article shall, not later than on the third day of receipt of the statement, send a screening request in regard to a person being screened to respective regional, city or district government authorities located at the place of residence of the person and responsible for screening of the data specified in part 5, clause 2 of this Article. Copies of the person's transparency return shall be attached to the screening request.

Requests specified in paragraphs 1 and 2 of this part shall be sent simultaneously.

On the same day, the head of an agency specified in part 4 of this Article shall send a report to the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine about the start of screening of a person, with the report to indicate the date where the screening started and to be published on the official website of the Ministry.

8. Screening shall start on the day when respective requests, documents attached thereto and reports are sent to the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine.

9. Information about start of the screening of a person and copies of his/her statement and transparency return (except for restricted information as established by law) shall be published within three days of receipt of the statement on the official website of an agency authorized to dismiss a person being screened.

10. If screening finds unreliability of information specified in part 5, clause 2 of this Article, the screening agency shall, within three working days of finding the unreliability and/or mismatches, but not later than on the thirtieth day of receipt of the request and a copy of the transparency return of a person being screened, notify the person of the findings. A person being screened shall, not later than on the fifteenth working day of receipt of a respective notice, provide explanations and substantiating documents to be considered and taken into account by the screening agency during preparation of a screening report.

11. The screening agency shall send the screening report signed by its head (or an acting head) to the head of an agency specified in part 4 of this Article within sixty days after the start of screening.

This report may be challenged in court.

12. If the screening finds unreliability of information specified in part 5, clause 1 and/or 2 of this Article, the screening agency shall send a copy of the screening report to the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine for information about receipt of the report to be published on the official website and entered in the Uniform Register of persons who are subject to the Law of Ukraine *On Government Cleansing* within three days of receipt of the report.

13. If the screening of a professional judge finds unreliability of information specified in part 5, clause 1 and/or 2 of this Article, the screening agency shall send a copy of the screening report to the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine, which shall send the report within three days of receipt to the High Council of Justice and/or High Qualification Commission of Judges of Ukraine and proposes to accept the motion for dismissal of the judge from the post.

For the purpose of this Law, the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine shall be the institution in charge of receiving motions for dismissal of judges.

14. On the basis of the screening report which found unreliability of information specified in part 5, clause 1 and/or 2 of this Article, the head of an agency specified in part 4 of this Article shall, within three days of receipt of such report, dismiss the person according to Article 1.3 or 1.4 hereof or send this opinion to the head of an agency (to the agency) authorized to dismiss or initiate dismissal of the screened person for the person to be dismissed according to established procedures hereof within ten days of receipt of the report.

15. All screening-related materials received by the head of an agency specified in part 4 of this Article shall be attached to the personal file of the person screened.

Article 6. Statements of persons intending to occupy positions

1. A candidate for an office specified in Articles 2.1.1–2.1.10 hereof (except for nationals conscripted into the army as officers, mobilized for the military service for a special period or engaged to work in positions provided for under the martial law, in a region of counter-terrorism operation) shall submit a personal written statement that he/she is not subject to the bans specified in Article 1.3 or 1.4 hereof and consents to screening and publishing information about him/her according to this Law.

2. Information in the statement specified in part 1 of this Article shall be checked during vetting provided for by Article 11 of the Law of Ukraine *On the Principles of Preventing and Combating Corruption* according to procedures and within the timeline established by this Law.

3. If screening finds that the person is among those who are subject to the bans specified in Article 1.3 or 1.4 hereof, it shall be a ground to deny appointment of the person on the position for which this person pretends.

Article 7. Uniform Register of persons who are subject to the Law of Ukraine On Government Cleansing

1. Information about persons subject to the ban specified in Article 1.3 or 1.4 hereof shall be entered in the Uniform Register of persons who are subject to the Law of Ukraine *On Government Cleansing* (hereinafter referred to as the Register) made and kept by the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine.

Regulations on the Register as well as procedures to make and keep it shall be approved by the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine.

Information about persons subject to the ban specified in Article 1.4 hereof shall be published on the official website of the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine and entered in the Register within three days of receipt by the Ministry from the State Court Administration of Ukraine of a soft copy of a court decision that has taken effect, where the soft copy is retrieved from the Uniform State Register of Court Decisions. The State Court Administration of Ukraine shall send the soft copy of the court decision to the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine within ten days of the effective date of the decision.

2. Information about availability (unavailability) of data about a person in the Register shall be provided:

upon request of government authorities, authorities of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea or local governments for the screening provided for by this Law or screening provided for by Law of Ukraine *On the Principles of Preventing and Combating Corruption* in regard to persons who to intend to occupy positions in public administration or local self-government;

upon request of law enforcement agencies for criminal or administrative proceedings or upon request of a public prosecutor to supervise compliance with, and application of, the laws;

during check of a list of persons dismissed from the occupied positions because of the government cleansing (lustration) against data in the Register;

upon request of a person (his/her authorized representative) to receive information about himself/herself.

3. The Ministry of Justice of Ukraine shall, within three days of receipt of information to be entered in the Register, ensure that it is published on its official website and enter it in the Register. The following information about a person who is subject to this Law shall be available for 24/7 free public access:

- 1) full name;
- 2) place of employment and position at the time of application of this Law;
- 3) progress of the screening and information about receipt of the screening report that confirms grounds for imposition of bans specified in Article 1 hereof;
- 4) a time period of the imposed ban specified in Article 1.3 or 1.4 hereof.

This information about a person is not confidential and shall be accessed without limits.

Article 8. Supervision of compliance with this Law

1. The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine shall exercise parliamentary control over compliance with this Law to the extent established by the Constitution of Ukraine.

Other government authorities shall control compliance with this Law within their mandate and in a manner provided for by the Constitution of Ukraine and the laws of Ukraine.

FINAL AND TRANSITIONAL PROVISIONS

1. This Law shall take effect on the day following the day of official publication.

2. Authorize the head of an agency (authorize the agency) responsible for dismissal and/or initiation of dismissal of persons subject to the ban specified in Article 1.3 hereof to do the following within ten days of the effective date of this Law on the basis criteria established by Article 3.1 hereof and information from personal files of these persons:

1) dismiss the persons from the positions or send the head of the agency (send the agency) authorized to dismiss such persons respective documents for dismissal within ten working days of receipt of such documents;

2) notify the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine of their dismissal from positions and provide respective information about imposition of the ban specified in Article 1.3 hereof to be published on the official website of the Ministry and entered in the Uniform Register of persons who are subject to the Law of Ukraine *On Government Cleansing* according to procedures and within the timelines established by this Law.

3. Laws and other regulatory acts shall apply to the extent not contrary to this Law.

4. The following legislative acts of Ukraine shall be amended:

1) Article 36 of the Code of Labor Laws of Ukraine (*Vidomosti Verkhovnoyi Rady USSR*, 1971, appendix to No.50, page 375):

add clause 72 to part 1:

"72) on the grounds provided for by the Law of Ukraine *On Government Cleansing*";

add the words "and in case specified in clause 72, a person shall be dismissed from office according to procedures established by the Law of Ukraine *On Government Cleansing*";

2) add paragraph 2 to Article 55.1 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine (*Vidomosti Verkhovnoyi Rady Ukrainy*, 2001, No.25–26, page 131):

"Deprivation of the right to occupy certain positions as additional punishment in cases provided for by the Law of Ukraine *On Government Cleansing* shall be imposed for five years";

3) Article 53.1 of the Law of Ukraine *On the Judiciary and the Status of Judges* (*Vidomosti Verkhovnoyi Rady Ukrainy*, 2010, No.41--45, page 529) shall read as follows:

"1. Judicial office is incompatible with offices in any other central or local government authorities and with a representation mandate as well as if the judge is subject to bans specified in Article 1 of the Law of Ukraine *On Government Cleansing*";

4) add clause 6 to Article 11.2 of the Law of Ukraine *On the Principles of Preventing and Combating Corruption* (*Vidomosti Verkhovnoyi Rady Ukrainy*, 2011, No.40, page 404):

"6) a ban imposed on a person to occupy certain position as provided for by Law of Ukraine *On Government Cleansing*".

President of Ukraine

P. Poroshenko

KYIV

16 September 2014

No.1682-VII

Annex 7

Law of Ukraine No. 1680-VII “On the Special Procedure for Local Self-Government in Certain Areas of Donetsk and Lugansk Regions”, 16 September 2014

(translation)

Translation from Ukrainian

Law of Ukraine No. 1680-VII “On the Special Procedure for Local Self-Government in Certain Areas of Donetsk and Lugansk Regions”, 16 September 2014, available at: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1680-18#n5>

LAW OF UKRAINE**On the Special Procedure for Local Self-Government in Certain Areas of Donetsk and Lugansk Regions**

(Journal of Verkhovna Rada (JVR), 2014, No. 45, Art. 2043)

{As amended in accordance with Laws

No. 256-VIII of 17.03.2015, JVR, 2015, No. 17, Art. 125

No. 2167-VIII of 06.10.2017, JVR, 2017, No. 40-41, Art. 384

No. 2588-VIII of 04.10.2018, JVR, 2018, No. 42, Art. 333

No. 364-IX of 12.12.2019, JVR, 2020, No. 14, Art. 82

No. 1078-IX of 15.12.2020, JVR, 2021, No. 16, Art. 143

No. 1930-IX of 02.12.2021}

This Law determines a temporary procedure for organising local self-government and activities of local self-government bodies in certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions in order to create conditions for speedy return to a normal situation and for restoring law and order, the constitutional rights and freedoms of citizens, and the rights and legitimate interests of legal entities, and to create conditions for the return of residents to the places of permanent residence they had to leave and their reintegration and for restoring the vital activity in populated areas in Donetsk and Lugansk regions.

Article 1: Pursuant to this Law, from the day of its entry into force, subject to the provisions of the Law of Ukraine "On Creating Necessary Conditions for Peaceful Settlement of the Situation in Certain Areas of Donetsk and Lugansk Regions", a special procedure for local self-government shall be introduced temporarily, until 31 December 2022 inclusive, in certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, which include districts, cities, towns, and villages as determined by decision of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (hereinafter, certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions).

{Article 1 as amended by Law No. 2167-VIII of 06.10.2017; as amended pursuant to Laws No. 2588-VIII of 04.10.2018, No. 364-IX of 12.12.2019, No. 1078-IX of 15.12.2020, No. 1930-IX of 02.12.2021}

Article 2. In the period of validity of the special local self-government procedure, the laws of Ukraine shall operate in certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, subject to the peculiarities determined by this Law.

Article 3. The State guarantees in accordance with the law that those who participated in the events in the territory of Donetsk and Lugansk regions will be prevented from being subjected to criminal prosecution, criminal or administrative liability or punishment.

The authorities and their officials (officers), enterprises, institutions and organisations of any form of ownership shall be prohibited from discriminating against, persecuting and prosecuting persons in connection with the events that took place in Donetsk and Lugansk regions.

Article 4. The State guarantees, in accordance with the Law of Ukraine "On the Basic Principles of State Language Policy", the right of language self-determination for each resident in certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions in relation to the language they consider their mother tongue, and the right to choose a vehicular language, to freely use Russian and any other language in public and private life, and to study and support Russian and any other language and their free development and equal rights in relation to them.

The local self-government bodies and local executive authorities shall, in the manner and within the limits of the powers envisaged by the Law of Ukraine "On the Basic Principles of State Language Policy", other Ukrainian laws, international treaties of Ukraine, by which the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine has agreed to be bound, shall, in certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, promote the oral and written use of Russian and other languages in the sphere of education and in mass media and create conditions for their use by state authorities and local self-government bodies in their activities.

Article 5. In certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, the local self-government shall be carried out in accordance with the Constitution and the laws of Ukraine by respective territorial communities directly and through local self-government bodies.

The powers of deputies of local councils and officials elected at extraordinary elections called by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine under this Law may not be early terminated.

In certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, the laws of Ukraine introduce a special procedure for the appointment of heads of prosecution bodies and courts, which provides for the involvement of local self-government bodies in resolving such issues.

Article 6. In order to ensure coordination of activities of local self-government bodies and central and local executive authorities to support the development of certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and ministries and other central executive authorities may enter into agreements with respective local self-government bodies on the economic, social and cultural development of certain areas.

The entry into agreements on the economic, social and cultural development of certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions shall be initiated by the respective local self-government bodies. In order to conclude an agreement on the economic, social and cultural development of certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, the local self-government bodies shall submit to the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine or ministries or other central executive authorities their proposals on matters pertaining to the development of certain areas that require resolution by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, the ministry or other central executive authority shall consider the proposals submitted and, within ten days of the receipt of such proposals, shall initiate a consultation process with representatives of local self-government bodies in certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, the business entities concerned and the public. The decision to initiate a consultation process shall be made by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, the ministry or other central executive authority and the body that initiated the entry into the agreement shall be immediately notified of the decision made and shall ensure that representatives of the respective local self-government bodies, business entities concerned and members of the public are involved in the consultations.

During consultations, representatives of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, ministries, and other central executive authorities and local self-government bodies of certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, the entities concerned, and members of the public shall prepare a draft agreement on the economic, social and cultural development of certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions.

The agreement on the economic, social and cultural development of certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions shall enter into force from the date of its approval by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the ministry.

The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine shall monitor the implementation of concluded agreements on the economic, social and cultural development of certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions by executive authorities and shall hear their reports and take measures in accordance with the law to ensure the implementation of the concluded agreements by the parties.

Article 7. The State shall support the social and economic development of certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions.

The state support shall consist in the introduction, pursuant to a law, of a regime, other than the common economic regime, for the conduct of economic and investment activities aimed at restoring industry facilities and transport and social infrastructures, and housing stock, reorienting the industrial potential, creating new jobs, and attracting investments and loans for the restoration and development of facilities located in certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions.

For the purpose of implementing sustainable social and economic development of certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, in accordance with the Law of Ukraine "On State Targeted Programmes", shall approve a state targeted programme which will define activities, tasks and indicators targeted at creating conditions for comprehensive and well-balanced development of the territories, restoration of production and export potential, ensuring effective use of resource and industrial potential, and satisfying the needs of the population of the respective territories for high-tech equipment.

The Law on the State Treasury of Ukraine shall provide for the annual allocation of expenditures for state support of the social and economic development of certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions. Ukraine guarantees that such expenditures out of the general funds of the State Treasury of Ukraine will be defined as protected expenditures, the amount of which may not be altered, if approved budget assignments are reduced.

Article 8. For the purpose of resolving common development problems and strengthening and deepening good-neighbourly relations between territorial communities and local self-government bodies of certain areas, the executive authorities shall promote the development of cross-border cooperation in certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions with administrative and territorial units of the Russian Federation on the basis of cross-border cooperation agreements concluded by territorial communities, local self-government bodies, and local executive authorities of Ukraine

Article 9: In certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, people's militia units shall be established by decision of city, town and village councils, which shall be entrusted with the task of protecting the public order in populated places of such areas.

The activities of people's militia units to protect the public order in populated areas shall be coordinated by the respective head of a city, town, or settlement.

The people's militia units shall be formed on a voluntary basis from among citizens of Ukraine who permanently reside in the respective populated places of certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions.

In protecting the public order, people's militia units shall exercise the powers provided for them by laws of Ukraine.

The head of a city, town, or settlement shall inform the local population about the creation and activity of people's militia units through mass media.

Article 10. Final provisions

1. This law shall enter into force from the date of its publication.

2. In accordance with paragraph 30 of part one of Article 85 of the Constitution of Ukraine, extraordinary elections of deputies of city councils, district councils in cities, and settlement and village councils, and of village, settlement, and city heads in certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions shall be scheduled for Sunday, 7 December 2014.

The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine shall, within the limits of its powers, take immediate measures to provide funding for the extraordinary elections scheduled in the first paragraph of this clause out of the reserve funds of the State Treasury of Ukraine.

3. The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine shall immediately prepare, with the involvement of local self-government bodies of certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, and submit for consideration of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine draft laws and ensure the adoption of subordinate legislation stemming from this Law.

4. Articles 2 through 9 of this Law shall come into effect from the date of entry into force of the powers of the local self-government bodies elected at extraordinary elections in certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions conducted in accordance with the Constitution of Ukraine and this and other laws of Ukraine and in compliance with the principles of universal, equal, free and transparent elections and of publicity and openness of the electoral process as basic principles of electoral law set by the Constitution of Ukraine and international treaties of Ukraine, which enshrine the universally recognised international standards that ensure:

Participation of international impartial observers, in particular, those of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, the Council of Europe Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, other international organisations and foreign states, as well as other official observers in election monitoring;

Safe conditions for the activity, and unhindered participation, of official observers in the electoral process;

Withdrawal of all illegal armed groups and their military equipment and militants and mercenaries from the territory of Ukraine;

Preventing unlawful interference in the electoral process, including by illegal armed groups;

Respect for the principles of political pluralism and multi-party system, equality of rights and opportunities to participate in the electoral process;

Freedom of pre-election campaigning, equal opportunities to access mass media and restoration of the Ukrainian television and radio broadcasting for this purpose, circulation of the Ukrainian print media throughout the territory of Donetsk and Lugansk regions;

Observance of guarantees of free expression of will and secret voting and the electoral rights of internally displaced persons who were forced to leave their places of residence in certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions;

Transparent vote count and establishment of voting results and local election results.

{Article 10 was supplemented with clause 4 pursuant to Law No. 256-VIII of 17.03.2015}

5. The special procedure for the activities of local self-government bodies in certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions envisaged by this Law shall only be followed by local self-government bodies elected at extraordinary elections called and held in accordance with the Constitution of Ukraine and this and other laws of Ukraine.

{Article 10 was supplemented with clause 5 pursuant to Law No. 256-VIII of 17.03.2015}

President of Ukraine

P. POROSHENKO

Kiev

September 16, 2014

No. 1680-VII

Annex 8

Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 795-IX “On Calling Regular Local Elections in 2020”, 15 July 2020

(translation)

Translation from Ukrainian

Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 795-IX “On Calling Regular Local Elections in 2020”, 15 July 2020, available at: zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/795-IX#Text

RESOLUTION**Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine****On Calling Regular Local Elections in 2020**

(Journal of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (VVR), 2020, # 33, art. 230)

In accordance with paragraph 30 of part one of Article 85 of the Constitution of Ukraine, part two of Article 194 of the Electoral Code of Ukraine and being guided by part five of Article 8 of the Law of Ukraine "On Guaranteeing the Rights and Freedoms of Citizens and the Legal Regime in the Temporarily Occupied Territory of Ukraine" and Article 2 of the Law of Ukraine "On Special Aspects of State Policy for Guaranteeing State Sovereignty of Ukraine on the Temporarily Occupied Territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions," and the Law of Ukraine "On Amending Some Laws of Ukraine Regarding the Definition of Territories and Administrative Centers of Territorial Communities", Articles 1 and 3 of the Law of Ukraine "On Military-Civil Administrations", Decree of the President of Ukraine No. 32/2019 "On the Boundaries and List of Districts, Cities, Towns and Villages, Parts of their Territories That Are Temporarily Occupied in Donetsk and Lugansk regions" dated 7 February 2019

The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine **resolves**:

1. To schedule the regular elections of deputies of local councils and village, town and city heads (other than those defined in paragraphs 2 and 3 of this Resolution) for Sunday, 25 October 2020.

2. The elections of deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, deputies of local councils and village, town and city heads in the temporarily occupied territories of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, the city of Sevastopol and in certain areas, cities, towns and villages of the Donetsk and Lugansk regions shall not be called and held.

3. In view of the impossibility to ensure the representation of common interests of territorial communities of villages, towns and cities of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, elections of deputies of Donetsk and Lugansk regional councils shall not be called and held.

4. The elections of deputies of local councils and village, town and city heads not called in accordance with paragraphs 2 and 3 of this Resolution will be called in accordance with the procedure and on the terms envisaged by separate laws, provided that: the temporary occupation and armed aggression by the Russian Federation against Ukraine ceases, specifically: all illegal armed groups managed, controlled and financed by the Russian Federation and the Russian occupation troops and their military equipment are withdrawn from the territory of Ukraine; full control over the Ukrainian state border is restored; all illegal armed groups and mercenaries operating in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine are disarmed; the constitutional law and order in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine is restored; and the security of Ukrainian citizens residing in the respective territories of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Donetsk and Lugansk regions and Sevastopol is ensured following full completion of disarmament, demilitarisation and reintegration procedures in the respective territories in

accordance with the standards of the United Nations and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

5. Regular local elections shall not be held if the first elections of deputies to the relevant local councils and village, town and city heads are scheduled for 25 October 2020.

6. The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine shall:

1) take measures, within the limits of its powers, to ensure financing of local elections on to be held on 25 October 2020 out of the funds of the State Treasury of Ukraine;

2) jointly with the Central Election Commission, develop measures and recommendations aimed at preventing the spread of the coronavirus disease (COVID-19) at the time of local elections on 25 October 2020, subject to the requirements of the Election Code of Ukraine

3) calculate and provide for the expenses for supporting the measures referred to in subparagraph 2 of this paragraph.

7. The Central Election Commission shall take measures, in accordance with the procedure envisaged by the laws of Ukraine, to provide financial and logistical support for preparing and conducting the elections as provided by for by paragraph 1 of this Resolution, out of the funds of the State Treasury of Ukraine.

8. This Resolution shall enter into force on the day following the day of its publication.

**Chairman of the Verkhovnaya Rada of
Ukraine**

D. RAZUMKOV

**Kiev
15 July 2020
No. 795-IX**

Annex 9

Law of Ukraine No. 2268-VIII “On the Peculiarities of the State Policy on Ensuring Ukraine’s State Sovereignty Over Temporarily Occupied Territories in Donetsk and Lugansk Regions”, 18 January 2018

(translation)

Translation from Ukrainian

Law of Ukraine No. 2268-VIII “On the Peculiarities of the State Policy on Ensuring Ukraine’s State Sovereignty Over Temporarily Occupied Territories in Donetsk and Lugansk Regions”, 18 January 2018, available at: <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2268-19#Text>

LAW OF UKRAINE

{the Law became void pursuant to Law No. 2217-IX dated 21.04.2022}

"On the Peculiarities of the State Policy on Ensuring Ukraine’s State Sovereignty over Temporarily Occupied Territories in Donetsk and Lugansk Regions"

(Journal of Verkhovna Rada (JVR), 2018, No. 10, Article 54)

{As amended pursuant to Laws No. 113-IX dated 19 September 2019, JVR, 2910, No. 42, Article 238 and No. 948-IX dated 3 November 2020.

The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine,

Based on the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine and the Constitution of Ukraine,

Stressing that the sovereignty of Ukraine extends to its entire territory, which within the limits of its internationally recognised state borders is integral and inviolable,

Being guided by the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations of 24 October 1970, the Helsinki Final Accords on Security and Co-operation in Europe of 1 August 1975,

Following from the fact that in accordance with paragraphs “a”, “b”, “c”, “d” and “g” of article 3 of Resolution 3314 (XXIX) of the United Nations General Assembly, "Definition of Aggression", of 14 December 1974, the use of armed force by the Russian Federation against Ukraine amounts to the crime of armed aggression and grossly violates the Budapest Memorandum on Security Assurances, in connection with Ukraine becoming a party to the Treaty on Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of 5 December 1994, and the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Partnership between Ukraine and the Russian Federation of 31 May 1997,

Taking into consideration that the commencement date for occupation of a part of Ukrainian territory, in particular the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol, is determined by the Law of Ukraine “On Guaranteeing the Rights and Freedoms of Citizens and the Legal Regime in the Temporarily Occupied Territories of Ukraine”,

Confirming the Appeal of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine to the United Nations, the European Parliament, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, the GUAM Parliamentary Assembly, and the national parliaments of the nations of the world to declare the Russian Federation as an aggressor state approved by Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 129-VIII of 27 January 2015, and the Declaration of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine “On

Repelling the Armed Aggression of the Russian Federation and Overcoming its Consequences” approved by Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 337-VIII of 21 April 2015,

Noting that, in the light of the provisions of the Hague Convention IV respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land and its annex: Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land of 18 October 1907, the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in time of War of 12 August 1949 and the Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol 1) of 8 June 1977, one of the consequences of the armed aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine was the temporary occupation of a part of Ukrainian territory,

Not recognising the temporary occupation by the Russian Federation of a part of Ukrainian territory,

Based on the provisions of the Resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly “On the Territorial Integrity of Ukraine” No. 68/262 of 27 March 2014, which stress the illegitimacy of the referendum held in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, and urge the international community not to recognise any change in the status of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol on the basis of the results of the referendum in question,

Taking into consideration the Resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly “Situation of Human Rights in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the City of Sevastopol (Ukraine)” No. 71/205 of 19 December 2016 and of 19 December 2017 No. 72/190, which declare the Republic of Crimea and the City of Sevastopol to be territories temporarily occupied by the Russian Federation,

Confirming the inherent sovereign right of Ukraine to restore and maintain its territorial integrity within its internationally recognised state borders, including the territory of the Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol,

Stating that the armed aggression of the Russian Federation began with an undeclared and covert incursion into Ukrainian territory by units of the armed forces and other security agencies of the Russian Federation, and by way of organising and supporting terrorist activity,

Taking into account that the Russian Federation is committing a crime of aggression against Ukraine and carrying out temporary occupation of a part of its territory with the use of Russian armed formations consisting of regular units and subdivisions subordinate to the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation, subdivisions and special formations subordinate to other security agencies of the Russian Federation, their advisors, instructors, and irregular illegal armed formations, armed groups and groups of mercenaries subordinate to and created, led and financed by the Russian Federation, and with the assistance of the occupational administration of the Russian Federation, which is comprised of its state authorities and institutions which are functionally responsible for the administration of the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine, and the self-proclaimed authorities under control of the Russian Federation, which have usurped the executive powers in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine,

Noting that the actions of the Russian Federation in the territory of certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol grossly violate the principles and standards of international law, in particular, due to: systematic failure to maintain the ceasefire regime and the continued shelling of civilian targets and infrastructure causing numerous casualties among the civilian population, members of the Ukrainian Armed Forces and other military formations created in accordance with the laws of Ukraine; the continued

practice of illegally arresting and detaining Ukrainian citizens in the temporarily occupied territories, and illegally taking them out to and detaining them in the Russian Federation; attempts to extend the Russian laws, including tax laws, to the territory of certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol; making illegal demands for re-registration of companies and recovery of funds for the benefit of the occupation administration of the Russian Federation in certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol; introduction of the Russian rouble as the single currency in the territory of certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol; arbitrary application of Russian educational standards in educational institutions; introduction of “external administration” for companies in certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol; and recognition of illegal identification documents and vehicle licence plates in the territory of certain areas of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol; arranging for and carrying out forced disappearances, torture, inhuman treatment or punishment, and extra-judicial executions in relation to the civilian population, Ukrainian service personnel and hostages,

Remaining committed to the policy of political and diplomatic resolution of conflicts based on the principles and standards of international law and the Charter of the United Nations,

Confirming Ukraine's inherent sovereign right of self-defence in accordance with article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations,

Confirming the Declaration of the Verkhovnya Rada of Ukraine “On Ukraine's Derogation from Certain Obligations Determined by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms” approved by the Resolution of the Verkhovnya Rada of Ukraine No. 462-VIII of 21 May 2015,

Taking into consideration that the special aspects of the legal regime in the territory of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol are determined by the Law of Ukraine “On Guaranteeing the Rights and Freedoms of Citizens and the Legal Regime in the Temporarily Occupied Territories of Ukraine”,

has adopted this Law the purpose of which is to determine the special aspects of the state policy for guaranteeing the state sovereignty of Ukraine in the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions.

Article 1. The temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions as of the day of the adoption of this Law shall be the parts of the Ukrainian territory within the boundaries of which armed formations of the Russian Federation and the occupational administration of the Russian Federation have established and exercise general control, specifically:

1) the land territory and its internal waters within the boundaries of specific districts, cities, towns, and villages in Donetsk and Lugansk regions;

2) the internal sea waters adjacent to the land territory defined by clause 1 of this section;

3) the subsoil under the territories defined by clauses 1 and 2 of this section, and the airspace over these territories.

The boundaries and the list of the districts, cities, towns, and villages, and parts of their territories temporarily occupied in Donetsk and Lugansk regions shall be determined by the President of Ukraine on a submission from the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine prepared on the basis of proposals from the General Staff of the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

Article 2. The legal status of the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol, as well as the legal regime in the said territories shall be determined by this Law, the Law of Ukraine “On Guaranteeing the Rights and Freedoms of Citizens and the Legal Regime in the Temporarily Occupied Territories of Ukraine”, other laws of Ukraine, international treaties, by which the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine has agreed to be bound, and the principles and standards of international law.

The temporary occupation by the Russian Federation of the Ukrainian territories defined by section one of article 1 of this Law shall, regardless of its duration, be illegal and shall not confer any territorial rights on the Russian Federation.

The activity of the military formations of the Russian Federation and the occupation administration of the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, which contradicts the principles of international law, is illegal, and any instrument issued in connection with such activity shall be invalid and shall not create any legal consequences, with the exception of documents confirming the fact of birth or death of individuals in the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, which are attached to an application for state registration of birth or an application for state registration of death of an individual.

The responsibility for tangible or intangible damage caused to Ukraine as a consequence of the armed aggression by the Russian Federation shall be imposed on the Russian Federation in accordance with the principles and standards of international law.

Within the boundaries of the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, a special procedure for guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of the civilian population shall be in effect, as determined by this Law, other laws of Ukraine, international treaties, by which the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine has agreed to be bound, and the principles and standards of international law.

The natural persons, regardless of whether they are registered as internally displaced persons or whether they have acquired special legal status, and legal persons shall retain the right of ownership, other proprietary interests in property, including immovable property, such as land plots, situated in the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, if such property was acquired in accordance with Ukrainian laws.

The Ukrainian state, the territorial communities of villages, towns, and cities in the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, the state authorities, local self-government bodies and other holders of Public Rights shall retain the right of ownership, proprietary interests in property, including immovable property, such as land plots, situated in the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions.

The procedure for regulating transactions and the exercise of the rights of the persons defined by the sixth and seventh sections of this article, which is determined by the Law of Ukraine “On Guaranteeing the Rights and Freedoms of Citizens and the Legal Regime in the Temporarily Occupied Territories of Ukraine”, shall extend, *mutatis mutandis*, to the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, with the exception of the procedure for the entry and

exit of persons into and from the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, which shall be established in accordance with this Law, and the procedure in relation to the territorial jurisdiction of cases within the competence of courts situated in the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, which shall be established in accordance with Law of Ukraine “On the Administration of Justice and Criminal Proceedings in Connection with the Conduct of the Anti-Terrorist Operation”.

Article 3. The state policy for guaranteeing the state sovereignty of Ukraine in the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions is based on the Constitution and the laws of Ukraine, and international treaties, agreement by which the Verkhovnaya Rada of Ukraine has agreed to be bound, and the principles and standards of international law.

Article 4. The goals of the state policy for guaranteeing the state sovereignty of Ukraine in the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions shall be as follows:

- 1) liberation of the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions and restoring the constitutional order in these territories;
- 2) protecting the rights, freedoms and legitimate interests of physical and legal persons;
- 3) guaranteeing the independence, unity and territorial integrity of Ukraine.

Article 5. In order to guarantee the state sovereignty of Ukraine in the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, the state authorities and their officials acting on the basis and within the limits of their powers and using the methods stipulated by the Constitution and the laws of Ukraine shall:

- 1) take steps to protect the rights and freedoms of the civilian population;
- 2) use political and diplomatic measures and sanctions and other measures for the purpose of restoring the territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognised state borders, subject to the international obligations of Ukraine and international treaties by which the Verkhovnaya Rada of Ukraine has agreed to be bound and the principles and standards of international law;
- 3) take measures to ensure national security and defence and repulsion and containment of the armed aggression of the Russian Federation;
- 4) develop the defence and security potential of Ukraine using the state’s resources and international assistance, with the aim of repelling the armed aggression of the Russian Federation;
- 5) use the mechanisms provided by bilateral international cooperation, international organisations and international courts with the aim of preserving and tightening sanctions which are applied to the Russian Federation by members of the international community, and instituting criminal proceedings against those responsible for crimes against the peace and security of humankind and international rule of law.

(clause 5 of the first part of article 5 as amended in accordance with Law No. 948-IX of 3 November 2020)

Article 6. The main areas for the protection of the rights and freedoms of the civilian population in the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions shall be as follows:

- 1) protection of the basic human political and civil rights and freedoms;
- 2) taking measures for the release of Ukrainian citizens illegally detained and kept in custody by the Russian Federation and the occupation administration of the Russian Federation;
- 3) facilitating the restoration of property rights that have been breached;
- 4) contributing to satisfying the social and economic, ecological and cultural needs, in particular, by implementing measures, determined by the central executive authority of Ukraine responsible for the development and implementation of the state policy relating to the temporarily occupied territories, for the implementation of the relevant decisions of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine;
- 5) providing legal and humanitarian assistance, including with the use of international assistance, in particular, providing medical and social services in the territories controlled by Ukraine;
- 6) facilitating the maintenance of cultural links;
- 7) guaranteeing access to Ukrainian educational institutions and mass media.

The special aspects pertaining to the exercise of other rights and freedoms of the civilian population and the making of transactions in the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions shall be determined by the laws of Ukraine.

The procedure for the entry and exit of persons and movement of goods to and from the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions shall be established in accordance with this Law.

The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine shall take all the measures envisaged by the laws of Ukraine for the protection of the human and civil rights and freedoms, in particular, it shall constantly monitor the situation with the observance of human and civil rights and freedoms and with documenting breaches of such rights and freedoms in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine and shall publish the resulting information and provide it to international organisations for the protection of human rights and freedoms and take necessary measures to set up an interdepartmental coordination body for summarizing the legal position of the state in relation to the repulsion and containment of the armed aggression by the Russian Federation and preparing a consolidated claim by Ukraine against the Russian Federation to hold it liable in international law for the armed aggression against Ukraine.

The Commissioner for Human Rights empowered by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine shall carry out parliamentary monitoring of the observance of human and civil rights and freedoms in the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, and, if necessary, submit a special report to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine regarding the situation with the observance of human and civil rights and freedoms in these territories.

Ukraine shall not be responsible for illegal actions of the Russian Federation or its occupation administration in the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions or for any illegal decisions made by them.

Article 7. In order to ensure the national security, particularly the state, economic, informational, humanitarian and environmental security and to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, the bodies in the security and defence sectors, other state authorities of Ukraine and their officials shall implement measures to restore the territorial integrity of Ukraine and ensure comprehensive development of the security and the economic, information and telecommunications, social and humanitarian infrastructures in the territories adjacent to the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, and implement measures to strengthen the defence and security capacities of Ukraine in accordance with strategic defence planning documents.

The Russian Federation, as the occupier's state in accordance with the IV Hague Convention IV respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land and its annex: Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land of 18 October 1907, the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in time of War of 12 August 1949 and the Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol 1) of 8 June 1977, shall bear liability for violating the protection of the rights of the civilian population.

The fact of final withdrawal and complete absence of all military formations of the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions in accordance with the procedure determined by this Law, shall be established by the Minister of Defence of Ukraine and the Minister of Internal Affairs of Ukraine by making a joint submission to the President of Ukraine, who shall adopt the appropriate decision exclusively on this basis.

Article 8. In order to guarantee the national security and defence and repulsion and containment of the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions:

1) the General Staff of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, in consultation with the respective department heads, shall engage and use manpower and resources (personnel and specialists of particular units, military units, weapons, military equipment, special equipment and vehicles, communications and telecommunications devices, other materials and equipment) of the Ukrainian Armed Forces and other military formations created in accordance with the laws of Ukraine (the Security Service of Ukraine, the State Service for Special Communications and Protection of Information of Ukraine, the National Guard of Ukraine, the State Border Service of Ukraine, the State Security Administration of Ukraine, and the State Special Transport Service), the special-purpose law enforcement authorities, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine, the National Police of Ukraine, the intelligence agencies of Ukraine, the central executive authority implementing state policy in the area of civil protection, and employees of healthcare institutions;

(clause 1 of section one of article 8 as amended in accordance with Law No. 113-IX of 19 September 2019)

2) in the safety zones adjacent to the area of combat, a special procedure shall be in effect which provides for the granting of special powers to bodies in the security and defence sectors and other state authorities of Ukraine that are necessary for the implementation of national security and defence measures and for the repulsion and containment of the armed aggression by the

Russian Federation. The boundaries of such safety zones adjacent to the area of combat shall be determined by the Chief of the General Staff, the Commander in Chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, on a submission from the Commander of the Joint Forces;

3) in the area where the national security and defence measures and measures for the repulsion and containment of the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions are implemented, the authorised employees of pre-trial investigative bodies and prosecution bodies shall be provided with the possibility for exercising their powers pertaining to criminal proceedings in relation to offences committed in the area where such measures are implemented, in particular, through the obligation to allow inquiry officers, investigators, and prosecutors to enter such area and render them necessary assistance. The entry of inquiry officers, investigators, and prosecutors into the area where the security and defence measures and measures for the repulsion and containment of the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions are implemented shall be allowed in accordance with the procedure determined by the Commander of the Joint Forces.

(section one of article 8 as amended in accordance with Law No. 948-IX of 3 November 2020)

The Ukrainian Armed Forces and other military formations created in accordance with the laws of Ukraine (the Security Service of Ukraine, the State Service for Special Communications and Protection of Information of Ukraine, the National Guard of Ukraine, the State Border Service of Ukraine, the State Security Administration of Ukraine, and the State Special Transport Service), the special-purpose law enforcement authorities, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine, the National Police of Ukraine, the intelligence agencies of Ukraine, the central executive authority implementing the state policy in the area of civil protection, and employees of healthcare institutions shall be provided with the necessary equipment and resources by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.

(section two of article 8 with amendments entered in accordance with Law No. 113-IX of 19 September 2019)

The commencement and completion of the national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions shall be determined by separate decisions of the Commander in Chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

Article 9. The strategic leadership of the manpower and resources of the Ukrainian Armed Forces and other military formations created in accordance with the laws of Ukraine, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine, the National Police of Ukraine, and the central executive authority implementing the state policy in the area of civil protection that are engaged to implement measures to ensure the national security and defence and the repulsion and containment of the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions shall be carried out by the General Staff of the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

The leadership of the manpower and resources of the Ukrainian Armed Forces and other military formations created in accordance with the laws of Ukraine, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine, the National Police of Ukraine, and the central executive authority implementing the state policy in the area of civil protection that are engaged to implement measures to ensure the national security and defence and the repulsion and containment of the armed aggression by the Russian Federation directly in Donetsk and Lugansk regions shall be carried out by the

Commander of the Joint Forces appointed by the President of Ukraine on a submission from the head of the General Staff, the Commander in Chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

The Commander of the Joint Forces shall exercise his powers via the Joint Operational Headquarters of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. The powers of the Commander of the Joint Forces shall be determined by the Regulation on the Joint Operational Headquarters of the Ukrainian Armed Forces developed by the General Staff of the Ukrainian Armed Forces and approved by the Commander in Chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces on a submission from the Minister of Defence of Ukraine.

The Joint Operational Headquarters of the Ukrainian Armed Forces shall, via the military authorities, plan and arrange for and monitor the implementation of the national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions and shall direct, coordinate and monitor the activity of military and civil-military or military administrations (if established) in Donetsk and Lugansk regions in the sphere of national security and defence.

The military personnel, law enforcement officers, and other individuals who are engaged to implement the national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions shall be subordinate to the Commander of the Joint Forces in the period of the implementation of such measures, whose decisions shall be binding on them.

The interference by any individuals, regardless of their position, in the administration of national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the direct armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions shall not be permitted.

Article 10. In the case the armed aggression by the Russian Federation is expanded beyond the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol and Donetsk and Lugansk regions, the manpower and resources referred to in Article 8 of this Law shall be engaged and use at any time and in any part of Ukrainian territory in order to repel and contain it, in accordance with the procedure established by Article 9 of this Law.

Article 11. The Constitution of Ukraine, the laws of Ukraine and Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations shall constitute legal grounds for repelling and containing the armed aggression by the Russian Federation and restoring the territorial integrity of Ukraine.

Article 12. The entry and exit of individuals and the movement of goods to and from the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions shall occur via the entry and exit checkpoints.

In case of a real threat to the lives and health of individuals crossing the demarcation line, the Commander of the Joint Forces shall have the right to restrict the entry of such individuals to the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions for the period that such threat exists.

The procedure for the entry and exit of individuals and the movement of goods to and from the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions shall be determined by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.

The stay in the area where the national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions are implemented may be temporarily restricted for the individuals who are not engaged in the implementation of such measures, for the period of the implementation of such measures by the Commander of the Joint Forces.

The legitimate demands of the officials engaged in the implementation of the national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions shall be binding on citizens and officials.

For the purpose of guaranteeing the vital interests of the public and the state at the time of repulsing the armed aggression in safety zones adjacent to the area of combat, the military personnel, law enforcement officers, and the persons defined by Article 8 of this Law, who are engaged to implement the national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, shall be entitled, in accordance with the Constitution and laws of Ukraine:

1) to use, when strictly necessary, weapons and special equipment against individuals who have committed or are committing offences or other acts that hinder the meeting of the legitimate demands of the individuals engaged to implement the national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, or acts related to an unauthorized attempt to enter the area where such measures are being implemented;

2) to detain and deliver to Ukraine National Police agencies the individuals referred to in clause 1 of this section;

3) to check the identity documents of citizens and public officials, and in case of absence of such documents, detain them in order to establish their identity;

4) to conduct personal search of citizens and inspection of the items found on them and vehicles and items transported in them;

5) to restrict or prohibit temporarily the traffic of vehicles and pedestrians in the streets and roads, to prevent vehicles and citizens from entering particular sites or facilities, to get citizens out of sites or facilities, and tow away vehicles;

6) to enter (penetrate into) residential and other premises, land plots belonging to citizens, and the territory and the premises of companies, institutions and organisations, and to check vehicles for the purpose of implementing national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions;

7) to use communication devices and vehicles including of a specialised nature belonging to citizens (with their agreement), enterprises, institutions and organisations, besides diplomatic or consular vehicles or vehicles of any representatives of foreign states and international organisations.

Article 13. Final and transitional provisions:

1. This Law shall enter into force from the day following the day of its publication.

2. By this Law the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, in accordance with clause 9 of the first part of Article 85 of the Constitution of Ukraine, approves the decision of the President of Ukraine to use the Ukrainian Armed Forces and other military formations created in accordance with the laws of Ukraine, which is adopted in accordance with clause 19 of the first part of Article 106 of the Constitution of Ukraine, for the repulsion and containment of the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, and for guaranteeing the state sovereignty in the temporarily occupied territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions.

3. This Law shall be without prejudice to the inherent sovereign right of Ukraine to the temporarily occupied territory of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol, and the measures aimed at restoring the territorial integrity of Ukraine within the its internationally recognised state borders.

4. Amendments shall be made to following acts of legislation of Ukraine:

1) Law of Ukraine “On the Status of War Veterans and Guarantees of their Social Protection” (Journal of Verkhovna Rada, 1993, No. 45, Article 425 with subsequent amendments):

a) in clause 19 of the first part of Article 6:

the first paragraph shall be supplemented with the words “in implementing national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions and proving support for their implementation, while being directly in the areas of the implementation of such measures in the period of such implementation”;

the second paragraph shall read as follows:

“The procedure for granting the war veteran status to the persons referred to in paragraph one of this clause, the categories of such persons and the period of their participation in (their providing support to) the anti-terrorist operation and the national security measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, as well as the areas of the antiterrorist operation shall be determined by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. The areas where the national security measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation are to be implemented shall be determined in accordance with Law of Ukraine “On the Special Aspects of the State Policy for Guaranteeing the State Sovereignty of Ukraine in the Temporarily Occupied Territories in Donetsk and Lugansk regions”. The procedure for the withdrawal of the war veteran status from the persons referred to in paragraph one of this clause shall be determined by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine”;

b) in part two of Article 7:

in clause 11, the words “and employees of companies, institutions, and organisations who were engaged to support the performance of the anti-terrorist operation and became disabled as a result of an injury, concussion, or disfigurement suffered when providing support for the performance of the anti-terrorist operation directly in the areas where and in the period when it was performed” shall be replaced with the words “when directly participating in implementing national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, while being directly in the areas where and in the period when such measures were implemented, and employees of companies, institutions, and organisations who were engaged to support the performance of the anti-terrorist

operation and the implementation of national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions and became disabled as a result of an injury, concussion, or disfigurement suffered when providing support for the performance of the anti-terrorist operation directly in the areas where and in the period when it was performed, when providing support for the implementation of national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, while being directly in the areas where and in the period when such measures were implemented”;

clause 14 shall read as follows:

“14) the persons who provided support on a voluntary basis (or were engaged to provide support on a voluntary basis) for the performance of the anti-terrorist operation and the implementation of national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions (including by carrying out volunteering activity)) and who became disabled as a result of an injury, concussion, or disfigurement suffered while providing support for the performance of the anti-terrorist operation, while being directly in the areas where and in the period when it was performed, while providing support for the implementation of national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, while being directly in the areas where and in the period when such measures were implemented”;

c) in clause of 13 Article 9:

the first paragraph shall be supplemented with the words “who were engaged for and who directly participated in the implementation of national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, while being directly in the areas where and in the period when such measures were implemented, in accordance with the procedure established by law”;

the second paragraph shall read as follows:

“The procedure for granting the war veteran status to the persons referred to in paragraph one of this clause, the categories of such persons and the period of their participation in supporting the performance of the anti-terrorist operation and in supporting the implementation of national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, as well as the areas of the anti-terrorist operation shall be determined by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. The areas where the national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation are to be implemented shall be determined in accordance with Law of Ukraine “On Special Aspects of State Policy for Guaranteeing the State Sovereignty of Ukraine in the Temporarily Occupied Territories in Donetsk and Lugansk Regions”;

d) in Clause 1 of Article 10:

the fifth paragraph shall read as follows:

“the families of the persons who provided support on a voluntary basis (or were engaged to provide support on a voluntary basis) for the performance of the anti-terrorist operation and the implementation of national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, (including by

carrying out volunteering activity) and who were killed (went missing) or died as a result of an injury, concussion, disfigurement, or illness suffered when providing support for the performance of the anti-terrorist operation (including by carrying out volunteering activity), while being directly in the areas where and in the period when it was performed, at the time of support for the implementation of national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions (including by carrying out volunteering activity), while being directly in the areas where and in the period when such measures were implemented”;

in the eighth paragraph, the words “and who were killed (went missing) or died as a result of an injury, concussion, or disfigurement suffered when directly participating in the anti-terrorist operation or in providing support for its performance, while being directly in the areas of the anti-terrorist operation in the period of its performance, and the families of employees of companies, institutions, and organisations who were engaged to provide support for the performance of the anti-terrorist operation and were killed (went missing) or died as a result of an injury, concussion, or disfigurement suffered when providing support for the performance of the anti-terrorist operation directly in the areas of the anti-terrorist operation in the period of its performance” shall be replaced with the words “in implementing national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions and in providing support for their implementation, while being directly in the areas of the implementation of such measures in the period of their implementation, and who were killed (went missing) or died as a result of an injury, concussion, disfigurement or illness suffered when directly participating in the anti-terrorist operation or in providing support for its performance, while being directly in the areas of the anti-terrorist operation in the period of its performance, when directly participating in implementing national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions and in providing support for their implementation, while being directly in the areas of the implementation of such measures in the period of their implementation, and the families of employees of companies, institutions, and organisations, who were engaged to provide support for the performance of the anti-terrorist operation and support for the implementation of national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions and who were killed (went missing) or died as a result of an injury, concussion, disfigurement, or illness suffered when providing support for the performance of the anti-terrorist operation directly in the area of the anti-terrorist operation in the period of its performance and providing support for the implementation of national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, while being directly in the areas of the implementation of such measures in the period of their implementation”;

2) in Law of Ukraine “On Local Self-Government in Ukraine” (Journal of Verkhovnaya Rada (JVR), 1997, No. 24, Article 170 with the following amendments):

a) the first sentence of part two of Article 42 shall be supplemented with the words “or Law of Ukraine “On the Martial Law Regime”;

b) in Article 78:

clause 3 of part one shall read as follows:

3) envisaged by the laws of Ukraine “On the Military and Civil Administrations”, “On the Martial Law Regime”;

in part 5 the words “the respective military-civil administration” shall be replaced with the words “the respective military- civil and military administrations”;

c) in Article 79:

in the second paragraph of part two, the words “in the instance envisaged by the Law of Ukraine “On Military-Civil Administrations”, shall be replaced with the words “in the instances envisaged by the laws of Ukraine “On Military-Civil Administrations” and “On the Martial Law Regime”;

in Clause 3¹) of part eleven, the words “the respective military-civil administrations” shall be replaced with the words “the respective military-civil and military administrations”;

d) in Article 79¹:

part two shall be supplemented with a second paragraph which shall read as follows:

“The powers of a village mayor may be early terminated in the instance envisaged by the Law of Ukraine “On the Martial Law Regime”;

in part seven:

in clause 5, the words “part two of this Article” shall be replaced with the words “the first paragraph of part two of this Article”;

clause 6 shall be added which shall read as follows:

“6) on the grounds specified in the second paragraph of part two of this Article, from the effective date of the act of the President of Ukraine concerning the establishment of the appropriate military administration for a settlement (settlements)”;

3) in Law of Ukraine “On Military-Civil Administrations”, (Journal of Verkhovna Rada, 2015, No. 13, Article 87, No. 40-41, Article 382; 2016, No. 10, Article 108):

a) in the preamble, the words “in the area where the anti-terrorist operation is carried out” shall be replaced with the words “in the area where the armed aggression by the Russian Federation is being repelled, in particular, in the area where the anti-terrorist operation is carried out”;

b) in the first part of Article 1:

in the first paragraph, the words “in the area where the anti-terrorist operation is carried out” shall be replaced with the words “in the area where the armed aggression by the Russian Federation is being repelled, in particular, in the area where the anti-terrorist operation is carried out”;

in the second paragraph:

after the words “as part of the Anti-terrorist Centre of the Security Service of Ukraine” the words “(if they are created for the exercise of the powers of the respective bodies in the area of the anti-terrorist operation) or as part of the Joint Operational Headquarters of the Ukrainian Armed Forces (if they are created for the exercise of the powers of the respective bodies in the area of the

implementation of national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions)” shall be added;

after the words “involvement in counteracting” the words “acts of armed aggression” shall be added and after the words “disaster in the area” the words “repelling the armed aggression by the Russian Federation, in particular” shall be added;

c) in Article 3:

the fourth part, after the words “with the Anti-terrorist Centre of the Security Service of Ukraine”, the words “(if created for the exercise of the powers of the respective bodies in the area of the anti-terrorist operation) or with the Joint Operational Headquarters of the Ukrainian Armed Forces (if created for the exercise of the powers of the respective bodies in the area of the implementation of national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions)” shall be added;

the sixth part shall be supplemented with the words “and if military-civil administrations are created for the exercise of the powers of the respective bodies in the area of the implementation of national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, on a submission from the Commander of the Joint Forces”;

in part 8, the words “the head of the Anti-terrorist Centre of the Security Service of Ukraine on a submission from the head of the respective military-civil administration” shall be replaced with the words “on a submission from the head of the respective military-civil administration, the head of the Anti-terrorist Centre of the Security Service of Ukraine, and if military-civil administrations of settlements are created for the exercise of the powers of the respective bodies in the area of the implementation of national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions, the Commander of the Joint Forces”;

in the ninth part:

in the first sentence, the words “if the respective military-civil administrations are not created – the head of the Anti-terrorist Centre of the Security Service of Ukraine” shall be replaced with the words “if the respective military-civil administrations are not created – the head of the Anti-terrorist Centre of the Security Service of Ukraine, and if military-civil administrations of settlements and district military-civil administrations are created for the exercise of the powers of the respective bodies in the area where national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions are implemented - the Commander of the Joint Forces”;

the second sentence shall be supplemented with the words “and if military-civil administrations are created for the exercise of the powers of the respective bodies in the area where national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions are implemented - the Commander of the Joint Forces”;

the eleventh part, after the third paragraph, shall be supplemented with a new paragraph which shall read as follows:

“The powers of the military-civil administrations of settlements and district and regional military-civil administrations shall also be terminated in accordance with the Law of Ukraine “On the Martial Law Regime”.

In this connection, the fourth paragraph shall be considered to be the fifth paragraph;

in the thirteenth part, the words "as head of the Anti-terrorist Centre of the Security Service of Ukraine on a submission from the head of a military-civil administration without competitive selection" shall be replaced with the words “without competitive selection, on a submission from the head of military-civil administration, as head of the Anti-terrorist Centre of the Security Service of Ukraine, and if military-civil administrations of settlements are created for the exercise of the powers of the respective bodies in the area where national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions are implemented - by the Commander of the Joint Forces”;

d) the first paragraph of the first part of Article 5, after the words, “with the Anti-terrorist Centre of the Security Service of Ukraine” shall be supplemented with the words “and if military-civil administrations are created for the exercise of the powers of the respective bodies in the area where national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions are implemented – in consultation with the Commander of the Joint Forces”;

e) in Article 6:

the second part shall read as follows:

“2. The military-civil administration of a settlement(s) shall be led by the head who shall be appointed to and dismissed from this position by the head of the respective regional military-civil administration in consultation with the head of the Anti-terrorist Centre of the Security Service of Ukraine, and if a military-civil administration of a settlement(s) is created for the exercise of the powers of the respective bodies in the area where national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions are implemented - in consultation with the Commander of the Joint Forces. If the respective regional military-civil administration has not been created, the head of the military-civil administration of the settlement(s) shall be appointed to and dismissed from the position by the head of the Anti-terrorist Centre of the Security Service of Ukraine, and if a military-civil administration of a settlement(s) is created for the exercise of the powers of the respective bodies in the area where national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions are implemented - by the Commander of the Joint Forces”;

clause 10 of the third part, after the words “the period until completion”, shall be supplemented with the words “repelling the armed aggression by the Russian Federation, in particular”;

f) the second part of Article 7 shall be deleted;

4) in the Law of Ukraine “On the Martial Law Regime” (Journal of Verkhovna Rada, 2015, No. 28, Article 250):

a) in Article 4:

the first paragraph of the third part shall be supplemented with the words “or termination of their powers in accordance with the law”;

the first sentence of the fourth part, after the words “in the period fixed by the Law of Ukraine “On local Self-Government in Ukraine”, shall be supplemented with the words “or termination of their powers in accordance with the law”;

the ninth part shall be added which shall read as follows:

“9. In connection with the creation of military administrations of settlements, the powers of military-civil administrations of such settlements shall be terminated from the day the respective military administration begins to exercise its powers.

If district and regional military administrations are created, on the effective date of the Act of the President of Ukraine on their creation, the powers of the respective district and regional military-civil administrations shall be terminated”;

b) Article 28 shall be supplemented with clause 2-1 which shall read as follows:

“2-1. If martial law is introduced in certain territories in connection with the armed aggression by the Russian Federation in Donetsk and Lugansk regions:

1) on the effective date of the Act of the President of Ukraine on the creation of a military administration, the powers of the following shall be terminated in accordance with this Law:

regional councils, their administrative staff, officials and officers of local self-government bodies, if the respective regional military administration is created;

district councils, their administrative staff, officials and officers of local self-government bodies, if the respective district military administration is created;

village, town, and city councils and district councils in cities (if created), their executive bodies, village, town, and city heads, other officials and officers of local self-government bodies, village mayors – if military administration of the respective settlement(s) is created;

2) district and regional military administrations shall exercise in the respective territory, along with the powers of local state administrations, the powers to determine and implement measures under the regime of martial law, and shall exercise the powers envisaged by clauses 1-10 of the third part of Article 15 of this Law;

3) the military administrations of settlements and district and regional military administrations shall exercise their powers until the date of the first meeting of the first session of the respective council elected after the abolition of martial law;

4) the direction, coordination and monitoring of the activity of the regional military administrations on matters of defence, public order and of the implementation of measures under the regime of martial law shall be carried out by the Joint Operational Headquarters of the Ukrainian Armed Forces with the general leadership being provided by the General Staff of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, and in relation to other matters, by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine within the limits of its powers; the direction, coordination and monitoring of the activity of district military administrations on matters of defence, public order and security and of the implementation

of measures under the regime of martial law shall be carried out by regional military administrations, and on other matters by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and regional state administrations within the limits of their powers;

5) The General Staff of the Ukrainian Armed Forces shall carry out the powers envisaged by clauses 1, 3 and 4 of Article 14 of this Law, and the powers for organising training and providing general leadership of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, forces, units and bodies of other military formations and law enforcement bodies created in accordance with the laws of Ukraine in connection with their implementing measures under the regime of martial law;

6) The Commander of the Joint Forces shall carry out direct leadership of the manpower and resources of the Ukrainian Armed Forces and other military formations created in accordance with the laws of Ukraine directly engaged in implementing national security and defence measures and measures to repel and contain the armed aggression by the Russian Federation and measures under the regime of martial law, through the respective military authorities”;

5) Clause 3 of part one of Article 3 of the Law of Ukraine “On Guaranteeing the Rights and Freedoms of Citizens and the Legal Regime in the Temporarily Occupied Territories of Ukraine” (Journal of Verkhovna Rada, 2014, No. 26, Article 893) shall read as follows:

“3) the subsoil under the territories referred to in clauses 1 and 2 of this part, and the airspace over such territories”;

6) Article 28 of the Civil Procedure Code of Ukraine (Journal of Verkhovna Rada, 2017, No. 48, Article 436), after the sixteenth part, shall be supplemented with a new part to read as follows:

“17. Claims for the protection of violated, unrecognised or disputed rights, freedoms or interests of physical persons (including claims for compensation of damage caused by restrictions on the exercise of the right of ownership over immovable property or its destruction or damage to it) in connection with the armed aggression by the Russian Federation, an armed conflict, temporary occupation of Ukrainian territories, or natural or man-made emergencies may also be made at the place of residence or stay of the claimant”;

7) part one of Article 5 of the Law of Ukraine “On Court Fees” (Journal of Verkhovna Rada, 2012, No. 14, Article 87 as amended) shall be supplemented with clauses 21 and 22 which shall read as follows:

“21) the applicants in cases based on applications for the establishment of facts of legal significance submitted in connection with armed aggression, armed conflict, temporary occupation of Ukrainian territories, or natural or man-made emergencies that led to forced relocation from the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine or to death, injury, captivity, illegal detention or abduction and a violation of the right of ownership over movable and/or immovable property;

22) claimants in legal proceedings against the aggressor state, the Russian Federation, for the compensation of financial damage and/or moral harm in connection with the temporary occupation of territories of Ukraine, armed aggression, or armed conflict that led to forced relocation from the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine or to death, injury, captivity, illegal detention or abduction, and a violation of the right of ownership over movable and/or immovable property”;

8) Article 3 of the Law of Ukraine “On Combatting Terrorism” (Journal of Verkhovnaya Rada, 2003, No. 25, Article 180) shall be supplemented with the tenth paragraph which shall read as follows:

“the anti-terrorist operation may be carried out simultaneously with repelling the armed aggression in accordance with the procedure under Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations and/or under the conditions of martial law or state of emergency declared in accordance with the Constitution of Ukraine and the laws of Ukraine”.

5. Certain aspects of the activities of higher education institutions and scientific institutions relocated from a temporarily occupied territory shall be regulated by Articles 2 and 5-1 of the Law of Ukraine “On Temporary Measures in the Period of the Conduct of Anti-terrorist Operation”.

6. Until the date of adoption by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine of any decisions concerning the application of the provisions of this Law, the acts of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the restrictions imposed by decision of the President of Ukraine shall remain in effect.

7. The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine shall, within one month from the effective date of this Law:

bring its regulatory acts into conformity with this Law;

ensure that ministries and other central executive authorities bring their regulatory acts into conformity with this Law.

President of Ukraine:
Kiev, 18 January 2018 –
No.2268-VIII

P. POROSHENKO

Annex 10

Decree of the President of the Russian Federation On the Recognition of the Donetsk People's
Republic, 21 February 2022

(translation)

Translation from Russian

Decree of the President of the Russian Federation On the Recognition of the Donetsk People's Republic, 21 February 2022, available at:
<http://publication.pravo.gov.ru/Document/View/0001202202220002>

**DECREE
OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION
“On the Recognition of the Donetsk People's Republic”**

1. Taking into consideration the will of the people of the Donetsk People's Republic and Ukraine's refusal to resolve the conflict peacefully in accordance with the Minsk Agreements, to recognize the Donetsk People's Republic as a sovereign and independent state.
2. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation shall conduct negotiations with the Donetsk Party regarding the establishment of diplomatic relations and appropriate documents shall be executed to formalize the agreement reached.
3. To instruct the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation to hold, with the participation of federal executive authorities concerned, negotiations with the Donetsk Party regarding the preparation of a draft treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance and to submit a proposal for its signing in accordance with the established procedure.
4. In view of the appeal of the Head of the Donetsk People's Republic, the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation shall ensure that the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation carry out peacekeeping functions in the territory of the Donetsk People's Republic until the treaty referred to in paragraph 3 of this Decree is concluded.
5. This Decree shall enter into force from the date of its signing.

President of the Russian Federation

V. Putin

Moscow, Kremlin
21 February 2022
No. 71

Annex 11

Decree of the President of the Russian Federation On the Recognition of the Lugansk People's
Republic, 21 February 2022

(translation)

Translation from Russian

Decree of the President of the Russian Federation On the Recognition of the Lugansk People's Republic, 21 February 2022, available at:

<http://publication.pravo.gov.ru/Document/View/0001202202220001>

DECREE

OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

“On the Recognition of the Lugansk People's Republic”

1. Taking into consideration the will of the people of the Luhansk People's Republic and Ukraine's refusal to resolve the conflict peacefully in accordance with the Minsk Agreements, to recognize the Lugansk People's Republic as a sovereign and independent state.
2. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation shall conduct negotiations with the Lugansk Party regarding the establishment of diplomatic relations and appropriate documents shall be executed to formalize the agreement reached.
3. To instruct the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation to hold, with the participation of federal executive authorities concerned, negotiations with the Lugansk Party regarding the preparation of a draft treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance and to submit a proposal for its signing in accordance with the established procedure.
4. In view of the appeal of the Head of the Lugansk People's Republic, the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation shall ensure that the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation carry out peacekeeping functions in the territory of the Lugansk People's Republic until the treaty referred to in paragraph 3 of this Decree is concluded.
5. This Decree shall enter into force from the date of its signing.

President of the Russian Federation

V. Putin

Moscow, Kremlin
21 February 2022
No. 72

Annex 12

Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Russian Federation and
the Donetsk People's Republic, 21 February 2022

(translation)

Translation from Russian

Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Russian Federation and the Donetsk People's Republic, 21 February 2022, available at: <http://publication.pravo.gov.ru/Document/View/0001202202280001>

TREATY**on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Russian Federation and the Donetsk People's Republic**

The Russian Federation and the Donetsk People's Republic, hereinafter referred to as the Contracting Parties,

based on historically established strong ties and traditions of friendship and good communication between their peoples,

believing that the strengthening of friendly relations, good neighbourliness and mutual assistance between the Russian Federation and the Donetsk People's Republic meets the fundamental national interests of the peoples of both states and serves the cause of peace, regional security and stability,

reaffirming their adherence to the universally recognized principles and norms of international law, first of all to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter,

wishing to bring their relations to a qualitatively new level,

reaffirming their commitment to the universally recognized human rights standards,

desiring to strengthen universal peace and international cooperation

have agreed as follows:

Article 1

The Contracting Parties shall build their relations as friendly nations consistently guided by the principles of mutual respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, peaceful settlement of disputes and non-use of force or threat of force, including economic and other means of pressure, equal rights and non-interference in internal affairs, respect and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and complying in good faith with international obligations, as well as by other universally recognized principles and norms of international law.

Article 2

The Contracting Parties shall cooperate closely in the field of foreign policy and work together to strengthen peace, stability and security, and to this end shall hold regular consultations on international and regional problems of common interest. They undertake to make coordinated efforts

to promote the settlement of regional conflicts and other situations affecting the interests of the Contracting Parties.

Article 3

The Contracting Parties shall closely cooperate with each other in defending the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the Russian Federation and the Donetsk People's Republic. They shall consult each other without delay whenever, in the opinion of one of the Contracting Parties, there is a threat of attack against it, in order to ensure their common defence and to maintain peace and mutual security. Such consultations shall determine the necessity, types and extent of the assistance which one Contracting Party will render to the other Contracting Party for the purpose of helping to eliminate the threat which has arisen.

Article 4

The Contracting Parties shall jointly take all measures within their power to eliminate any threat to peace or any breach of peace and to counter acts of aggression on the part of any state or a group of states and shall render each necessary assistance, including military assistance, in the exercise of their right of individual or collective self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Article 5

For the purpose of ensuring the security of the Contracting Parties and peace and stability, each Contracting Party shall grant the other Contracting Party the right to the construction, use and improvement, by its armed forces, of military infrastructure and military bases (facilities) on its territory.

The conditions of, and the procedure for, the exercise of such right in each specific case shall be determined by separate agreements.

The Contracting Parties shall enter into separate agreements on military cooperation.

Article 6

The Contracting Parties shall not participate in any blocs or alliances directed against any of them.

Each Contracting Party shall refrain from participating in or supporting any actions or activity directed, directly or indirectly, against the other Contracting Party and shall not permit its territory to be used in any way for the purpose of preparing or carrying out aggression or other violent acts against the other Contracting Party, nor shall it assist third states in the event of armed conflicts between such states and the other Contracting Party.

Article 7

The Contracting Parties confirm and respect the territorial integrity and inviolability of the existing borders of the Russian Federation and the Donetsk People's Republic. The Parties shall enter into a separate agreement on the state border between the Russian Federation and the Donetsk People's Republic.

The protection of the state border of the Donetsk People's Republic shall be carried out jointly by the Contracting Parties on the basis of the interests of their own security and peace and stability.

The Contracting Parties shall enter into a separate agreement on this matter.

Article 8

Citizens of one Contracting Party may obtain the citizenship of the other Contracting Party under the conditions and in accordance with the procedure established by the laws of the Contracting Party whose citizenship is being acquired.

In order to ensure regulation of dual citizenship issues, the Contracting Parties shall enter into a separate agreement.

Article 9

The documents issued by state authorities and local self-government bodies of each Contracting Party shall be recognized in the territory of the other Contracting Party.

Article 10

Each Contracting Party undertakes to guarantee persons residing in its territory civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights and freedoms, irrespective of their race, sex, language, religion, political or other convictions, national or social origin, property or other status.

Each Contracting Party shall protect the rights of its citizens residing in the territory of the other Contracting Party and extend protection and support to them in accordance with universally recognized principles and norms of international law.

In the territory of a third state where the Donetsk People's Republic is not represented, each citizen of the Donetsk People's Republic shall be entitled to protection by diplomatic missions or consular institutions of the Russian Federation under the same conditions as citizens of the Russian Federation.

Article 11

The Contracting Parties shall take necessary measures to ensure the free entry of their citizens into the territories of the Contracting Parties, their exit from those territories, and their movement within those territories.

The Contracting Parties undertake to provide a common regime for the entry and exit of their citizens into and from third states. The Contracting Parties shall develop and implement a coordinated set of measures to regulate the regime for the entry and exit of citizens of third states into and from their territories.

Article 12

The Contracting Parties shall implement effective measures in their territories, including the enactment of appropriate legislation, to prevent and suppress any actions which constitute incitement to violence against persons or populations based on national, racial, ethnic or religious intolerance, hostility or hatred.

The Contracting Parties shall take effective measures in their territories to protect persons or populations who are, or may be, subjected to threats or acts of violence, discrimination or hostility on account of their ethnic, linguistic, cultural or religious identity, and to protect their property.

Article 13

The Contracting Parties shall ensure the protection of the ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious identity of national minorities in their territories and shall create conditions for the preservation and development of such identity.

Each Contracting Party undertakes to guarantee the right of persons belonging to national minorities to freely express, preserve and develop, individually or in association with other persons belonging to national minorities, their culture in all its aspects without being subjected to any attempts at assimilation against their will.

The Contracting Parties undertake to protect the rights and freedoms of persons belonging to national minorities and guarantee to such persons the right to equality before the law and to equal protection by the law without any discrimination.

The Contracting Parties shall create the necessary conditions for the effective participation of persons belonging to national minorities in cultural, social and economic life and in the conduct of public affairs, in particular, in matters relating to them.

Article 14

The legal regime regarding public property, property of legal persons and that of citizens of one Contracting Party which is situated in the territory of the other Contracting Party shall be governed by the laws of the Contracting Party in whose territory the property is situated, unless otherwise provided subsequently by relevant bilateral agreements between the Contracting Parties.

If one of the Contracting Parties claims ownership of property situated in the territory of the other Contracting Party and claimed by third persons or states, the other Contracting Party shall take all necessary measures to protect and preserve such property until the ownership issue is finally settled.

Article 15

The Contracting Parties seek to achieve a high degree of economic integration and, to that end, shall promote trade and economic cooperation and take steps to unify their energy and transportation systems and link together communications and telecommunications systems.

The Contracting Parties undertake to accord each other treatment no less favourable than that accorded to any third state in trade and economic relations.

The Contracting Parties shall ensure the development of economic, trade, scientific and technical relations at the level of:

- public authorities;
- banks and financial system;
- territorial and local (municipal) government bodies;
- enterprises, associations, organizations and institutions;
- joint ventures and organizations;
- individual entrepreneurs.

The Contracting Parties shall extensively exchange economic information and provide access to it for companies, entrepreneurs and researchers of both Contracting Parties.

The Contracting Parties shall enter into agreements on the development of trade and economic, scientific and technical and other cooperation.

Article 16

The Russian Federation shall take effective measures to ensure support and operation of the financial and banking systems of the Donetsk People's Republic on the understanding that the Russian ruble will be the means of payment in the territory of the Donetsk People's Republic.

Article 17

The Contracting Parties shall create favourable economic, financial and legal conditions for entrepreneurial and other business activities, including through promotion and mutual protection of investments, and encourage in every possible way various forms of cooperation and direct contacts between individuals, enterprises, firms, and other entities of both Contracting Parties that are involved in economic cooperation.

Article 18

The Contracting Parties shall render each other assistance in eliminating consequences of major environmental disasters in their territories and mutual help in case of natural and man-made emergencies that pose a threat to the vital activity of the population.

Article 19

The Contracting Parties shall facilitate in every possible way the cooperation and contacts in the fields of culture, art, education, tourism and sport and shall promote the free flow of information. The Contracting Parties shall enter into separate agreements on these matters.

Article 20

The Contracting Parties shall develop cooperation in the area of healthcare and in social and humanitarian spheres, recognizing the need for joint action to protect public health, develop medical science and practice and appropriate facilities and resources, and ensure the availability of medicines, medical equipment and baby food products.

Article 21

The Contracting Parties shall ensure that issues pertaining to the healthcare and social security of citizens of one Contracting Party in the territory of the other Contracting Party will be governed by special agreements.

Article 22

The Contracting Parties shall develop cooperation in science and technology by promoting direct links between educational establishments and research and design institutions and the implementation of joint programs and solutions, in particular in priority areas and in the field of advanced technology.

The Contracting Parties undertake to cooperate with each other and create favourable conditions in the area of personnel training and exchange of scientists, specialists, postgraduate students and students and to mutually recognize educational diplomas and academic titles and degrees.

The Contracting Parties shall enter into a separate agreement on matters of science and education.

Article 23

The Contracting Parties shall take steps to unify their laws governing business activity, including civil and tax laws, and laws regarding social protection of the population and pension benefits.

Article 24

The Contracting Parties, in accordance with the principles of international law and their national laws, shall cooperate in combating crime, terrorism and other violent manifestations of extremism, illicit drug trafficking, illicit migration, and unlawful acts against the safety of civil aviation, maritime shipping and other means of transport, and in combating smuggling and theft of cultural property.

Article 25

The Contracting Parties shall regularly exchange information regarding the development, adoption and application of legislation and international legal instruments.

Article 26

The Contracting Parties undertake to devote particular attention to the development of contacts and cooperation between the Parliaments and members of Parliaments of both states.

Article 27

Any disputes between the Contracting Parties regarding the interpretation and application of this Treaty shall be settled through negotiations.

Article 28

This Treaty shall be ratified and shall come into force on the date of exchange of the instruments of ratification.

Article 29

This Treaty shall remain in effect for 10 years.

It shall be automatically extended for five-year successive periods, unless either Contracting Party expresses its desire to terminate it by at least six months' written notice before the expiry of the next period.

By the time of withdrawal, the Contracting Party concerned shall fulfil all the obligations that arose in the period of its being a party to this Treaty.

Article 30

Additions and amendments may be made to this Treaty, which shall make an integral part hereof and shall be formalized by separate instruments. Any of the Contracting Parties may propose additions and amendments by giving a notice to that effect to the other Contracting Party.

Article 31

In order to give effect to this Treaty, the Contracting Parties shall, if necessary, enter into other treaties and agreements between themselves and establish appropriate coordinating bodies.

Done in *Moscow on 21 February 2022*, in two counterparts, each in Russian and Ukrainian, both texts being of equal power.

For the Russian Federation

For the Donetsk People's Republic

/signature/

/signature/

Annex 13

Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Russian Federation and
the Lugansk People's Republic, 21 February 2022

(translation)

Translation from Russian

Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Russian Federation and the Lugansk People's Republic, 21 February 2022, available at: <http://publication.pravo.gov.ru/Document/View/0001202202280002>

TREATY**on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Russian Federation and the Lugansk People's Republic**

The Russian Federation and the Lugansk People's Republic, hereinafter referred to as the Contracting Parties,

based on historically established strong ties and traditions of friendship and good communication between their peoples,

believing that the strengthening of friendly relations, good neighbourliness and mutual assistance between the Russian Federation and the Lugansk People's Republic meets the fundamental national interests of the peoples of both states and serves the cause of peace, regional security and stability,

reaffirming their adherence to the universally recognized principles and norms of international law, first of all to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter,

wishing to bring their relations to a qualitatively new level,

reaffirming their commitment to the universally recognized human rights standards,

desiring to strengthen universal peace and international cooperation,

have agreed as follows:

Article 1

The Contracting Parties shall build their relations as friendly nations consistently guided by the principles of mutual respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, peaceful settlement of disputes and non-use of force or threat of force, including economic and other means of pressure, equal rights and non-interference in internal affairs, respect and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and complying in good faith with international obligations, as well as by other universally recognized principles and norms of international law.

Article 2

The Contracting Parties shall cooperate closely in the field of foreign policy and work together to strengthen peace, stability and security, and to this end shall hold regular consultations on international and regional problems of common interest. They undertake to make coordinated efforts to promote the settlement of regional conflicts and other situations affecting the interests of the Contracting Parties.

Article 3

The Contracting Parties shall closely cooperate with each other in defending the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the Russian Federation and the Lugansk People's Republic. They shall consult each other without delay whenever, in the opinion of one of the Contracting Parties, there is a threat of attack against it, in order to ensure their common defence and to maintain peace and mutual security. Such consultations shall determine the necessity, types and extent of the assistance which one Contracting Party will render to the other Contracting Party for the purpose of helping to eliminate the threat which has arisen.

Article 4

The Contracting Parties shall jointly take all measures within their power to eliminate any threat to peace or any breach of peace and to counter acts of aggression on the part of any state or a group of states and shall render each necessary assistance, including military assistance, in the exercise of their right of individual or collective self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Article 5

For the purpose of ensuring the security of the Contracting Parties and peace and stability, each Contracting Party shall grant the other Contracting Party the right to the construction, use and improvement, by its armed forces, of military infrastructure and military bases (facilities) on its territory.

The conditions of, and the procedure for, the exercise of such right in each specific case shall be determined by separate agreements.

The Contracting Parties shall enter into separate agreements on military cooperation.

Article 6

The Contracting Parties shall not participate in any blocs or alliances directed against any of them.

Each Contracting Party shall refrain from participating in or supporting any actions or activity directed, directly or indirectly, against the other Contracting Party and shall not permit its territory to be used in any way for the purpose of preparing or carrying out aggression or other violent acts against the other Contracting Party, nor shall it assist third states in the event of armed conflicts between such states and the other Contracting Party.

Article 7

The Contracting Parties confirm and respect the territorial integrity and inviolability of the existing borders of the Russian Federation and the Lugansk People's Republic. The Parties shall enter

into a separate agreement on the state border between the Russian Federation and the Lugansk People's Republic.

The protection of the state border of the Lugansk People's Republic shall be carried out jointly by the Contracting Parties on the basis of the interests of their own security and peace and stability.

The Contracting Parties shall enter into a separate agreement on this matter.

Article 8

Citizens of one Contracting Party may obtain the citizenship of the other Contracting Party under the conditions and in accordance with the procedure established by the laws of the Contracting Party whose citizenship is being acquired.

In order to ensure regulation of dual citizenship issues, the Contracting Parties shall enter into a separate agreement.

Article 9

The documents issued by state authorities and local self-government bodies of each Contracting Party shall be recognized in the territory of the other Contracting Party.

Article 10

Each Contracting Party undertakes to guarantee persons residing in its territory civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights and freedoms, irrespective of their race, sex, language, religion, political or other convictions, national or social origin, property or other status.

Each Contracting Party shall protect the rights of its citizens residing in the territory of the other Contracting Party and extend protection and support to them in accordance with universally recognized principles and norms of international law.

In the territory of a third state where the Lugansk People's Republic is not represented, each citizen of the Lugansk People's Republic shall be entitled to protection by diplomatic missions or consular institutions of the Russian Federation under the same conditions as citizens of the Russian Federation.

Article 11

The Contracting Parties shall take necessary measures to ensure the free entry of their citizens into the territories of the Contracting Parties, their exit from those territories, and their movement within those territories.

The Contracting Parties undertake to provide a common regime for the entry and exit of their citizens into and from third states. The Contracting Parties shall develop and implement a coordinated set of measures to regulate the regime for the entry and exit of citizens of third states into and from their territories.

Article 12

The Contracting Parties shall implement effective measures in their territories, including the enactment of appropriate legislation, to prevent and suppress any actions which constitute incitement to violence against persons or populations based on national, racial, ethnic or religious intolerance, hostility or hatred.

The Contracting Parties shall take effective measures in their territories to protect persons or populations who are, or may be, subjected to threats or acts of violence, discrimination or hostility on account of their ethnic, linguistic, cultural or religious identity, and to protect their property.

Article 13

The Contracting Parties shall ensure the protection of the ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious identity of national minorities in their territories and shall create conditions for the preservation and development of such identity.

Each Contracting Party undertakes to guarantee the right of persons belonging to national minorities to freely express, preserve and develop, individually or in association with other persons belonging to national minorities, their culture in all its aspects without being subjected to any attempts at assimilation against their will.

The Contracting Parties undertake to protect the rights and freedoms of persons belonging to national minorities and guarantee to such persons the right to equality before the law and to equal protection by the law without any discrimination.

The Contracting Parties shall create the necessary conditions for the effective participation of persons belonging to national minorities in cultural, social and economic life and in the conduct of public affairs, in particular, in matters relating to them.

Article 14

The legal regime regarding public property, property of legal persons and that of citizens of one Contracting Party which is situated in the territory of the other Contracting Party shall be governed by the laws of the Contracting Party in whose territory the property is situated, unless otherwise provided subsequently by relevant bilateral agreements between the Contracting Parties.

If one of the Contracting Parties claims ownership of property situated in the territory of the other Contracting Party and claimed by third persons or states, the other Contracting Party shall take all necessary measures to protect and preserve such property until the ownership issue is finally settled.

Article 15

The Contracting Parties seek to achieve a high degree of economic integration and, to that end, shall promote trade and economic cooperation and take steps to unify their energy and transportation systems and link together communications and telecommunications systems.

The Contracting Parties undertake to accord each other treatment no less favourable than that accorded to any third state in trade and economic relations.

The Contracting Parties shall ensure the development of economic, trade, scientific and technical relations at the level of:

- public authorities;
- banks and financial system;
- territorial and local (municipal) government bodies;
- enterprises, associations, organizations and institutions;
- joint ventures and organizations;
- individual entrepreneurs.

The Contracting Parties shall extensively exchange economic information and provide access to it for companies, entrepreneurs and researchers of both Contracting Parties.

The Contracting Parties shall enter into agreements on the development of trade and economic, scientific and technical and other cooperation.

Article 16

The Russian Federation shall take effective measures to ensure support and operation of the financial and banking systems of the Lugansk People's Republic on the understanding that the Russian ruble will be the means of payment in the territory of the Lugansk People's Republic.

Article 17

The Contracting Parties shall create favourable economic, financial and legal conditions for entrepreneurial and other business activities, including through promotion and mutual protection of investments, and encourage in every possible way various forms of cooperation and direct contacts between individuals, enterprises, firms, and other entities of both Contracting Parties that are involved in economic cooperation.

Article 18

The Contracting Parties shall render each other assistance in eliminating consequences of major environmental disasters in their territories and mutual help in case of natural and man-made emergencies that pose a threat to the vital activity of the population.

Article 19

The Contracting Parties shall facilitate in every possible way the cooperation and contacts in the fields of culture, art, education, tourism and sport and shall promote the free flow of information. The Contracting Parties shall enter into separate agreements on these matters.

Article 20

The Contracting Parties shall develop cooperation in the area of healthcare and in social and humanitarian spheres, recognizing the need for joint action to protect public health, develop medical science and practice and appropriate facilities and resources, and ensure the availability of medicines, medical devices and baby food products.

Article 21

The Contracting Parties shall ensure that issues pertaining to the healthcare and social security of citizens of one Contracting Party in the territory of the other Contracting Party will be governed by special agreements.

Article 22

The Contracting Parties shall develop cooperation in science and technology by promoting direct links between educational establishments and research and design institutions and the implementation of joint programs and solutions, in particular in priority areas and in the field of advanced technology.

The Contracting Parties undertake to cooperate with each other and create favourable conditions in the area of personnel training and exchange of scientists, specialists, postgraduate students and students and to mutually recognize educational diplomas and academic titles and degrees.

The Contracting Parties shall enter into a separate agreement on matters of science and education.

Article 23

The Contracting Parties shall take steps to unify their laws governing business activity, including civil and tax laws, and laws regarding social protection of the population and pension benefits.

Article 24

The Contracting Parties, in accordance with the principles of international law and their national laws, shall cooperate in combating crime, terrorism and other violent manifestations of extremism, illicit drug trafficking, illicit migration, and unlawful acts against the safety of civil aviation, maritime shipping and other means of transport, and in combating smuggling and theft of cultural property.

Article 25

The Contracting Parties shall regularly exchange information regarding the development, adoption and application of legislation and international legal instruments.

Article 26

The Contracting Parties undertake to devote particular attention to the development of contacts and cooperation between the Parliaments and members of Parliaments of both states.

Article 27

Any disputes between the Contracting Parties regarding the interpretation and application of this Treaty shall be settled through negotiations.

Article 28

This Treaty shall be ratified and shall come into force on the date of exchange of the instruments of ratification.

Article 29

This Treaty shall remain in effect for 10 years.

It shall be automatically extended for five-year successive periods, unless either Contracting Party expresses its desire to terminate it by at least six months' written notice before the expiry of the next period.

By the time of withdrawal the Contracting Party concerned shall fulfil all the obligations that arose in the period of its being a party to this Treaty.

Article 30

Additions and amendments may be made to this Treaty, which shall make an integral part hereof and shall be formalized by separate instruments. Any of the Contracting Parties may propose additions and amendments by giving a notice to that effect to the other Contracting Party.

Article 31

In order to give effect to this Treaty, the Contracting Parties shall, if necessary, enter into other treaties and agreements between themselves and establish appropriate coordinating bodies.

Done in *Moscow on 21 February 2022*, in two counterparts, each in Russian, both texts being of equal power.

For the Russian Federation

For the Lugansk People's Republic

/signature/

/signature/

Annex 14

Federal Law No. 403-FZ “On the Investigative Committee of the Russian Federation”, 28
December 2010 (as amended on 1 April 2022)

(excerpt, translation)

Translation of excerpts from Russian**Federal Law No. 403-FZ “On the Investigative Committee of the Russian Federation”, 28 December 2010 (as amended on 1 April 2022)**

[...]

Article 1: Investigative Committee of the Russian Federation

1. The Investigative Committee of the Russian Federation (hereinafter also referred to as Investigative Committee) is a federal state body exercising powers in the field of criminal proceedings in accordance with the laws of the Russian Federation.

2. The Investigative Committee shall exercise other powers envisaged by federal laws and regulatory acts of the President of the Russian Federation.

3. The President of the Russian Federation shall manage the activities of the Investigative Committee, approve the Regulation on the Investigative Committee of the Russian Federation and the list of positions in the Investigative Committee of the Russian Federation for which high special ranks are to be awarded, and shall determine the staffing level of the Investigative Committee, including the staffing level of military investigative bodies of the Investigative Committee.

(as amended by Federal Law No. 506-FZ dated 27.12.2018)

4. The main tasks of the Investigative Committee shall be as follows:

1) conducting prompt and high-quality investigations of crimes in accordance with the competence envisaged by the criminal procedure laws of the Russian Federation;

2) ensuring compliance with the law when reports of crimes are accepted, registered, and verified, criminal cases are opened, and preliminary investigations and forensic examinations are conducted, and protecting the human and civil rights and freedoms;

(as amended by Federal Law No. 224-FZ dated 26.07.2019)

3) carrying out procedural supervision over the activities of investigative bodies of the Investigative Committee and their officials;

3.1) arranging for and conducting forensic examinations prescribed in accordance with the criminal procedure laws of the Russian Federation at the forensic science institution of the Investigative Committee;

(paragraph 3.1 was introduced by Federal Law No. 224-FZ dated 26.07.2019)

4) making arrangements for, and carrying out, within the limits of its powers, the detection of circumstances contributing to the commission of crimes and taking measures to eliminate such circumstances;

5) carrying out, within the limits of its powers, international cooperation in the field of criminal proceedings;

- 6) developing measures to implement the governmental policy for the enforcement of Russian laws on criminal proceedings;
- 7) improving the statutory regulation in the relevant sphere of activity;
- 8) determining the procedures for the preparation and submission of statistical reports and records regarding the activities of investigative bodies and institutions of the Investigative Committee and the procedural controls.

(paragraph 8 as amended by Federal Law No. 487-FZ dated 27.12.2019)

5. The powers of the Investigative Committee and the way in which its activities are organized shall be determined by this Federal Law, other federal laws, the Regulation on the Investigative Committee of the Russian Federation and other regulatory acts of the President of the Russian Federation.

6. The Investigative Committee shall carry out its activities in cooperation with federal government authorities, government authorities of constituent entities of the Russian Federation, local self-government bodies, non-governmental associations and organisations, and other bodies.

7. The Investigative Committee shall have the official symbols established by the President of the Russian Federation.

8. The Investigative Committee shall issue special publications.

[...]

Article 5: Principles Governing the Activities of the Investigative Committee

1. The Investigative Committee shall be a unified federal centralised system of investigative bodies and agencies of the Investigative Committee and shall operate on the basis of subordination of the lower management to the higher management and to the Chairman of the Investigative Committee.

1.1 The forensic science institution of the Investigative Committee shall operate independently of the investigative bodies of the Investigative Committee. The employees and managers of the forensic science institution of the Investigative Committee may not be vested with the powers of investigators or heads of investigative bodies of the Investigative Committee.

(part 1.1 was introduced by Federal Law No. 224-FZ dated 26.07.2019).

2. Investigative Bodies and Institutions of the Investigative Committee shall:

1) exercise their powers independently of the federal government authorities, government authorities of constituent entities of the Russian Federation, local self-government bodies, non-governmental associations and organisations and other bodies and in accordance with the laws of the Russian Federation;

2) operate publicly to the extent that it does not violate human or civil rights or freedoms and is not contrary to the requirements of the laws of the Russian Federation on criminal proceedings or the laws of the Russian Federation on state and other secret protected by law;

3) inform federal government authorities, government authorities of constituent entities of the Russian Federation, and local self-government bodies and the public of the results of investigative activities.

3. The Investigative Committee, the Main Military Investigative Department, and main investigative departments and investigative departments of the Investigative Committee in constituent entities of the Russian Federation (including subdivisions of the such departments for administrative districts) and equivalent specialised (including military) investigative departments and investigative divisions of the Investigative Committee and institutions of the Investigative Committee shall be legal persons. The Investigative Committee and the above investigative bodies, investigative divisions and investigative units of the Investigative Committee in districts and cities and equivalent entities, including specialised (including military) ones, investigative subdivisions of the Investigative Committee and institutions of the Investigative Committee shall have a seal bearing the image of the State Emblem of the Russian Federation and containing their full name.

4. No employees of the Investigative Committee may be members of political parties or other non-governmental associations pursuing political goals or participate in their activities. The establishment of, and the conduct of activities by, non-governmental associations pursuing political goals and their organisations in investigative bodies or institutions of the Investigative Committee shall be prohibited. In their official activities, the employees of the Investigative Committee shall not be bound by decisions of political parties or other non-governmental associations.

5. No employees of the Investigative Committee may combine their principal activity with any other activity on a remunerated basis, except for pedagogical, scientific or other creative activities. In such case, pedagogical, scientific or other creative activities may not be financed solely out of the funds of foreign states, international or foreign organisations, foreign citizens or stateless persons, unless otherwise provided for by an international treaty of the Russian Federation or the laws of the Russian Federation. No employees of the Investigative Committee may be members of management bodies, boards of trustees or supervisory boards or other bodies of foreign non-profit non-governmental organizations or their branches operating in the territory of the Russian Federation, unless otherwise provided for by an international treaty of the Russian Federation or the laws of the Russian Federation.

(as amended by Federal Law No. 185-FZ dated 02.07.2013)

(see the previous wording)

Annex 15

Remarks by Secretary of State John Kerry in Ukraine, 4 March 2014



U.S. Embassy & Consulates
in Indonesia

Remarks by Secretary of State John Kerry in Ukraine

SECRETARY KERRY: Good afternoon, everybody. Let me say, first of all, how incredibly moving it was to walk down Institutska Street and to have a chance to be able to pay my respects on behalf of President Obama and the American people at the site of last month's deadly shootings. It was really quite remarkable, I have to tell you, to see the barricades, see the tires, see the barbed wire, see the bullet holes in street lamps, the extraordinary number of flowers, the people still standing beside a barrel with a fire to keep them warm, the shrouded vision in the clouds and the fog of the buildings from which the shots came, and the pictures, the photographs, of those who lost their lives, of the people who put themselves on the line for the future of Ukraine.

It was deeply moving to walk into a group of Ukrainians spontaneously gathered there and to listen to them, to listen to their pleas of passion for the right not to go back to life as it was under former president Yanukovich. One woman who pleadingly said how poor they were, how the rich lived well, and how those in power took the money, and how they were left behind. And particularly, one man who told me that he had recently traveled to Australia, and he had come back here, but he came determined to be able to live as he had seen other people live in other parts of the world.

So it was very moving, and it gave me a deep, personal sense of how closely linked the people of Ukraine are to not just Americans, but to people all across the world who today are asking for their rights, asking for the privilege to be able to live, defining their own nation, defining their futures. That's what this is about.

And the United States extends our deepest condolences to those whose grief is still very fresh and those who lost loved ones, who bravely battled against snipers on rooftops and people armed against them with weapons they never dreamt of having. These brave Ukrainians took to the streets in order to stand peacefully against tyranny and to demand democracy. So instead, they were met with snipers who picked them off, one after the other, as people of courage, notwithstanding the bullets, went out to get them, drag them to safety, give them comfort, expose themselves. They raised their voices for dignity and for freedom. But what they stood for so bravely, I say with full conviction, will never be stolen by bullets or by invasions. It cannot be silenced by thugs from rooftops. It is universal, it's unmistakable, and it's called freedom.

So today, in another part of this country, we're in a new phase of the struggle for freedom. And United States reaffirms our commitment to Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity, accor
international law. We condemn the Russian Federation's act of aggression. And we have, throughout

this moment, evidence of a great transformation taking place, and in that transformation we will stand with the people of Ukraine.

Today, Ukrainians are demanding a government with the consent of the people. And I have to say that we all greatly admire the restraint that the transitional government has shown as it makes this transition. They have shown restraint, despite an invasion of Ukrainian homeland and a Russian Government that has chosen aggression and intimidation as a first resort. The contrast really could not be clearer: determined Ukrainians demonstrating strength through unity and a Russian Government out of excuses, hiding its hand behind falsehoods, intimidation, and provocations.

In the hearts of Ukrainians and the eyes of the world, there is nothing strong about what Russia is doing. So it's time to set the record straight. The Russian Government would have you believe it was the opposition who failed to implement the February 21st agreement that called for a peaceful transition, ignoring the reality that it was Yanukovich who, when history came calling, when his country was in need, when this city was the place where the action was, where the leaders of the nation were gathered in order to decide the future, he broke his obligation to sign that agreement and he fled into the night with his possessions, destroying papers behind him. He abandoned his people and eventually his country.

The Russian Government would have you believe that the Ukraine Government somehow is illegitimate or led by extremists, ignoring the reality that the Rada, representing the people of Ukraine, the elected representatives of the people of Ukraine – they overwhelmingly approved the new government, even with members of Yanukovich's party deserting him and voting overwhelmingly in order to approve this new government. It was thanks in part to the votes from Yanukovich's own party that the future of Ukraine changed. And today, the Rada is the most representative institution in Ukraine.

The Russian Government would also have you believe that the calm and friendly streets – one of which I walked down but many of which I just drove through – that somehow these streets of Kyiv are actually dangerous, ignoring the reality that there has been no surge in crime, no surge in looting, no political retribution here. The Russian Government would have you believe, against all the evidence, that there have been mass defections of Ukrainians to Russia, or that there have been mass attacks on churches in eastern Ukraine. That hasn't happened, either.

They would have you believe that ethnic Russians and Russian bases are threatened. They'd have you believe that Kyiv is trying to destabilize Crimea or that Russian actions are legal or legitimate because Crimean leaders invited intervention. And as everybody knows, the soldiers in Crimea, at the instruction of their government, have stood their ground but never fired a shot, never issued one provocation, have been surrounded by an invading group of troops and have seen an individual who got 3 percent of the vote installed as the so-called leader by the Russians.

They would have you believe that Kyiv is trying to destabilize Crimea, or that somehow Russia invited intervention. Not a single piece of credible evidence supports any one of these claims – none

invited intervention. Not a single piece of credible evidence supports any one of these claims – none. And the larger point is really this: It is diplomacy and respect for sovereignty, not unilateral force, that can best solve disputes like this in the 21st century. President Obama and I want to make it clear to Russia and to everybody in the world that we are not seeking confrontation. There's a better way for Russia to pursue its legitimate interests in Ukraine. If you were legitimately worried about some of your citizens, then go to the government. Talk to them about it. Go to the UN. Raise the issue in the Security Council. Go to the OSCE. Raise it in one of the human rights organizations. There are countless outlets that an organized, structured, decent world has struggled to put together to resolve these differences so we don't see a nation unilaterally invade another nation. There's a better way for Russia to pursue its legitimate interests in Ukraine.

Russia can choose to comply with international law and honor its commitments under the Helsinki Final Act under the United Nations Charter. If it wants to help protect ethnic Russians, as it purports to, and if they were threatened, we would support efforts to protect them, as would, I am told, the Government of Ukraine. But if they want to do that, Russia could work with the legitimate Government of Ukraine, which it has pledged to do. It cannot only permit, but must encourage, international monitors to deploy throughout Ukraine. These are the people who could actually identify legitimate threats. And we are asking, together with the Government of Ukraine, together with the European community, for large numbers of observers to be able to come in here and monitor the situation and be the arbiters of truth versus fiction. Russia, if it wanted to help deescalate the situation, could return its troops to the barracks, live by the 1997 base agreement, and deescalate rather than expand their invasion.

Now, we would prefer that. I come here today at the instruction of President Obama to make it absolutely clear the United States of America would prefer to see this deescalated. We would prefer to see this managed through the structures of legal institutions, international institutions that we've worked many years in order to be able to deal with this kind of crisis. But if Russia does not choose to deescalate, if it is not willing to work directly with the Government of Ukraine, as we hope they will be, then our partners will have absolutely no choice but to join us to continue to expand upon steps we have taken in recent days in order to isolate Russia politically, diplomatically, and economically.

I would emphasize to the leaders of Russia this is not something we are seeking to do; this is something Russia's choices may force us to do. So far, we have suspended participation in the preparations for the Sochi G8 summit. We have suspended military-to-military contacts, and we have suspended bilateral economic dialogue, and we are prepared to take further steps if Russia does not return its forces to the barracks and engage in a legitimate policy of de-escalation.

At the same time, the United States and its partners – our partners – will support Ukraine. We will support it as it takes difficult steps to deal with its economy. And I appreciate the meeting that I just had with the acting president and the prime minister and other leaders as we discussed how to strengthen the economy and move rapidly towards free, fair, open elections that can take place
shortly

story.

We are working closely and we'll continue to work closely with the IMF team and with international partners in order to develop an assistance package to help Ukraine restore financial stability in the short run and to be able to grow its economy in the long run. I'm pleased to say that this package includes an immediate \$1 billion in a loan guarantee to support Ukraine's recovery, and we are currently working with the Treasury Department of the United States and with others to lay out a broader, more comprehensive plan. We will provide the best expertise available to help Ukraine's economy and financial institutions repair themselves, and to work towards these free, fair, fast, inclusive elections.

We're also working with the interim government to help combat corruption and to recover stolen assets, and we are helping Ukraine to cope with Russia's politically motivated trade practices, whether it's manipulating the energy supply or banning the best chocolates made in Ukraine. The fact is this is the 21st century, and we should not see nations step backwards to behave in 19th or 20th century fashion. There are ways to resolve these differences. Great nations choose to do that appropriately.

The fact is that we believe that there are a set of options available to Russia and to all of us that could move us down a road of appropriate diplomacy, appropriate diplomatic engagement. We invite Russia to come to that table; we particularly invite Russia to engage directly with the Government of Ukraine, because I am confident they are prepared to help work through these issues in a thoughtful way.

I'm very proud to be here in Ukraine. Like so many Americans and other people around the world, we've watched with extraordinary awe the power of individuals unarmed except with ideas, people with beliefs and principles and values who have reached for freedom, for equality, for opportunity. There's nothing more important in this world. That is what drives change in so many parts of the world today.

It's really partly why the world is in such a state of transformation in so many different places at the same time, because we're all connected. We all understand what other people are doing and the choices they have and the lives they get to lead. And all over the world young people are saying: We do not want to be deprived of those opportunities. That's what this is about. And it is about all those who value democracy and who support the opportunity for this country to join the legions of others who want to practice it.

The United States will stand by the Ukrainian people as they build the strong, sovereign, and democratic country that they deserve, and that their countrymen and women just so recently gave their lives in extraordinary courageous acts in order to ensure for the future. We must all step up and answer their call.

I'm happy to take some questions.

MS. HARF: Great. Thank you. The first question is from Andrea Mitchell of NBC. There's a mic coming.

QUESTION: Thank you very much. Mr. Secretary, U.S. officials have been saying that Vladimir Putin will be isolated by his actions. Yet today, he seemed defiant, speaking for an hour, taking questions. He said, among other things, that Russia reserves the right to take any action, to use any means – obviously, military means. He described events here as an unconstitutional coup. He denied that there were any Russian troops in Crimea, occupying Crimea. He blamed the crisis on United States interference, saying that the U.S. –

SECRETARY KERRY: He really denied there were troops in Crimea?

QUESTION: Yes, he did. He also blamed the crisis on the United States, saying that the United States was acting as though it were conducting an experiment across the ocean on lab animals, on rats here. And he showed no sign of being ready to step down – step down or de-escalate the military presence in Crimea. There have been fire – shots fired today. There's the presence reported of naval Russian ships along the isthmus between Ukraine and Crimea.

So with all of that, how has the U.S. pressure worked against Putin? What is your reaction to his assertions? And also, while you were here you met with many leaders. You did not meet with Yulia Tymoshenko. Is she viewed by the United States as not part of the solution or as possibly part of the problem?

SECRETARY KERRY: Well, let me answer the last part of the question first: not at all. I thought I actually might bump into her, but I didn't. I had the meetings with the current group that represent the parties that have come together and most likely presidential candidates at this moment who – with whom I've been in touch and working with. I met with a number of them in Munich previously, and so we continued that conversation.

But with respect to President Putin's comments, I've spoken as directly to President Putin today as I can to invite him to engage in a legitimate and appropriate dialogue, particularly with the current Government of Ukraine, knowing that there's an election in 90 days and the people of Ukraine will have an opportunity to ratify their future leadership. The fact is that in the eastern part of the country, Russia recently tried to get a couple of city councils to actually pass something asking for Russians to come in. And lo and behold, those councils did the opposite. They said, "We don't want Russia to come in. We want our independence."

And I think that it is clear that Russia has been working hard to create a pretext for being able to invade further. Russia has talked about Russian-speaking minority citizens who are under siege. They're not. And in fact, this government has acted remarkably responsibly by urging total calm, by not wanting to have any provocation, by avoiding even their troops who have a legal right to resist the invasion of other troops, but has ordered them not to engage to give a pretext of anybody being in danger. Here streets today, I didn't see anybody who feels threatened, except for the potential of an invasio

Russia

RUSSIA.

So I would hope that President Putin, who is insisting against all evidence everywhere in the world about troops being in Crimea that they're not there, that he will step back and listen carefully that we could like to see this de-escalated. We are not looking for some major confrontation. But – and I do not believe that his interests, which we understand – a base, strong ties, everybody knows that Khrushchev gave the Crimea to the Ukraine back in 1954 or '6, I think it was. We all know these things. There's a long history of connection. We get it. But those things can continue and be worked out through the legal process, through the direct relationship with the Government of Ukraine. It is not appropriate to invade a country and at the end of a barrel of a gun dictate what you are trying to achieve. That is not 21st century, G8, major nation behavior.

And what we are looking for here is a responsible way to meet the needs of the parties but respect the integrity, the sovereignty, the territorial integrity of Ukraine. And in fact, the UN Charter, the Final Act of Helsinki, the 1994 Budapest Agreement, and the 1997 Base Agreement between Russia and Ukraine all require a certain set of standards which have not been followed here.

So again, we would like to see President Putin address the problems not by deploying forces, not through confrontation, but by engaging in the time-honored tradition of diplomacy, of discussion, of negotiation, and let's find a path forward which puts everybody on a track that benefits this region and the world more effectively.

QUESTION: And will Germany stand with you against (inaudible)?

SECRETARY KERRY: Excuse me. We will be having further discussions. I think the President will be talking before long with Chancellor Merkel. I'm having more conversations with Foreign Minister Steinmeier. And I believe we will stand united. I believe that.

Yes.

MS. HARF: Okay. Our final question comes from Maria Korenyuk of EuroNews.

QUESTION: (Off-mike.) Thank you.

SECRETARY KERRY: Well, let me answer the second part first. We're working on support as rapidly as we could make it available. We already have people working on the economic – with the IMF team, consulting with the government, working to get the facts together. We're trying to actually define the needs as accurately as is possible, and as I said to you, we've announced the \$1 billion loan guarantee. We actually have the money appropriated. We know where we're heading with that. We have additional initiatives that can be quickly put together as our team works in Washington.

The President has instructed all of us to look at every option available with respect to direct economic aid. And the President, particularly, yesterday when he met with Prime Minister Netanyahu in the White House, made a statement about Ukraine in which he asked Congress, which has been making very strong statements about support for Ukraine, to come to the table quickly with an economic package appropriated by the Congress. We want that to happen immediately.

So this is urgent. We understand that. I don't think it's appropriate for the United States or any other country to come here, talk about the strength and courage of the people in the streets, to underscore the value of democracy and of freedom that people are fighting for here, and then just walk away and not doing anything about it. So we are committed, and we are going to work to do what we can within our system as rapidly as possible.

And with respect to the first part of your question, I – our purpose is to try – I've said this several times today – I want to repeat it. We have lots of options, obviously. There are lots of tools at the disposal of the President of the United States and the United States of America and other countries. But none of us want to escalate this so that it becomes the kind of confrontation where people can't find a reasonable path forward and where, as a result, you're stuck in a place that's very hard to climb down from. That is not where we would like to see this go, which is why President Obama is stressing and wants me to stress our effort to try to find a way forward which allows Russia to have its interests – and they do have some interests – to be properly listened to and properly taken into account in the system.

I have heard each Ukrainian leader who's talked to me acknowledge that they understand that, that there will be a relationship with Russia. There is a capacity for a strong relationship between Ukraine and Russia, but it is a relationship that shouldn't be at the expense of not being able to have a relationship with the rest of the world, and not be forced on them, and not a relationship that precludes the full sovereignty and territorial integrity of the nation of Ukraine being respected. That's what should guide this, and that's exactly what is motivating our efforts here right now.

Thank you all very, very much. I appreciate it. Good to be with you. I'm sorry. We have, unfortunately, a schedule to stay on and I apologize for that. I would like to take more questions but we've got to run. Thank you.

This is the official website of the U.S. Embassy and Consulates in Indonesia. External links to other Internet sites should not be construed as an endorsement of the views or privacy policies contained therein.



Annex 16

Radoslaw Sikorski, Chair of Polish Sejm, "*No coup in Kiev. Gov. buildings got abandoned...*"
Twitter, 22 February 2014

Explore

Settings

Tweet

Radosław Sikorski MEP
@sikorskiradek

...

No coup in Kiev. Gov. buildings got abandoned. Speaker of Rada elected legally. Pres. VYanukovych has 24h to sign O4 Const. into law.

6:18 PM · Feb 22, 2014 · Twitter for BlackBerry®

733 Retweets
1 Quote Tweet
212 Likes

afauno @afauno · Feb 22, 2014

Replying to @sikorskiradek

@sikorskiradek hm is there a constitutional way if he refuses to sign? btw thx for your actions on thursday/friday in behalf of #EU citizens

JPh Derosier @JPhDerosier · Feb 22, 2014

Replying to @sikorskiradek

RT @sikorskiradek: No coup in Kiev. Gov. buildings abandoned. Speaker of Rada elected legally. #Yanukovych has 24h to sign O4 Const. into law

Alex @dragonikus · Feb 22, 2014

Replying to @sikorskiradek

@sikorskiradek hi, i am from Ukraine, please DO NOT support Yanukovich, he is dictator!

EuroDublin @Londoneuro · Feb 22, 2014

Replying to @sikorskiradek

@sikorskiradek good clarification - keep up EU work

sasha lutsenko @SashaLutsenko · Feb 22, 2014

Replying to @sikorskiradek

@sikorskiradek @ukrpravda_news what if he would not do that? What is next? We can't allow him to stay Pres ANYMORE

Jarosław Bokwa @Jaro3030 · Feb 22, 2014

Replying to @sikorskiradek

@sikorskiradek Janukowycz nie zamierza zrezygnować, zakpił z Pana, mówiłem żeby go osądzić jako zbrodniarza i wykonać karę śmierci!

Jarosław Bokwa @Jaro3030 · Feb 22, 2014

@sikorskiradek Straszyleś śmiercią, tylko nie tego co trzeba! A opozycja odwołala mordercę i sami się z nim rozprawią, jeśli nie ucieknie!

Andrew Havery #MBGA @ahavery · Feb 22, 2014

Replying to @sikorskiradek

@sikorskiradek Did VY seem sincere in his discussions w you & oppo or was he just 'going thro the motions' & if the former why the change now

Search Twitter

New to Twitter?

Sign up now to get your own personalized timeline!

Sign up with Apple

Sign up with phone or email

By signing up, you agree to the [Terms of Service](#) and [Privacy Policy](#), including [Cookie Use](#).

Relevant people

Radosław Sikorski ... Follow

@sikorskiradek

Przewodniczący delegacji UE-USA

@Europarl_PL Senior

Fellow@HarvardCES Distinguished Statesman@CSIS

biuro@radeksikorski.eu

Trends for you

TV stars · Trending ...

Bella

225K Tweets

Trending in Switzerland ...

abstimmungssonntag

Trending in Switzerland ...

Etats

16K Tweets

Politics · Trending ...

II PD

40.8K Tweets

Trending in Switzerland ...

Satire

10.2K Tweets

Trending in Switzerland ...

Kampagne

1,236 Tweets

Trending in Switzerland ...

Wohnungen

Trending in Switzerland ...

Rentaler

Trending in Switzerland ...

#AHV21

Trending in Switzerland ...

Stimmzettel

[Show more](#)

[Terms of Service](#) [Privacy Policy](#) [Cookie Policy](#)

[Accessibility](#) [Ads info](#) [More...](#)

Don't miss what's happening

People on Twitter are the first to know.

[Log in](#)
[Sign up](#)

Did someone say ... cookies?

Twitter and its partners use cookies to provide you with a better, safer and faster service and to support our business. Some cookies are necessary to use our services, improve our services, and make sure they work properly. [Show more about your choices.](#)

Accept all cookies

Refuse non-essential cookies

Annex 17

Address of the Acting President of Ukraine, Chairman of the Verkhovnaya Rada of Ukraine
Alexander Turchinov to compatriots, 02 May 2014

(translation)

Translation from Ukrainian

Address of the Acting President of Ukraine, Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Alexander Turchinov to compatriots, 02 May 2014, available at: <https://www.rada.gov.ua/news/Povidomlennya/92195.html>

Address of the Acting President of Ukraine, Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Alexander Turchinov, to compatriots

Press service

Published on May 02, 2014, at 16:48

Address of the Acting President of Ukraine, Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Alexander Turchinov, to compatriots

"Dear compatriots!

This morning we began the active phase of the Anti-Terrorist Operation directed against the main base of the militants terrorizing the entire Donetsk region, which is located in the city of Slavyansk.

Our main goal is to protect people and prevent casualties among the population.

Our security forces are fighting foreign mercenaries, terrorists and criminals who take hostages, kill and torture people and who, with arms in their hands, threaten the territorial integrity and stability of Ukraine.

I would like to stress: the operation is not unfolding as quickly as we would like it to and is significantly complicated by the fact that the terrorists' bases are located in densely populated cities, and they themselves hide behind civilians, cover themselves with hostages and fire from apartment blocks.

During today's stage of the operation, we managed to seize all the firing strongpoints and checkpoints of the terrorists around the city of Sloviansk, completing its encirclement. The offensive against the terrorists continues.

During the operation, the criminals suffered significant losses: there were many dead, wounded and arrested. To our much regret, we have been informed about two dead and seven wounded members of our military.

We thank all the heroes who bravely defend our country. Eternal memory to those who died defending their Homeland.

The Constitution limits my powers substantially, but the newly elected President will confer the highest state honours to all the heroes who have distinguished themselves defending their country and the peace and tranquillity of our citizens.

We demand that terrorists, saboteurs, and all those who have raised arms against our country, lay down their arms, surrender, and release the hostages and administrative buildings. Those who surrender their weapons and who are not involved in serious crimes will be amnestied and those guilty of murder and torture will be punished.

I would also like to say that tonight there were attempts to break through the State border by a group of armed Russian saboteurs, who were stopped by our border guards.

Separately, I would like to address the leadership of the Russian Federation: stop the hysteria around the events taking place in Ukraine. Stop the threats and intimidation.

If you are concerned about violations of civil rights, then busy yourselves with their protection in your own country, where rights violations have become systemic.

We demand that Russia stop provoking our country and not use terrorism, sabotage and military threat as a form of pressure on our country.

Despite all the problems and opposition, we will ensure peace and tranquillity in our country and stop the terrorist threat in eastern Ukraine.

May God protect Ukraine and each of you".

The address will be broadcast on the Rada TV channel.

Annex 18

The Kremlin, News conference following Russian-Belarusian talks (18 February 2022)

News conference following Russian-Belarusian talks

Vladimir Putin and President of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko held a joint news conference following Russian-Belarusian talks.

February 18, 2022 17:00 The Kremlin, Moscow

President of Russia Vladimir Putin: Mr President, colleagues, ladies and gentlemen,

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to the President of the Republic of Belarus for accepting my invitation and coming to Moscow today.

We understand that the President has a very busy schedule right now, in connection with the necessary preparations for an important domestic event: the upcoming nationwide referendum of the new version of the Belarusian Constitution on February 27. Of course, we wish our Belarusian friends success in holding it.

Let me note that our talks today were held in a constructive, business-like and friendly atmosphere, like we have had for many, many years.

As both sides have stressed many times, Russia and Belarus are good neighbours, close allies and strategic partners. We are deeply connected by a common history, moral values and family ties. Diverse bilateral cooperation is always built on the principles of mutual respect, support and consideration of each other's interests.

Of course, we have always paid and will pay special attention to the expansion of trade and economic ties. Despite the coronavirus-related difficulties, trade is growing: it increased by more than a third in 2021, or 34.4 percent, and amounted to a significant amount of US\$38.5 billion.

Almost half of all products manufactured in Belarus are exported to Russia, and Russia is a leading investor in the real sector of the Belarusian economy. Russian investment accounts for about 30 percent of total foreign investment in Belarus. And we will certainly try to create even more comfortable conditions for the business communities of the two countries and encourage entrepreneurial initiatives.

Of course, matters related to building the Union State and promoting integration within it were among the central topics in our talks with the President of Belarus.

We carefully studied the progress of implementing the strategic decisions approved at the November 4, 2021, meeting of the Union State Supreme State Council. We also discussed efforts to implement the 28 sectoral programmes of the Union and in general the provisions of the Treaty Establishing the Union State. During the talks, we noted that the 28 programmes we are talking about build on our long-standing cooperation and integration efforts in the relevant fields.

Both sides noted that relevant agencies of Russia and Belarus have been working together effectively on promoting integration across the board. The high-level group for coordinating our integration cooperation has been gathering momentum. It held a regular meeting in mid-December.

Our respective governments have also maintained close contact. Let me remind you that our prime ministers held eight meetings last year. In fact, they remain in touch constantly, almost on a weekly basis, if necessary.

Of course, Mr Lukashenko and I keep the implementation of integration-related process under our personal control. We can outline several areas where we have achieved tangible progress recently.

In particular, in the transport and logistics sector there was a significant increase in transits of Belarusian exports in many categories across Russian territory to third countries. We will continue our consistent efforts to build a common freight and passenger market within the Union State.

In the lending and financial sector, we have been cooperating to overcome and minimise the consequences of illegitimate sanctions imposed by some countries with a view to worsening the socioeconomic situation in our countries.

In addition, we have been working on integrating our payment systems and creating a new payment framework, as well as harmonising tax, customs, and labour laws of the two countries, and unifying our markets in the gas, oil, petrochemical, and electric power sectors.

I would like to note that our joint efforts to implement the economic agenda of the Union State are ultimately designed to ensure economic growth and to improve the living standards of our people.

Our other major integration projects have the same goals. I am referring to the Eurasian Economic Union, in the framework of which we are creating a truly common Eurasian market for goods, services, capital and workforce. It is important that all EAEU member states feel the practical effects of these processes.

During our talks today we had an in-depth discussion on strengthening the common defence space of Russia and Belarus. We have agreed to continue taking the necessary collective measures to ensure the security of our two states in light of the growing military activity of the NATO states on the external border of the Union State.

In this context, we praised the Allied Resolve 2022 military exercises, the active phase of which will run until February 20 in Belarus. I would like to point out that these exercises are purely defensive and do not threaten anyone. As you know, the defence ministries of our two states in due time announced the essence and goals of these planned – I would like to emphasise this – planned manoeuvres. As the President of Belarus, who attended them, said today, many foreign representatives and military attachés are attending the exercises and can see the whole thing with their own eyes.

Responding to a request from President Lukashenko, I talked about my recent meetings with foreign leaders on the provision by the US and NATO of long-term and legally binding security guarantees for Russia. We believe it is both logical and understandable that this issue also concerns our Belarussian allies.

We discussed the situation with Russia's requests for the West, the most important of which concern NATO's non-expansion, the non-deployment of strike weapons systems in close proximity to the Russian border, and the return of the bloc's military

potential and infrastructure in Europe to the state of 1997 when the Russia-NATO Founding Act was signed.

As I said earlier, unfortunately, the United States and other members of the alliance do not appear ready to sincerely consider these three pivotal elements of our initiative. At the same time, they have advanced a number of ideas of their own concerning European security, specifically, intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, and military transparency, which Russia is open to discussing. We are ready to continue the negotiation track provided that all items are considered in their entirety, in conjunction with Russia's main proposals, which are an unconditional priority for us.

President Lukashenko and I touched on the intra-Ukrainian conflict as well. The settlement process remains stalled; despite all our efforts, neither the contacts at the level of advisers to the leaders of the Normandy Format countries nor the consultations with our partners are helping.

Kiev is not complying with the Minsk Agreements and, in particular, is strongly opposed to a direct dialogue with Donetsk and Lugansk. Kiev is essentially sabotaging the agreements on amending the Constitution, on the special status of Donbass, on local elections and on amnesty – on all the key items in the Minsk Agreements. Besides, basically, human rights are massively and systematically violated in Ukraine, and discrimination against the Russian-speaking population is being fixed at the legislative level.

The President of Belarus and I agreed that the Minsk Agreements are the key to restoring civil peace in Ukraine and relieving tension around that country. All Kiev needs to do is sit down at the negotiating table with representatives of Donbass and agree on political, military, economic and humanitarian measures to end the conflict. The sooner this happens, the better. Unfortunately, right now, we are witnessing the opposite – the situation in Donbass is worsening.

In conclusion, I would like to express my gratitude to Mr Lukashenko for our productive cooperation. I am confident that today's talks will serve to further strengthen the entire scope of allied relations between Russia and Belarus. Tomorrow, as we agreed, we will take part in several regular events related to our joint military activities.

Go ahead please, Mr President.

President of the Republic of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko: Friends,

Our meeting with President Putin is taking place against the backdrop of an unprecedented escalation of military-political tensions in the world, as the President just said.

Considering the urgency of the situation, the President and I have devoted much attention today to this issue and discussed potential joint actions as a response to the aggressive behaviour of our Western partners. I would like to emphasise once again: nobody wants a war, or even an aggravation of the situation or any conflict. We, Russians and Belarusians, do not need this.

As people well versed in this issue, you probably understand that this no longer depends even on our neighbours, including Ukraine. You also see clearly who the escalation of tensions near our borders depends on. For the first time in decades, we have found ourselves on the threshold of a conflict that could, unfortunately, pull much of the entire continent into a maelstrom.

We are seeing the irresponsibility and, excuse me for being blunt, stupidity of some Western politicians at its best. There is no logic or reasonable explanation for the conduct of the leaders of neighbouring countries, their truly morbid desire to walk the edge.

The President of Russia has very mildly described the aggravation of the situation in Donbass. Unfortunately, it is true. People there are ready to flee the area and are probably already fleeing, as we know. This is not normal. I have the impression that some politicians who hold high and responsible positions in the so-called free world are simply pathologically dangerous to both their associates and, most importantly, to their own people.

As you heard, Union Resolve 2022, Belarusian-Russian joint military exercises, will end in a few days. Tomorrow, Mr Putin and I will hold joint events in the Russian Federation, about which the media will be informed.

As for the 2022 exercises that are nearing completion, I explained the basic point of this. The President just talked about it: given the growing military threat on our borders and the pumping of Ukraine with weapons, Belarus and Russia are compelled

Annex 18

to look for adequate means of repelling a potential attack on their borders, including on our borders, the southern borders for Belarus. There is nothing surprising about this, we are looking at these borders in the south of Belarus – they are almost 1,500 km long. We are concentrating on this to defend ourselves; we are looking for points where we should basically build our defences.

Belarus and the Russian Federation have a common air defence system, a joint regional military force, that is, a joint army, joint training centres, and finally, there is the Military Doctrine of the Union State. We have never hidden these documents or these areas of activity from anyone, everyone knows this.

This is why it was our joint situational decision to hold these exercises. We conduct these exercises as transparently as possible in our own territory; we are not hiding anything from anyone; everything happens in full view of an entire army of attachés and the press.

In talking about foreign policy we have not forgotten the Union State integration process. Four and a half months have passed since the Declaration of the Union State Supreme State Council was signed. It approved the main directions for the implementation of the provisions of the Treaty Establishing the Union State for 2021–2023 as well as the 28 Union State programmes.

These programmes are about 30 percent complete. A lot has been said about what has been done under these programmes and how, as Mr President said just now. In particular, we are focusing on the following areas: taxation, customs cooperation, and establishing a common gas market.

By the way, those who have moved the war of sanctions to the front lines will suffer equally, if not much more. This is a subject that President Putin and I have paid special attention to because this banditry and attempt to impose an economic war on us – it has already broken out – has cost us a lot. Of course, we have already learned how to counter the sanctions; as we have said, we have become stronger, as our bilateral trade shows. Nevertheless, we still have to focus a lot on countering the pressures of the sanctions. We have discussed this in detail.

I am grateful to the President of Russia – to you, Mr Putin – for the instructions you have just passed to the Russian leadership in my presence, without hiding anything.

I would like to thank you for this.

It is clear that we, Russians and Belarusians, will survive this hybrid war. We can see how our cooperation has improved in industry; there are dozens of new goods in the structure of our trade; and foreign trade is diversifying. The world is big: you can't lock all the gates and you can't block all transport routes.

Another part of our talks was devoted to the economy. It is gratifying that we did so well last year. Despite the pandemic and various virus strains, we increased our trade to almost 40 billion. And this is something to be taken into account, and then exports and imports between people – there are no borders between Belarus and Russia – this is billions of dollars too. It is important that both the Belarusian and Russian economies grew throughout the year in terms of gross domestic product, industrial production, and in many other areas of the real sector of the economy.

Of course, we talked more about problem areas not about our successes. There are fewer of them, but they still exist. We discussed measures to support the economy, strengthen financial stability, increase business activity, and develop cooperation.

Naturally, I informed the President of Russia of how Belarus is preparing for the most important political event – the constitutional referendum. We will hold it with dignity, in the interests of the Belarusian people, and this will in no way contradict our relations with brotherly Russia.

The West is actively trying if not to destabilise then to at least aggravate the situation in the country with the help of our defectors. However, they have no illusions that the events of August 2020 will be repeated. This is important because it strengthens our confidence that together we will be able to overcome the most difficult situations, confront any challenge or threat and build a common future. And no one should expect us to back down from any difficulty, challenge or problem.

Let me repeat what I just said: we do not want war, but if someone refuses to be still, our response will be asymmetric. Anyone in the world can understand this. And in this situation, in protecting the security of our peoples in our states, we will act appropriately.

The President of Russia noted, and I absolutely agree with him: they are trying to tear us apart, to separate us, not only Russia and Belarus, but all those states that are set on unity. This is the wrong approach: it will never work. Kazakhstan is evidence of this. We appreciate that.

Thank you for your attention.

Kommersant newspaper correspondent Andrei Kolesnikov: You recently said that if the West remains aggressive, you will be an eternal president. In this connection, how do you assess the Belarusian people's chances of losing you? I think they are increasingly more negligible.

And a question for the President of Russia. Mr President, how did you "survive" Russia's invasion of Ukraine the previous night?

Thank you.

Vladimir Putin: Let me go first, if you do not mind.

I just did not pay attention to it. There is a lot of fake news, and constantly reacting to it is not worth it.

We are doing what we feel we need to do, and we will keep going this way. Of course, we are watching the developments in the world and around us; however, we have clear and understandable benchmarks corresponding to the national interests of the Russian people and the Russian state.

Alexander Lukashenko: Mr Putin, we did not invade Ukraine, and the poor things are so upset, they are looking for a new pretext to push Ukraine into some sort of provocations.

As to my, pardon me, tenure in office, we will just discuss it with the elder brother and make a decision. Why are you worrying? Everything will be all right. As to your words (you said it right, I am even surprised that these words come from Kommersant) that those people's chances of breaking Belarusians' forces are negligible as you said. It cannot be said any better.

And they will get more negligible further, they will not make it. And it has nothing to do with the Belarusian people, that we are allegedly a dictatorship and bend, pressure and persecute. It is fiction. Nobody pressures or persecutes anyone – we are just appropriately responding to those who push, used to push, towards a coup d'état in Belarus. That is the agenda as it is. They wanted to repeat exactly what they did in Ukraine; they failed and will fail again. I had a reason to mention Kazakhstan, it included.

Alyona Syrova: STV Channel.

Mr Lukashenko, Mr Putin, my question is addressed to both of you.

You mentioned in your speeches the sanction war waged against us and against you. We see the pressure being systematically ramped up. The latest is the closure of potassium fertiliser transit. Russia is being threatened with preventive sanctions never seen before.

And here is the question in this regard. Mr Lukashenko, you said a number of decisions and orders have been made right now, during the talks. How do you see possible anti-sanction counteractions? We often say that the power is in cooperation in the context of integration, so in the context of countering the sanctions, where is cooperation and who can help us here?

Vladimir Putin: We must help ourselves in this respect, and this is the goal of our current meeting. We primarily focused, as Mr Lukashenko has already said, on economic issues, on issues of economic cooperation.

The President of Belarus was very eloquent. He said the world is big, and one cannot put a lock on everything. This is exactly what it is in reality, and I join this assessment. We talked about the entire range of problems, including the one you mentioned. I will not go into detail now, but there is always a solution.

As for what direction we should move in overall – I have already talked about this and would like to emphasise it again. First, this sanctions pressure is absolutely illegitimate. This is a gross violation of international law. Those who talk about this law care about it only when they stand to benefit. When there is nothing to gain, they conveniently forget all norms of international public law. We understand this perfectly

well. Unfortunately, we have lived in this paradigm for many, many years because the powers that be believe they run the show and always interpret everything in their own favour, ignoring the interests of others. The only way out is to grow stronger from within, primarily in the economy.

You are talking about sanctions. They will be imposed in any event. Whether there is some excuse today, for instance, linked with the events in Ukraine, or there is no excuse – one will be found because the goal is different. The goal is to impede the development, in this case, of Russia and Belarus. Those who pursue this objective will always come up with an excuse to introduce various restrictions. I will repeat that these restrictions are illegitimate. They amount to unfair competition.

In fact, this is the whole point. In the past eight years, Russia has done much in this area, and this is called import substitution. We have not done everything we planned, but we have accomplished more than 90 percent of the tasks we set for ourselves. We still have to do more, and this is called enhancing economic sovereignty.

Many countries of the world, even US allies, are facing today's restrictions. But they simply shut their mouth and bear it. As I said many, many years ago, nobody likes this. Nobody likes secondary sanctions or direct sanctions pressure. This boil will certainly burst eventually.

It is important for us today to enhance our economic sovereignty and be more competent and up to date. We must give new impetuses to the modern areas of economic progress: digitalisation, artificial intelligence and genetics, to name a few. This is a complicated and big job – it is impossible to resolve this issue overnight, but we must move in this direction.

The integration processes we are dealing with are aimed at precisely this goal – to become more competitive. Proceeding from this, we will be striving to improve the living standards of our people.

I think this is all that may be said in the format of a news conference.

Alexander Lukashenko: What was the general idea for our talks? In short, we mostly talked about economic issues, including pressure from the sanctions. The President just said what it was about: no matter what we do and no matter how hard we try to do

anything – though we think, first, in terms of our interests and our people and so on – they will find a pretext for pushing this economic war further, regardless. These are not simply sanctions – rather, an economic war unleashed against our alliance – this is the gist of the matter.

As for some details, the Russian President preferred to omit them – some particularly important issues were discussed in detail. For example, you raised the issue of potassium fertilisers: I am grateful to the President for his instructions, as I requested.

We need a port. In violation of international agreements, we have been denied access to the ports we used to use. This is not the right approach: no country that has a coast has the right to cut access to the sea to a landlocked country. Take Russia, which has an outlet to the sea – it does not deny anyone access to the sea. Lithuania, Latvia and Ukraine have closed their routes to the sea [for us]. This is a violation. I just wanted to refresh your memory.

The Russian President issued an instruction – I asked him about this – to let Russia help us, without foot-dragging and red tape, to build a port terminal for our use near St Petersburg and use it to tranship millions of tonnes of cargo; it is not a matter of funding – we have money to do this. He gave instructions in my presence to begin construction without delay. We will tranship millions of tonnes of cargo over 12 to 18 months – I do not know how long exactly; you can ask the ambassador who is sitting over there and who has been dealing with this issue. But if we withdraw from Ukraine and Lithuania – revenue from the transshipment of our cargo used to make up 30 percent of the latter's budget – we will never go back.

We will hold out. It was the right thing to say that no matter what the situation is like, sanctions also mean new opportunities and, most importantly, the opportunity to engage in import substitution – we will make do. President Putin says that [Russia's import substitution objectives] have been 90 percent achieved, so cooperation between Belarus and Russia will take care of the remaining 10 percent. We will find a way out of this situation one way or another. Even when it comes to the most sensitive things for us, Belarusians and especially Russians, like the most cutting-edge and sophisticated technologies. We can produce anything.

Which country was the first to release a vaccine when the pandemic started? It was Russia. Russia supplied the vaccine to Belarus and then we started producing it.

Annex 18

The Russian President said: “You did well!” We have already produced about 2.5 million doses in Belarus using Russian technology. We are also developing our own technology. Have we coped with this? We have. We will also cope with other issues.

Thank you.

Publication status

Published in sections: News, Transcripts

Publication date: February 18, 2022, 17:00

Direct link: en.kremlin.ru/d/67809

Annex 19

The Kremlin, Signing documents on recognition of the Donetsk and Lugansk Peoples Republics,
21 February 2022

Signing of documents recognising Donetsk and Lugansk People's Republics

February 21, 2022 22:40 The Kremlin, Moscow

The President of Russia signed the Executive Order On the Recognition of the Donetsk People's Republic and the Executive Order On the Recognition of the Lugansk People's Republic.

Vladimir Putin and Head of the DPR Denis Pushilin signed a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Russian Federation and the Donetsk People's Republic.

The President of Russia and Head of the LPR Leonid Pasechnik signed a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Russian Federation and the Lugansk People's Republic.

Following the signing ceremony, Vladimir Putin had a conversation with Denis Pushilin and Leonid Pasechnik.

Publication status

Published in section: News

Publication date: February 21, 2022, 22:40

Direct link: en.kremlin.ru/d/67829

Annex 20

Address by the President of the Russian Federation, 21 February 2022

Address by the President of the Russian Federation

February 21, 2022 22:35 The Kremlin, Moscow

President of Russia Vladimir Putin: Citizens of Russia, friends,

My address concerns the events in Ukraine and why this is so important for us, for Russia. Of course, my message is also addressed to our compatriots in Ukraine.

The matter is very serious and needs to be discussed in depth.

The situation in Donbass has reached a critical, acute stage. I am speaking to you directly today not only to explain what is happening but also to inform you of the decisions being made as well as potential further steps.

I would like to emphasise again that Ukraine is not just a neighbouring country for us. It is an inalienable part of our own history, culture and spiritual space. These are our comrades, those dearest to us – not only colleagues, friends and people who once served together, but also relatives, people bound by blood, by family ties.

Since time immemorial, the people living in the south-west of what has historically been Russian land have called themselves Russians and Orthodox Christians. This was the case before the 17th century, when a portion of this territory rejoined the Russian state, and after.

It seems to us that, generally speaking, we all know these facts, that this is common knowledge. Still, it is necessary to say at least a few words about the history of this issue in order to understand what is happening today, to explain the motives behind Russia's actions and what we aim to achieve.

So, I will start with the fact that modern Ukraine was entirely created by Russia or, to be more precise, by Bolshevik, Communist Russia. This process started practically right

after the 1917 revolution, and Lenin and his associates did it in a way that was extremely harsh on Russia – by separating, severing what is historically Russian land. Nobody asked the millions of people living there what they thought.

Then, both before and after the Great Patriotic War, Stalin incorporated in the USSR and transferred to Ukraine some lands that previously belonged to Poland, Romania and Hungary. In the process, he gave Poland part of what was traditionally German land as compensation, and in 1954, Khrushchev took Crimea away from Russia for some reason and also gave it to Ukraine. In effect, this is how the territory of modern Ukraine was formed.

But now I would like to focus attention on the initial period of the USSR's formation. I believe this is extremely important for us. I will have to approach it from a distance, so to speak.

I will remind you that after the 1917 October Revolution and the subsequent Civil War, the Bolsheviks set about creating a new statehood. They had rather serious disagreements among themselves on this point. In 1922, Stalin occupied the positions of both the General Secretary of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the People's Commissar for Ethnic Affairs. He suggested building the country on the principles of autonomisation that is, giving the republics – the future administrative and territorial entities – broad powers upon joining a unified state.

Lenin criticised this plan and suggested making concessions to the nationalists, whom he called “independents” at that time. Lenin's ideas of what amounted in essence to a confederative state arrangement and a slogan about the right of nations to self-determination, up to secession, were laid in the foundation of Soviet statehood. Initially they were confirmed in the Declaration on the Formation of the USSR in 1922, and later on, after Lenin's death, were enshrined in the 1924 Soviet Constitution.

This immediately raises many questions. The first is really the main one: why was it necessary to appease the nationalists, to satisfy the ceaselessly growing nationalist ambitions on the outskirts of the former empire? What was the point of transferring to the newly, often arbitrarily formed administrative units – the union republics – vast territories that had nothing to do with them? Let me repeat that these territories were transferred along with the population of what was historically Russia.

Moreover, these administrative units were de facto given the status and form of national state entities. That raises another question: why was it necessary to make such generous gifts, beyond the wildest dreams of the most zealous nationalists and, on top of all that, give the republics the right to secede from the unified state without any conditions?

At first glance, this looks absolutely incomprehensible, even crazy. But only at first glance. There is an explanation. After the revolution, the Bolsheviks' main goal was to stay in power at all costs, absolutely at all costs. They did everything for this purpose: accepted the humiliating Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, although the military and economic situation in Kaiser Germany and its allies was dramatic and the outcome of the First World War was a foregone conclusion, and satisfied any demands and wishes of the nationalists within the country.

When it comes to the historical destiny of Russia and its peoples, Lenin's principles of state development were not just a mistake; they were worse than a mistake, as the saying goes. This became patently clear after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Of course, we cannot change past events, but we must at least admit them openly and honestly, without any reservations or politicking. Personally, I can add that no political factors, however impressive or profitable they may seem at any given moment, can or may be used as the fundamental principles of statehood.

I am not trying to put the blame on anyone. The situation in the country at that time, both before and after the Civil War, was extremely complicated; it was critical. The only thing I would like to say today is that this is exactly how it was. It is a historical fact. Actually, as I have already said, Soviet Ukraine is the result of the Bolsheviks' policy and can be rightfully called "Vladimir Lenin's Ukraine." He was its creator and architect. This is fully and comprehensively corroborated by archival documents, including Lenin's harsh instructions regarding Donbass, which was actually shoved into Ukraine. And today the "grateful progeny" has overturned monuments to Lenin in Ukraine. They call it decommunization.

You want decommunization? Very well, this suits us just fine. But why stop halfway? We are ready to show what real decommunizations would mean for Ukraine.

Going back to history, I would like to repeat that the Soviet Union was established in the place of the former Russian Empire in 1922. But practice showed immediately that it was impossible to preserve or govern such a vast and complex territory on the amorphous principles that amounted to confederation. They were far removed from reality and the historical tradition.

It is logical that the Red Terror and a rapid slide into Stalin's dictatorship, the domination of the communist ideology and the Communist Party's monopoly on power, nationalisation and the planned economy – all this transformed the formally declared but ineffective principles of government into a mere declaration. In reality, the union republics did not have any sovereign rights, none at all. The practical result was the creation of a tightly centralised and absolutely unitary state.

In fact, what Stalin fully implemented was not Lenin's but his own principles of government. But he did not make the relevant amendments to the cornerstone documents, to the Constitution, and he did not formally revise Lenin's principles underlying the Soviet Union. From the look of it, there seemed to be no need for that, because everything seemed to be working well in conditions of the totalitarian regime, and outwardly it looked wonderful, attractive and even super-democratic.

And yet, it is a great pity that the fundamental and formally legal foundations of our state were not promptly cleansed of the odious and utopian fantasies inspired by the revolution, which are absolutely destructive for any normal state. As it often happened in our country before, nobody gave any thought to the future.

It seems that the Communist Party leaders were convinced that they had created a solid system of government and that their policies had settled the ethnic issue for good. But falsification, misconception, and tampering with public opinion have a high cost. The virus of nationalist ambitions is still with us, and the mine laid at the initial stage to destroy state immunity to the disease of nationalism was ticking. As I have already said, the mine was the right of secession from the Soviet Union.

In the mid-1980s, the increasing socioeconomic problems and the apparent crisis of the planned economy aggravated the ethnic issue, which essentially was not based on any expectations or unfulfilled dreams of the Soviet peoples but primarily the growing appetites of the local elites.

However, instead of analysing the situation, taking appropriate measures, first of all in the economy, and gradually transforming the political system and government in a well-considered and balanced manner, the Communist Party leadership only engaged in open doubletalk about the revival of the Leninist principle of national self-determination.

Moreover, in the course of power struggle within the Communist Party itself, each of the opposing sides, in a bid to expand its support base, started to thoughtlessly incite and encourage nationalist sentiments, manipulating them and promising their potential supporters whatever they wished. Against the backdrop of the superficial and populist rhetoric about democracy and a bright future based either on a market or a planned economy, but amid a true impoverishment of people and widespread shortages, no one among the powers that be was thinking about the inevitable tragic consequences for the country.

Next, they entirely embarked on the track beaten at the inception of the USSR and pandering to the ambitions of the nationalist elites nurtured within their own party ranks. But in so doing, they forgot that the CPSU no longer had – thank God – the tools for retaining power and the country itself, tools such as state terror and a Stalinist-type dictatorship, and that the notorious guiding role of the party was disappearing without a trace, like a morning mist, right before their eyes.

And then, the September 1989 plenary session of the CPSU Central Committee approved a truly fatal document, the so-called ethnic policy of the party in modern conditions, the CPSU platform. It included the following provisions, I quote: “The republics of the USSR shall possess all the rights appropriate to their status as sovereign socialist states.”

The next point: “The supreme representative bodies of power of the USSR republics can challenge and suspend the operation of the USSR Government’s resolutions and directives in their territory.”

And finally: “Each republic of the USSR shall have citizenship of its own, which shall apply to all of its residents.”

Wasn’t it clear what these formulas and decisions would lead to?

Now is not the time or place to go into matters pertaining to state or constitutional law, or define the concept of citizenship. But one may wonder: why was it necessary to rock the country even more in that already complicated situation? The facts remain.

Even two years before the collapse of the USSR, its fate was actually predetermined. It is now that radicals and nationalists, including and primarily those in Ukraine, are taking credit for having gained independence. As we can see, this is absolutely wrong. The disintegration of our united country was brought about by the historic, strategic mistakes on the part of the Bolshevik leaders and the CPSU leadership, mistakes committed at different times in state-building and in economic and ethnic policies. The collapse of the historical Russia known as the USSR is on their conscience.

Despite all these injustices, lies and outright pillage of Russia, it was our people who accepted the new geopolitical reality that took shape after the dissolution of the USSR, and recognised the new independent states. Not only did Russia recognise these countries, but helped its CIS partners, even though it faced a very dire situation itself. This included our Ukrainian colleagues, who turned to us for financial support many times from the very moment they declared independence. Our country provided this assistance while respecting Ukraine's dignity and sovereignty.

According to expert assessments, confirmed by a simple calculation of our energy prices, the subsidised loans Russia provided to Ukraine along with economic and trade preferences, the overall benefit for the Ukrainian budget in the period from 1991 to 2013 amounted to \$250 billion.

However, there was more to it than that. By the end of 1991, the USSR owed some \$100 billion to other countries and international funds. Initially, there was this idea that all former Soviet republics will pay back these loans together, in the spirit of solidarity and proportionally to their economic potential. However, Russia undertook to pay back all Soviet debts and delivered on this promise by completing this process in 2017.

In exchange for that, the newly independent states had to hand over to Russia part of the Soviet foreign assets. An agreement to this effect was reached with Ukraine in December 1994. However, Kiev failed to ratify these agreements and later simply refused to honour them by making demands for a share of the Diamond Treasury, gold reserves, as well as former USSR property and other assets abroad.

Nevertheless, despite all these challenges, Russia always worked with Ukraine in an open and honest manner and, as I have already said, with respect for its interests. We developed our ties in multiple fields. Thus, in 2011, bilateral trade exceeded \$50 billion. Let me note that in 2019, that is before the pandemic, Ukraine's trade with all EU countries combined was below this indicator.

At the same time, it was striking how the Ukrainian authorities always preferred dealing with Russia in a way that ensured that they enjoy all the rights and privileges while remaining free from any obligations.

The officials in Kiev replaced partnership with a parasitic attitude acting at times in an extremely brash manner. Suffice it to recall the continuous blackmail on energy transits and the fact that they literally stole gas.

I can add that Kiev tried to use dialogue with Russia as a bargaining chip in its relations with the West, using the threat of closer ties with Russia for blackmailing the West to secure preferences by claiming that otherwise Russia would have a bigger influence in Ukraine.

At the same time, the Ukrainian authorities – I would like to emphasise this – began by building their statehood on the negation of everything that united us, trying to distort the mentality and historical memory of millions of people, of entire generations living in Ukraine. It is not surprising that Ukrainian society was faced with the rise of far-right nationalism, which rapidly developed into aggressive Russophobia and neo-Nazism. This resulted in the participation of Ukrainian nationalists and neo-Nazis in the terrorist groups in the North Caucasus and the increasingly loud territorial claims to Russia.

A role in this was played by external forces, which used a ramified network of NGOs and special services to nurture their clients in Ukraine and to bring their representatives to the seats of authority.

It should be noted that Ukraine actually never had stable traditions of real statehood. And, therefore, in 1991 it opted for mindlessly emulating foreign models, which have no relation to history or Ukrainian realities. Political government institutions were readjusted many times to the rapidly growing clans and their self-serving interests, which had nothing to do with the interests of the Ukrainian people.

Essentially, the so-called pro-Western civilisational choice made by the oligarchic Ukrainian authorities was not and is not aimed at creating better conditions in the interests of people's well-being but at keeping the billions of dollars that the oligarchs have stolen from the Ukrainians and are holding in their accounts in Western banks, while reverently accommodating the geopolitical rivals of Russia.

Some industrial and financial groups and the parties and politicians on their payroll relied on the nationalists and radicals from the very beginning. Others claimed to be in favour of good relations with Russia and cultural and language diversity, coming to power with the help of their citizens who sincerely supported their declared aspirations, including the millions of people in the south-eastern regions. But after getting the positions they coveted, these people immediately betrayed their voters, going back on their election promises and instead steering a policy prompted by the radicals and sometimes even persecuting their former allies – the public organisations that supported bilingualism and cooperation with Russia. These people took advantage of the fact that their voters were mostly law-abiding citizens with moderate views who trusted the authorities, and that, unlike the radicals, they would not act aggressively or make use of illegal instruments.

Meanwhile, the radicals became increasingly brazen in their actions and made more demands every year. They found it easy to force their will on the weak authorities, which were infected with the virus of nationalism and corruption as well and which artfully replaced the real cultural, economic and social interests of the people and Ukraine's true sovereignty with various ethnic speculations and formal ethnic attributes.

A stable statehood has never developed in Ukraine; its electoral and other political procedures just serve as a cover, a screen for the redistribution of power and property between various oligarchic clans.

Corruption, which is certainly a challenge and a problem for many countries, including Russia, has gone beyond the usual scope in Ukraine. It has literally permeated and corroded Ukrainian statehood, the entire system, and all branches of power.

Radical nationalists took advantage of the justified public discontent and saddled the Maidan protest, escalating it to a coup d'état in 2014. They also had direct assistance from foreign states. According to reports, the US Embassy provided \$1 million a day to support the so-called protest camp on Independence Square in Kiev. In addition, large amounts were impudently transferred directly to the opposition

leaders' bank accounts, tens of millions of dollars. But the people who actually suffered, the families of those who died in the clashes provoked in the streets and squares of Kiev and other cities, how much did they get in the end? Better not ask.

The nationalists who have seized power have unleashed a persecution, a real terror campaign against those who opposed their anti-constitutional actions. Politicians, journalists, and public activists were harassed and publicly humiliated. A wave of violence swept Ukrainian cities, including a series of high-profile and unpunished murders. One shudders at the memories of the terrible tragedy in Odessa, where peaceful protesters were brutally murdered, burned alive in the House of Trade Unions. The criminals who committed that atrocity have never been punished, and no one is even looking for them. But we know their names and we will do everything to punish them, find them and bring them to justice.

Maidan did not bring Ukraine any closer to democracy and progress. Having accomplished a coup d'état, the nationalists and those political forces that supported them eventually led Ukraine into an impasse, pushed the country into the abyss of civil war. Eight years later, the country is split. Ukraine is struggling with an acute socioeconomic crisis.

According to international organisations, in 2019, almost 6 million Ukrainians – I emphasise – about 15 percent, not of the workforce, but of the entire population of that country, had to go abroad to find work. Most of them do odd jobs. The following fact is also revealing: since 2020, over 60,000 doctors and other health workers have left the country amid the pandemic.

Since 2014, water bills increased by almost a third, and energy bills grew several times, while the price of gas for households surged several dozen times. Many people simply do not have the money to pay for utilities. They literally struggle to survive.

What happened? Why is this all happening? The answer is obvious. They spent and embezzled the legacy inherited not only from the Soviet era, but also from the Russian Empire. They lost tens, hundreds of thousands of jobs which enabled people to earn a reliable income and generate tax revenue, among other things thanks to close cooperation with Russia. Sectors including machine building, instrument engineering, electronics, ship and aircraft building have been undermined or destroyed altogether. There was a time, however, when not only Ukraine, but the entire Soviet Union took pride in these companies.

In 2021, the Black Sea Shipyard in Nikolayev went out of business. Its first docks date back to Catherine the Great. Antonov, the famous manufacturer, has not made a single commercial aircraft since 2016, while Yuzhmash, a factory specialising in missile and space equipment, is nearly bankrupt. The Kremenchug Steel Plant is in a similar situation. This sad list goes on and on.

As for the gas transportation system, it was built in its entirety by the Soviet Union, and it has now deteriorated to an extent that using it creates major risks and comes at a high cost for the environment.

This situation begs the question: poverty, lack of opportunity, and lost industrial and technological potential – is this the pro-Western civilisational choice they have been using for many years to fool millions of people with promises of heavenly pastures?

It all came down to a Ukrainian economy in tatters and an outright pillage of the country's citizens, while Ukraine itself was placed under external control, directed not only from the Western capitals, but also on the ground, as the saying goes, through an entire network of foreign advisors, NGOs and other institutions present in Ukraine. They have a direct bearing on all the key appointments and dismissals and on all branches of power at all levels, from the central government down to municipalities, as well as on state-owned companies and corporations, including Naftogaz, Ukrenergo, Ukrainian Railways, Ukroboronprom, Ukrposhta, and the Ukrainian Sea Ports Authority.

There is no independent judiciary in Ukraine. The Kiev authorities, at the West's demand, delegated the priority right to select members of the supreme judicial bodies, the Council of Justice and the High Qualifications Commission of Judges, to international organisations.

In addition, the United States directly controls the National Agency on Corruption Prevention, the National Anti-Corruption Bureau, the Specialised Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office and the High Anti-Corruption Court. All this is done under the noble pretext of invigorating efforts against corruption. All right, but where are the results? Corruption is flourishing like never before.

Are the Ukrainian people aware that this is how their country is managed? Do they

realise that their country has turned not even into a political or economic protectorate but has been reduced to a colony with a puppet regime? The state was privatised. As a result, the government, which designates itself as the “power of patriots” no longer acts in a national capacity and consistently pushes Ukraine towards losing its sovereignty.

The policy to root out the Russian language and culture and promote assimilation carries on. The Verkhovna Rada has generated a steady flow of discriminatory bills, and the law on the so-called indigenous people has already come into force. People who identify as Russians and want to preserve their identity, language and culture are getting the signal that they are not wanted in Ukraine.

Under the laws on education and the Ukrainian language as a state language, the Russian language has no place in schools or public spaces, even in ordinary shops. The law on the so-called vetting of officials and purging their ranks created a pathway for dealing with unwanted civil servants.

There are more and more acts enabling the Ukrainian military and law enforcement agencies to crack down on the freedom of speech, dissent, and going after the opposition. The world knows the deplorable practice of imposing unilateral illegitimate sanctions against other countries, foreign individuals and legal entities. Ukraine has outperformed its Western masters by inventing sanctions against its own citizens, companies, television channels, other media outlets and even members of parliament.

Kiev continues to prepare the destruction of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate. This is not an emotional judgement; proof of this can be found in concrete decisions and documents. The Ukrainian authorities have cynically turned the tragedy of the schism into an instrument of state policy. The current authorities do not react to the Ukrainian people’s appeals to abolish the laws that are infringing on believers’ rights. Moreover, new draft laws directed against the clergy and millions of parishioners of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate have been registered in the Verkhovna Rada.

A few words about Crimea. The people of the peninsula freely made their choice to be with Russia. The Kiev authorities cannot challenge the clearly stated choice of the people, which is why they have opted for aggressive action, for activating extremist cells, including radical Islamist organisations, for sending subversives

to stage terrorist attacks at critical infrastructure facilities, and for kidnapping Russian citizens. We have factual proof that such aggressive actions are being taken with support from Western security services.

In March 2021, a new Military Strategy was adopted in Ukraine. This document is almost entirely dedicated to confrontation with Russia and sets the goal of involving foreign states in a conflict with our country. The strategy stipulates the organisation of what can be described as a terrorist underground movement in Russia's Crimea and in Donbass. It also sets out the contours of a potential war, which should end, according to the Kiev strategists, "with the assistance of the international community on favourable terms for Ukraine," as well as – listen carefully, please – "with foreign military support in the geopolitical confrontation with the Russian Federation." In fact, this is nothing other than preparation for hostilities against our country, Russia.

As we know, it has already been stated today that Ukraine intends to create its own nuclear weapons, and this is not just bragging. Ukraine has the nuclear technologies created back in the Soviet times and delivery vehicles for such weapons, including aircraft, as well as the Soviet-designed Tochka-U precision tactical missiles with a range of over 100 kilometres. But they can do more; it is only a matter of time. They have had the groundwork for this since the Soviet era.

In other words, acquiring tactical nuclear weapons will be much easier for Ukraine than for some other states I am not going to mention here, which are conducting such research, especially if Kiev receives foreign technological support. We cannot rule this out either.

If Ukraine acquires weapons of mass destruction, the situation in the world and in Europe will drastically change, especially for us, for Russia. We cannot but react to this real danger, all the more so since, let me repeat, Ukraine's Western patrons may help it acquire these weapons to create yet another threat to our country. We are seeing how persistently the Kiev regime is being pumped with arms. Since 2014, the United States alone has spent billions of dollars for this purpose, including supplies of arms and equipment and training of specialists. In the last few months, there has been a constant flow of Western weapons to Ukraine, ostentatiously, with the entire world watching. Foreign advisors supervise the activities of Ukraine's armed forces and special services and we are well aware of this.

Over the past few years, military contingents of NATO countries have been almost

constantly present on Ukrainian territory under the pretext of exercises. The Ukrainian troop control system has already been integrated into NATO. This means that NATO headquarters can issue direct commands to the Ukrainian armed forces, even to their separate units and squads.

The United States and NATO have started an impudent development of Ukrainian territory as a theatre of potential military operations. Their regular joint exercises are obviously anti-Russian. Last year alone, over 23,000 troops and more than a thousand units of hardware were involved.

A law has already been adopted that allows foreign troops to come to Ukraine in 2022 to take part in multinational drills. Understandably, these are primarily NATO troops. This year, at least ten of these joint drills are planned.

Obviously, such undertakings are designed to be a cover-up for a rapid buildup of the NATO military group on Ukrainian territory. This is all the more so since the network of airfields upgraded with US help in Borispol, Ivano-Frankovsk, Chuguyev and Odessa, to name a few, is capable of transferring army units in a very short time. Ukraine's airspace is open to flights by US strategic and reconnaissance aircraft and drones that conduct surveillance over Russian territory.

I will add that the US-built Maritime Operations Centre in Ochakov makes it possible to support activity by NATO warships, including the use of precision weapons, against the Russian Black Sea Fleet and our infrastructure on the entire Black Sea Coast.

At one time, the United States intended to build similar facilities in Crimea as well but the Crimeans and residents of Sevastopol wrecked these plans. We will always remember this.

I would like to repeat that today such a centre has already been deployed in Ochakov. In the 18th century, soldiers of Alexander Suvorov fought for this city. Owing to their courage, it became part of Russia. Also in the 18th century, the lands of the Black Sea littoral, incorporated in Russia as a result of wars with the Ottoman Empire, were given the name of Novorossiia (New Russia). Now attempts are being made to condemn these landmarks of history to oblivion, along with the names of state and military figures of the Russian Empire without whose efforts modern Ukraine would not have many big cities or even access to the Black Sea.

A monument to Alexander Suvorov was recently demolished in Poltava. What is there to say? Are you renouncing your own past? The so-called colonial heritage of the Russian Empire? Well, in this case, be consistent.

Next, notably, Article 17 of the Constitution of Ukraine stipulates that deploying foreign military bases on its territory is illegal. However, as it turns out, this is just a conventionality that can be easily circumvented.

Ukraine is home to NATO training missions which are, in fact, foreign military bases. They just called a base a mission and were done with it.

Kiev has long proclaimed a strategic course on joining NATO. Indeed, each country is entitled to pick its own security system and enter into military alliances. There would be no problem with that, if it were not for one “but.” International documents expressly stipulate the principle of equal and indivisible security, which includes obligations not to strengthen one's own security at the expense of the security of other states. This is stated in the 1999 OSCE Charter for European Security adopted in Istanbul and the 2010 OSCE Astana Declaration.

In other words, the choice of pathways towards ensuring security should not pose a threat to other states, whereas Ukraine joining NATO is a direct threat to Russia's security.

Let me remind you that at the Bucharest NATO summit held in April 2008, the United States pushed through a decision to the effect that Ukraine and, by the way, Georgia would become NATO members. Many European allies of the United States were well aware of the risks associated with this prospect already then, but were forced to put up with the will of their senior partner. The Americans simply used them to carry out a clearly anti-Russian policy.

A number of NATO member states are still very sceptical about Ukraine joining NATO. We are getting signals from some European capitals telling us not to worry since it will not happen literally overnight. In fact, our US partners are saying the same thing as well. “All right, then” we respond, “if it does not happen tomorrow, then it will happen the day after tomorrow. What does it change from the historical perspective? Nothing at all.”

Furthermore, we are aware of the US leadership's position and words that active hostilities in eastern Ukraine do not rule out the possibility of that country joining NATO if it meets NATO criteria and overcomes corruption.

All the while, they are trying to convince us over and over again that NATO is a peace-loving and purely defensive alliance that poses no threat to Russia. Again, they want us to take their word for it. But we are well aware of the real value of these words. In 1990, when German unification was discussed, the United States promised the Soviet leadership that NATO jurisdiction or military presence will not expand one inch to the east and that the unification of Germany will not lead to the spread of NATO's military organisation to the east. This is a quote.

They issued lots of verbal assurances, all of which turned out to be empty phrases. Later, they began to assure us that the accession to NATO by Central and Eastern European countries would only improve relations with Moscow, relieve these countries of the fears steeped in their bitter historical legacy, and even create a belt of countries that are friendly towards Russia.

However, the exact opposite happened. The governments of certain Eastern European countries, speculating on Russophobia, brought their complexes and stereotypes about the Russian threat to the Alliance and insisted on building up the collective defence potentials and deploying them primarily against Russia. Worse still, that happened in the 1990s and the early 2000s when, thanks to our openness and goodwill, relations between Russia and the West had reached a high level.

Russia has fulfilled all of its obligations, including the pullout from Germany, from Central and Eastern Europe, making an immense contribution to overcoming the legacy of the Cold War. We have consistently proposed various cooperation options, including in the NATO-Russia Council and the OSCE formats.

Moreover, I will say something I have never said publicly, I will say it now for the first time. When then outgoing US President Bill Clinton visited Moscow in 2000, I asked him how America would feel about admitting Russia to NATO.

I will not reveal all the details of that conversation, but the reaction to my question was, let us say, quite restrained, and the Americans' true attitude to that possibility can actually be seen from their subsequent steps with regard to our country. I am referring

to the overt support for terrorists in the North Caucasus, the disregard for our security demands and concerns, NATO's continued expansion, withdrawal from the ABM Treaty, and so on. It raises the question: why? What is all this about, what is the purpose? All right, you do not want to see us as friends or allies, but why make us an enemy?

There can be only one answer – this is not about our political regime or anything like that. They just do not need a big and independent country like Russia around. This is the answer to all questions. This is the source of America's traditional policy towards Russia. Hence the attitude to all our security proposals

Today, one glance at the map is enough to see to what extent Western countries have kept their promise to refrain from NATO's eastward expansion. They just cheated. We have seen five waves of NATO expansion, one after another – Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary were admitted in 1999; Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia in 2004; Albania and Croatia in 2009; Montenegro in 2017; and North Macedonia in 2020.

As a result, the Alliance, its military infrastructure has reached Russia's borders. This is one of the key causes of the European security crisis; it has had the most negative impact on the entire system of international relations and led to the loss of mutual trust.

The situation continues to deteriorate, including in the strategic area. Thus, positioning areas for interceptor missiles are being established in Romania and Poland as part of the US project to create a global missile defence system. It is common knowledge that the launchers deployed there can be used for Tomahawk cruise missiles – offensive strike systems.

In addition, the United States is developing its all-purpose Standard Missile-6, which can provide air and missile defence, as well as strike ground and surface targets. In other words, the allegedly defensive US missile defence system is developing and expanding its new offensive capabilities.

The information we have gives us good reason to believe that Ukraine's accession to NATO and the subsequent deployment of NATO facilities has already been decided and is only a matter of time. We clearly understand that given this scenario, the level of military threats to Russia will increase dramatically, several times over. And I would

like to emphasise at this point that the risk of a sudden strike at our country will multiply.

I will explain that American strategic planning documents confirm the possibility of a so-called preemptive strike at enemy missile systems. We also know the main adversary of the United States and NATO. It is Russia. NATO documents officially declare our country to be the main threat to Euro-Atlantic security. Ukraine will serve as an advanced bridgehead for such a strike. If our ancestors heard about this, they would probably simply not believe this. We do not want to believe this today either, but it is what it is. I would like people in Russia and Ukraine to understand this.

Many Ukrainian airfields are located not far from our borders. NATO's tactical aviation deployed there, including precision weapon carriers, will be capable of striking at our territory to the depth of the Volgograd-Kazan-Samara-Astrakhan line. The deployment of reconnaissance radars on Ukrainian territory will allow NATO to tightly control Russia's airspace up to the Urals.

Finally, after the US destroyed the INF Treaty, the Pentagon has been openly developing many land-based attack weapons, including ballistic missiles that are capable of hitting targets at a distance of up to 5,500 km. If deployed in Ukraine, such systems will be able to hit targets in Russia's entire European part. The flying time of Tomahawk cruise missiles to Moscow will be less than 35 minutes; ballistic missiles from Kharkov will take seven to eight minutes; and hypersonic assault weapons, four to five minutes. It is like a knife to the throat. I have no doubt that they hope to carry out these plans, as they did many times in the past, expanding NATO eastward, moving their military infrastructure to Russian borders and fully ignoring our concerns, protests and warnings. Excuse me, but they simply did not care at all about such things and did whatever they deemed necessary.

Of course, they are going to behave in the same way in the future, following a well-known proverb: "The dogs bark but the caravan goes on." Let me say right away – we do not accept this behaviour and will never accept it. That said, Russia has always advocated the resolution of the most complicated problems by political and diplomatic means, at the negotiating table.

We are well aware of our enormous responsibility when it comes to regional and global stability. Back in 2008, Russia put forth an initiative to conclude a European Security Treaty under which not a single Euro-Atlantic state or international organisation could

strengthen their security at the expense of the security of others. However, our proposal was rejected right off the bat on the pretext that Russia should not be allowed to put limits on NATO activities.

Furthermore, it was made explicitly clear to us that only NATO members can have legally binding security guarantees.

Last December, we handed over to our Western partners a draft treaty between the Russian Federation and the United States of America on security guarantees, as well as a draft agreement on measures to ensure the security of the Russian Federation and NATO member states.

The United States and NATO responded with general statements. There were kernels of rationality in them as well, but they concerned matters of secondary importance and it all looked like an attempt to drag the issue out and to lead the discussion astray.

We responded to this accordingly and pointed out that we were ready to follow the path of negotiations, provided, however, that all issues are considered as a package that includes Russia's core proposals which contain three key points. First, to prevent further NATO expansion. Second, to have the Alliance refrain from deploying assault weapon systems on Russian borders. And finally, rolling back the bloc's military capability and infrastructure in Europe to where they were in 1997, when the NATO-Russia Founding Act was signed.

These principled proposals of ours have been ignored. To reiterate, our Western partners have once again vocalised the all-too-familiar formulas that each state is entitled to freely choose ways to ensure its security or to join any military union or alliance. That is, nothing has changed in their stance, and we keep hearing the same old references to NATO's notorious "open door" policy. Moreover, they are again trying to blackmail us and are threatening us with sanctions, which, by the way, they will introduce no matter what as Russia continues to strengthen its sovereignty and its Armed Forces. To be sure, they will never think twice before coming up with or just fabricating a pretext for yet another sanction attack regardless of the developments in Ukraine. Their one and only goal is to hold back the development of Russia. And they will keep doing so, just as they did before, even without any formal pretext just because we exist and will never compromise our sovereignty, national interests or values.

I would like to be clear and straightforward: in the current circumstances, when our proposals for an equal dialogue on fundamental issues have actually remained unanswered by the United States and NATO, when the level of threats to our country has increased significantly, Russia has every right to respond in order to ensure its security. That is exactly what we will do.

With regard to the state of affairs in Donbass, we see that the ruling Kiev elites never stop publicly making clear their unwillingness to comply with the Minsk Package of Measures to settle the conflict and are not interested in a peaceful settlement. On the contrary, they are trying to orchestrate a blitzkrieg in Donbass as was the case in 2014 and 2015. We all know how these reckless schemes ended.

Not a single day goes by without Donbass communities coming under shelling attacks. The recently formed large military force makes use of attack drones, heavy equipment, missiles, artillery and multiple rocket launchers. The killing of civilians, the blockade, the abuse of people, including children, women and the elderly, continues unabated. As we say, there is no end in sight to this.

Meanwhile, the so-called civilised world, which our Western colleagues proclaimed themselves the only representatives of, prefers not to see this, as if this horror and genocide, which almost 4 million people are facing, do not exist. But they do exist and only because these people did not agree with the West-supported coup in Ukraine in 2014 and opposed the transition towards the Neanderthal and aggressive nationalism and neo-Nazism which have been elevated in Ukraine to the rank of national policy. They are fighting for their elementary right to live on their own land, to speak their own language, and to preserve their culture and traditions.

How long can this tragedy continue? How much longer can one put up with this? Russia has done everything to preserve Ukraine's territorial integrity. All these years, it has persistently and patiently pushed for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 2202 of February 17, 2015, which consolidated the Minsk Package of Measures of February 12, 2015, to settle the situation in Donbass.

Everything was in vain. Presidents and Rada deputies come and go, but deep down the aggressive and nationalistic regime that seized power in Kiev remains unchanged. It is entirely a product of the 2014 coup, and those who then embarked on the path of violence, bloodshed and lawlessness did not recognise then and do not recognise now any solution to the Donbass issue other than a military one.

In this regard, I consider it necessary to take a long overdue decision and to immediately recognise the independence and sovereignty of the Donetsk People's Republic and the Lugansk People's Republic.

I would like to ask the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation to support this decision and then ratify the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance with both republics. These two documents will be prepared and signed shortly.

We want those who seized and continue to hold power in Kiev to immediately stop hostilities. Otherwise, the responsibility for the possible continuation of the bloodshed will lie entirely on the conscience of Ukraine's ruling regime.

As I announce the decisions taken today, I remain confident in the support of Russia's citizens and the country's patriotic forces.

Thank you.

Publication status

Published in sections: News, Transcripts

Publication date: February 21, 2022, 22:35

Direct link: en.kremlin.ru/d/67828

Annex 21

Address by the President of the Russian Federation, 24 February 2022

Address by the President of the Russian Federation

February 24, 2022 06:00 The Kremlin, Moscow

President of Russia Vladimir Putin: Citizens of Russia, friends,

I consider it necessary today to speak again about the tragic events in Donbass and the key aspects of ensuring the security of Russia.

I will begin with what I said in my address on February 21, 2022. I spoke about our biggest concerns and worries, and about the fundamental threats which irresponsible Western politicians created for Russia consistently, rudely and unceremoniously from year to year. I am referring to the eastward expansion of NATO, which is moving its military infrastructure ever closer to the Russian border.

It is a fact that over the past 30 years we have been patiently trying to come to an agreement with the leading NATO countries regarding the principles of equal and indivisible security in Europe. In response to our proposals, we invariably faced either cynical deception and lies or attempts at pressure and blackmail, while the North Atlantic alliance continued to expand despite our protests and concerns. Its military machine is moving and, as I said, is approaching our very border.

Why is this happening? Where did this insolent manner of talking down from the height of their exceptionalism, infallibility and all-permissiveness come from? What is the explanation for this contemptuous and disdainful attitude to our interests and absolutely legitimate demands?

The answer is simple. Everything is clear and obvious. In the late 1980s, the Soviet Union grew weaker and subsequently broke apart. That experience should serve as a good lesson for us, because it has shown us that the paralysis of power and will is the first step towards complete degradation and oblivion. We lost confidence for only one moment, but it was enough to disrupt the balance of forces in the world.

As a result, the old treaties and agreements are no longer effective. Entreaties and requests do not help. Anything that does not suit the dominant state, the powers that be, is denounced as archaic, obsolete and useless. At the same time, everything it regards as useful is presented as the ultimate truth and forced on others regardless of the cost, abusively and by any means available. Those who refuse to comply are subjected to strong-arm tactics.

What I am saying now does not concern only Russia, and Russia is not the only country that is worried about this. This has to do with the entire system of international relations, and sometimes even US allies. The collapse of the Soviet Union led to a redivision of the world, and the norms of international law that developed by that time – and the most important of them, the fundamental norms that were adopted following WWII and largely formalised its outcome – came in the way of those who declared themselves the winners of the Cold War.

Of course, practice, international relations and the rules regulating them had to take into account the changes that took place in the world and in the balance of forces. However, this should have been done professionally, smoothly, patiently, and with due regard and respect for the interests of all states and one's own responsibility. Instead, we saw a state of euphoria created by the feeling of absolute superiority, a kind of modern absolutism, coupled with the low cultural standards and arrogance of those who formulated and pushed through decisions that suited only themselves. The situation took a different turn.

There are many examples of this. First a bloody military operation was waged against Belgrade, without the UN Security Council's sanction but with combat aircraft and missiles used in the heart of Europe. The bombing of peaceful cities and vital infrastructure went on for several weeks. I have to recall these facts, because some Western colleagues prefer to forget them, and when we mentioned the event, they prefer to avoid speaking about international law, instead emphasising the circumstances which they interpret as they think necessary.

Then came the turn of Iraq, Libya and Syria. The illegal use of military power against Libya and the distortion of all the UN Security Council decisions on Libya ruined the state, created a huge seat of international terrorism, and pushed the country towards a humanitarian catastrophe, into the vortex of a civil war, which has continued there for years. The tragedy, which was created for hundreds of thousands and even millions of people not only in Libya but in the whole region, has led to a large-scale

exodus from the Middle East and North Africa to Europe.

A similar fate was also prepared for Syria. The combat operations conducted by the Western coalition in that country without the Syrian government's approval or UN Security Council's sanction can only be defined as aggression and intervention.

But the example that stands apart from the above events is, of course, the invasion of Iraq without any legal grounds. They used the pretext of allegedly reliable information available in the United States about the presence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. To prove that allegation, the US Secretary of State held up a vial with white power, publicly, for the whole world to see, assuring the international community that it was a chemical warfare agent created in Iraq. It later turned out that all of that was a fake and a sham, and that Iraq did not have any chemical weapons. Incredible and shocking but true. We witnessed lies made at the highest state level and voiced from the high UN rostrum. As a result we see a tremendous loss in human life, damage, destruction, and a colossal upsurge of terrorism.

Overall, it appears that nearly everywhere, in many regions of the world where the United States brought its law and order, this created bloody, non-healing wounds and the curse of international terrorism and extremism. I have only mentioned the most glaring but far from only examples of disregard for international law.

This array includes promises not to expand NATO eastwards even by an inch. To reiterate: they have deceived us, or, to put it simply, they have played us. Sure, one often hears that politics is a dirty business. It could be, but it shouldn't be as dirty as it is now, not to such an extent. This type of con-artist behaviour is contrary not only to the principles of international relations but also and above all to the generally accepted norms of morality and ethics. Where is justice and truth here? Just lies and hypocrisy all around.

Incidentally, US politicians, political scientists and journalists write and say that a veritable "empire of lies" has been created inside the United States in recent years. It is hard to disagree with this – it is really so. But one should not be modest about it: the United States is still a great country and a system-forming power. All its satellites not only humbly and obediently say yes to and parrot it at the slightest pretext but also imitate its behaviour and enthusiastically accept the rules it is offering them. Therefore, one can say with good reason and confidence that the whole so-called Western bloc formed by the United States in its own image and likeness is, in its entirety, the very

same “empire of lies.”

As for our country, after the disintegration of the USSR, given the entire unprecedented openness of the new, modern Russia, its readiness to work honestly with the United States and other Western partners, and its practically unilateral disarmament, they immediately tried to put the final squeeze on us, finish us off, and utterly destroy us. This is how it was in the 1990s and the early 2000s, when the so-called collective West was actively supporting separatism and gangs of mercenaries in southern Russia. What victims, what losses we had to sustain and what trials we had to go through at that time before we broke the back of international terrorism in the Caucasus! We remember this and will never forget.

Properly speaking, the attempts to use us in their own interests never ceased until quite recently: they sought to destroy our traditional values and force on us their false values that would erode us, our people from within, the attitudes they have been aggressively imposing on their countries, attitudes that are directly leading to degradation and degeneration, because they are contrary to human nature. This is not going to happen. No one has ever succeeded in doing this, nor will they succeed now.

Despite all that, in December 2021, we made yet another attempt to reach agreement with the United States and its allies on the principles of European security and NATO’s non-expansion. Our efforts were in vain. The United States has not changed its position. It does not believe it necessary to agree with Russia on a matter that is critical for us. The United States is pursuing its own objectives, while neglecting our interests.

Of course, this situation begs a question: what next, what are we to expect? If history is any guide, we know that in 1940 and early 1941 the Soviet Union went to great lengths to prevent war or at least delay its outbreak. To this end, the USSR sought not to provoke the potential aggressor until the very end by refraining or postponing the most urgent and obvious preparations it had to make to defend itself from an imminent attack. When it finally acted, it was too late.

As a result, the country was not prepared to counter the invasion by Nazi Germany, which attacked our Motherland on June 22, 1941, without declaring war. The country stopped the enemy and went on to defeat it, but this came at a tremendous cost. The attempt to appease the aggressor ahead of the Great Patriotic War proved to be a mistake which came at a high cost for our people. In the first months after

the hostilities broke out, we lost vast territories of strategic importance, as well as millions of lives. We will not make this mistake the second time. We have no right to do so.

Those who aspire to global dominance have publicly designated Russia as their enemy. They did so with impunity. Make no mistake, they had no reason to act this way. It is true that they have considerable financial, scientific, technological, and military capabilities. We are aware of this and have an objective view of the economic threats we have been hearing, just as our ability to counter this brash and never-ending blackmail. Let me reiterate that we have no illusions in this regard and are extremely realistic in our assessments.

As for military affairs, even after the dissolution of the USSR and losing a considerable part of its capabilities, today's Russia remains one of the most powerful nuclear states. Moreover, it has a certain advantage in several cutting-edge weapons. In this context, there should be no doubt for anyone that any potential aggressor will face defeat and ominous consequences should it directly attack our country.

At the same time, technology, including in the defence sector, is changing rapidly. One day there is one leader, and tomorrow another, but a military presence in territories bordering on Russia, if we permit it to go ahead, will stay for decades to come or maybe forever, creating an ever mounting and totally unacceptable threat for Russia.

Even now, with NATO's eastward expansion the situation for Russia has been becoming worse and more dangerous by the year. Moreover, these past days NATO leadership has been blunt in its statements that they need to accelerate and step up efforts to bring the alliance's infrastructure closer to Russia's borders. In other words, they have been toughening their position. We cannot stay idle and passively observe these developments. This would be an absolutely irresponsible thing to do for us.

Any further expansion of the North Atlantic alliance's infrastructure or the ongoing efforts to gain a military foothold of the Ukrainian territory are unacceptable for us. Of course, the question is not about NATO itself. It merely serves as a tool of US foreign policy. The problem is that in territories adjacent to Russia, which I have to note is our historical land, a hostile "anti-Russia" is taking shape. Fully controlled from the outside, it is doing everything to attract NATO armed forces and obtain cutting-edge weapons.

For the United States and its allies, it is a policy of containing Russia, with obvious geopolitical dividends. For our country, it is a matter of life and death, a matter of our historical future as a nation. This is not an exaggeration; this is a fact. It is not only a very real threat to our interests but to the very existence of our state and to its sovereignty. It is the red line which we have spoken about on numerous occasions. They have crossed it.

This brings me to the situation in Donbass. We can see that the forces that staged the coup in Ukraine in 2014 have seized power, are keeping it with the help of ornamental election procedures and have abandoned the path of a peaceful conflict settlement. For eight years, for eight endless years we have been doing everything possible to settle the situation by peaceful political means. Everything was in vain.

As I said in my previous address, you cannot look without compassion at what is happening there. It became impossible to tolerate it. We had to stop that atrocity, that genocide of the millions of people who live there and who pinned their hopes on Russia, on all of us. It is their aspirations, the feelings and pain of these people that were the main motivating force behind our decision to recognise the independence of the Donbass people's republics.

I would like to additionally emphasise the following. Focused on their own goals, the leading NATO countries are supporting the far-right nationalists and neo-Nazis in Ukraine, those who will never forgive the people of Crimea and Sevastopol for freely making a choice to reunite with Russia.

They will undoubtedly try to bring war to Crimea just as they have done in Donbass, to kill innocent people just as members of the punitive units of Ukrainian nationalists and Hitler's accomplices did during the Great Patriotic War. They have also openly laid claim to several other Russian regions.

If we look at the sequence of events and the incoming reports, the showdown between Russia and these forces cannot be avoided. It is only a matter of time. They are getting ready and waiting for the right moment. Moreover, they went as far as aspire to acquire nuclear weapons. We will not let this happen.

I have already said that Russia accepted the new geopolitical reality after the dissolution of the USSR. We have been treating all new post-Soviet states with

respect and will continue to act this way. We respect and will respect their sovereignty, as proven by the assistance we provided to Kazakhstan when it faced tragic events and a challenge in terms of its statehood and integrity. However, Russia cannot feel safe, develop, and exist while facing a permanent threat from the territory of today's Ukraine.

Let me remind you that in 2000–2005 we used our military to push back against terrorists in the Caucasus and stood up for the integrity of our state. We preserved Russia. In 2014, we supported the people of Crimea and Sevastopol. In 2015, we used our Armed Forces to create a reliable shield that prevented terrorists from Syria from penetrating Russia. This was a matter of defending ourselves. We had no other choice.

The same is happening today. They did not leave us any other option for defending Russia and our people, other than the one we are forced to use today. In these circumstances, we have to take bold and immediate action. The people's republics of Donbass have asked Russia for help.

In this context, in accordance with Article 51 (Chapter VII) of the UN Charter, with permission of Russia's Federation Council, and in execution of the treaties of friendship and mutual assistance with the Donetsk People's Republic and the Lugansk People's Republic, ratified by the Federal Assembly on February 22, I made a decision to carry out a special military operation.

The purpose of this operation is to protect people who, for eight years now, have been facing humiliation and genocide perpetrated by the Kiev regime. To this end, we will seek to demilitarise and denazify Ukraine, as well as bring to trial those who perpetrated numerous bloody crimes against civilians, including against citizens of the Russian Federation.

It is not our plan to occupy the Ukrainian territory. We do not intend to impose anything on anyone by force. At the same time, we have been hearing an increasing number of statements coming from the West that there is no need any more to abide by the documents setting forth the outcomes of World War II, as signed by the totalitarian Soviet regime. How can we respond to that?

The outcomes of World War II and the sacrifices our people had to make to defeat Nazism are sacred. This does not contradict the high values of human rights

and freedoms in the reality that emerged over the post-war decades. This does not mean that nations cannot enjoy the right to self-determination, which is enshrined in Article 1 of the UN Charter.

Let me remind you that the people living in territories which are part of today's Ukraine were not asked how they want to build their lives when the USSR was created or after World War II. Freedom guides our policy, the freedom to choose independently our future and the future of our children. We believe that all the peoples living in today's Ukraine, anyone who want to do this, must be able to enjoy this right to make a free choice.

In this context I would like to address the citizens of Ukraine. In 2014, Russia was obliged to protect the people of Crimea and Sevastopol from those who you yourself call "nats." The people of Crimea and Sevastopol made their choice in favour of being with their historical homeland, Russia, and we supported their choice. As I said, we could not act otherwise.

The current events have nothing to do with a desire to infringe on the interests of Ukraine and the Ukrainian people. They are connected with the defending Russia from those who have taken Ukraine hostage and are trying to use it against our country and our people.

I reiterate: we are acting to defend ourselves from the threats created for us and from a worse peril than what is happening now. I am asking you, however hard this may be, to understand this and to work together with us so as to turn this tragic page as soon as possible and to move forward together, without allowing anyone to interfere in our affairs and our relations but developing them independently, so as to create favourable conditions for overcoming all these problems and to strengthen us from within as a single whole, despite the existence of state borders. I believe in this, in our common future.

I would also like to address the military personnel of the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

Comrade officers,

Your fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers did not fight the Nazi occupiers and did not defend our common Motherland to allow today's neo-Nazis to seize power

in Ukraine. You swore the oath of allegiance to the Ukrainian people and not to the junta, the people's adversary which is plundering Ukraine and humiliating the Ukrainian people.

I urge you to refuse to carry out their criminal orders. I urge you to immediately lay down arms and go home. I will explain what this means: the military personnel of the Ukrainian army who do this will be able to freely leave the zone of hostilities and return to their families.

I want to emphasise again that all responsibility for the possible bloodshed will lie fully and wholly with the ruling Ukrainian regime.

I would now like to say something very important for those who may be tempted to interfere in these developments from the outside. No matter who tries to stand in our way or all the more so create threats for our country and our people, they must know that Russia will respond immediately, and the consequences will be such as you have never seen in your entire history. No matter how the events unfold, we are ready. All the necessary decisions in this regard have been taken. I hope that my words will be heard.

Citizens of Russia,

The culture and values, experience and traditions of our ancestors invariably provided a powerful underpinning for the wellbeing and the very existence of entire states and nations, their success and viability. Of course, this directly depends on the ability to quickly adapt to constant change, maintain social cohesion, and readiness to consolidate and summon all the available forces in order to move forward.

We always need to be strong, but this strength can take on different forms. The "empire of lies," which I mentioned in the beginning of my speech, proceeds in its policy primarily from rough, direct force. This is when our saying on being "all brawn and no brains" applies.

We all know that having justice and truth on our side is what makes us truly strong. If this is the case, it would be hard to disagree with the fact that it is our strength and our readiness to fight that are the bedrock of independence and sovereignty and provide the necessary foundation for building a reliable future for your home, your family,

and your Motherland.

Dear compatriots,

I am certain that devoted soldiers and officers of Russia's Armed Forces will perform their duty with professionalism and courage. I have no doubt that the government institutions at all levels and specialists will work effectively to guarantee the stability of our economy, financial system and social wellbeing, and the same applies to corporate executives and the entire business community. I hope that all parliamentary parties and civil society take a consolidated, patriotic position.

At the end of the day, the future of Russia is in the hands of its multi-ethnic people, as has always been the case in our history. This means that the decisions that I made will be executed, that we will achieve the goals we have set, and reliably guarantee the security of our Motherland.

I believe in your support and the invincible force rooted in the love for our Fatherland.

Publication status

Published in sections: News, Transcripts

Publication date: February 24, 2022, 06:00

Direct link: en.kremlin.ru/d/67843

Annex 22

Speech by the President of Ukraine at the 58th Munich Security Conference, 19 February 2022



PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE
VOLODYMYR ZELENSKYI
Official website

Speech by the President of Ukraine at the 58th Munich Security Conference

19 February 2022 - 18:14



Ukraine wants peace. Europe wants peace. The world says it doesn't want to fight, and Russia says it doesn't want to attack. Someone is lying. This is not an axiom, but it is no longer a hypothesis.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Two days ago I was in Donbas, on the delimitation line. Legally - between Ukraine and

the temporarily occupied territories. In fact, the delimitation line between peace and war. Where on the one side there is a kindergarten, and on the other side there is a projectile that hit it. On the one side there is a school, on the other side there is a projectile hitting the school yard.

And next to it there are 30 children who go... no, not to NATO, but to school. Someone has physics classes. Knowing its basic laws, even children understand how absurd the statements that the shelling is carried out by Ukraine sound.

Someone has math classes. Children can calculate the difference between the number of shelling occasions in these three days and the occasions of mentioning Ukraine in this year's Munich Security Report without a calculator.

And someone has history classes. And when a bomb crater appears in the school yard, children have a question: has the world forgotten its mistakes of the XX century?

What do attempts at appeasement lead to? As the question "Why die for Danzig?" turned into the need to die for Dunkirk and dozens of other cities in Europe and the world. At the cost of tens of millions of lives.

These are terrible lessons of history. I just want to make sure you and I read the same books. Hence, we have the same understanding of the answer to the main question: how did it happen that in the XXI century, Europe is at war again and people are dying? Why does it last longer than World War II? How did we get to the biggest security crisis since the Cold War? For me, as the President of a country that has lost part of the territory, thousands of people and on whose borders there are now 150,000 Russian troops, equipment and heavy weapons, the answer is obvious.

The architecture of world security is fragile and needs to be updated. The rules that the world agreed on decades ago no longer work. They do not keep up with new threats. They are not effective for overcoming them. This is a cough syrup when you need a coronavirus vaccine. The security system is slow. It crashes again. Because of different things: selfishness, self-confidence, irresponsibility of states at the global level. As a result, we have crimes of some and indifference of others. Indifference that makes you an accomplice. It is symbolic that I am talking about this right here. It was here 15 years ago that Russia announced its intention to challenge global security. What did the world say? Appeasement. Result? At least - the annexation of Crimea and aggression against my state.

The UN, which is supposed to defend peace and world security, cannot defend itself. When its Charter is violated. When one of the members of the UN Security Council

annexes the territory of one of the founding members of the UN. And the UN itself ignores the Crimea Platform, the goal of which is to de-occupy Crimea peacefully and protect the rights of Crimeans.

Three years ago, it was here that Angela Merkel said: "Who will pick up the wreckage of the world order? Only all of us, together." The audience gave a standing ovation. But, unfortunately, the collective applause did not grow into collective action. And now, when the world is talking about the threat of a great war, the question arises: is there anything left to pick up? The security architecture in Europe and the world is almost destroyed. It's too late to think about repairs, it's time to build a new system. Mankind has done this twice, paying too high a price - two world wars. We have a chance to break this trend until it becomes a consistent pattern. And start building a new system before millions of victims. Having the old lessons of the First and Second World Wars, not our own experience of the possible third, God forbid.

I talked about it here. And on the rostrum of the UN. That in the XXI century there are no more foreign wars. That the annexation of Crimea and the war in Donbas affects the whole world. And this is not a war in Ukraine, but a war in Europe. I said this at summits and forums. In 2019, 2020, 2021. Will the world be able to hear me in 2022?

This is no longer a hypothesis, but not an axiom yet. Why? Evidence is needed. More important than words on Twitter or statements in the media. Action is required. It is the world that needs it, not just us.

We will defend our land with or without the support of partners. Whether they give us hundreds of modern weapons or five thousand helmets. We appreciate any help, but everyone should understand that these are not charitable contributions that Ukraine should ask for or remind of.

These are not noble gestures for which Ukraine should bow low. This is your contribution to the security of Europe and the world. Where Ukraine has been a reliable shield for eight years. And for eight years it has been rebuffing one of the world's biggest armies. Which stands along our borders, not the borders of the EU.

And Grad rockets hit Mariupol, not European cities. And after almost six months of fighting, the airport in Donetsk was destroyed, not in Frankfurt. And it's always hot in the Avdiivka industrial zone - it was hot there in the last days, not in Montmartre. And no European country knows what military burials every day in all regions are. And no European leader knows what regular meetings with the families of the deceased are.

Be that as it may, we will defend our beautiful land no matter if we have 50,000, 150 or

one million soldiers of any army on the border. To really help Ukraine, it is not necessary to say how many servicemen and military equipment are on the border. Say what numbers we have.

To really help Ukraine, it is not necessary to constantly talk only about the dates of the probable invasion. We will defend our land on February 16, March 1 and December 31. We need other dates much more. And everyone understands perfectly well which ones.

Tomorrow in Ukraine is the Day of the Heroes of the Heavenly Hundred. Eight years ago, Ukrainians made their choice, and many gave their lives for that choice. Eight years later, should Ukraine constantly call for recognition of the European perspective? Since 2014, Russia has been convincing that we have chosen the wrong path, that no one is waiting for us in Europe. Shouldn't Europe constantly say and prove by action that this is not true? Shouldn't the EU say today that its citizens are positive about Ukraine's accession to the Union? Why do we avoid this question? Doesn't Ukraine deserve direct and honest answers?

This also applies to NATO. We are told: the door is open. But so far authorized access only. If not all members of the Alliance want to see us or all members of the Alliance do not want to see us, be honest. Open doors are good, but we need open answers, not open questions for years. Isn't the right to the truth one of our enhanced opportunities? The best time for it is the next summit in Madrid.

Russia says Ukraine seeks to join the Alliance to return Crimea by force. It is gratifying that the words "return Crimea" appear in their rhetoric. But they inattentively read Article 5 of the NATO Charter: collective action is for protection, not offensive. Crimea and the occupied regions of Donbas will certainly return to Ukraine, but only peacefully.

Ukraine consistently implements the Normandy agreements and the Minsk agreements. Their foundation is the unquestionable recognition of the territorial integrity and independence of our state. We seek a diplomatic settlement of the armed conflict. Note: solely on the basis of international law.

So what is really going on in the peace process? Two years ago, we agreed with the Presidents of France, the Russian Federation, the Chancellor of Germany on a full-scale ceasefire. And Ukraine is scrupulously adhering to these agreements. We are as restrained as possible against the background of constant provocations. We are constantly making proposals in the framework of the Normandy Four and the Trilateral Contact Group. And what do we see? Shells and bullets from the other side.

Our soldiers and civilians are being killed and wounded, and civilian infrastructure is being destroyed.

The last days have become especially illustrative. Hundreds of massive shelling occasions with weapons prohibited by the Minsk agreements. It is also important to stop restricting the admission of OSCE observers to Ukraine's TOT. They are threatened. They are intimidated. All humanitarian issues are blocked.

Two years ago, I signed a law on the unconditional admission of representatives of humanitarian organizations to detainees. But they are simply not admitted to the temporarily occupied territories. After two exchanges of captives, the process was blocked, although Ukraine provided agreed lists. Inhuman torture at the infamous Isolation Prison in Donetsk has become a symbol of human rights abuses.

The two new checkpoints we opened in November 2020 in the Luhansk region still do not function - and here we see outright obstruction under contrived pretexts.

Ukraine is doing everything possible to reach progress in discussions and political issues. In the TCG, in the Minsk process, we've put forward proposals - draft laws, but everything is blocked - no one talks about them. Ukraine demands to unblock the negotiation process immediately. But this does not mean that the search for peace is limited to it alone.

We are ready to look for the key to the end of the war in all possible formats and platforms: Paris, Berlin, Minsk. Istanbul, Geneva, Brussels, New York, Beijing - I don't care where in the world to negotiate peace in Ukraine.

It does not matter if four countries, seven or a hundred participate, the main thing is that Ukraine and Russia are among them. What is really important is the understanding that peace is needed not only by us, the world needs peace in Ukraine. Peace and restoration of territorial integrity within internationally recognized borders. This is the only way. And I hope no one thinks of Ukraine as a convenient and eternal buffer zone between the West and Russia. This will never happen. Nobody will allow that.

Otherwise - who's next? Will NATO countries have to defend each other? I want to believe that the North Atlantic Treaty and Article 5 will be more effective than the Budapest Memorandum.

Ukraine has received security guarantees for abandoning the world's third nuclear capability. We don't have that weapon. We also have no security. We also do not have

part of the territory of our state that is larger in area than Switzerland, the Netherlands or Belgium. And most importantly - we don't have millions of our citizens. We don't have all this.

Therefore, we have something. The right to demand a shift from a policy of appeasement to ensuring security and peace guarantees.

Since 2014, Ukraine has tried three times to convene consultations with the guarantor states of the Budapest Memorandum. Three times without success. Today Ukraine will do it for the fourth time. I, as President, will do this for the first time. But both Ukraine and I are doing this for the last time. I am initiating consultations in the framework of the Budapest Memorandum. The Minister of Foreign Affairs was commissioned to convene them. If they do not happen again or their results do not guarantee security for our country, Ukraine will have every right to believe that the Budapest Memorandum is not working and all the package decisions of 1994 are in doubt.

I also propose to convene a summit of permanent members of the UN Security Council in the coming weeks with the participation of Ukraine, Germany and Turkey in order to address security challenges in Europe. And elaborate new, effective security guarantees for Ukraine. Guarantees today, as long as we are not a member of the Alliance and in fact are in the gray zone - in a security vacuum.

What else can we do now? Continue to effectively support Ukraine and its defense capabilities. Provide Ukraine with a clear European perspective, the tools of support available to candidate countries, and clear and comprehensive timeframes for joining the Alliance.

Support the transformation in our country. Establish a Stability and Reconstruction Fund for Ukraine, a land-lease program, the supply of the latest weapons, machinery and equipment for our army - an army that protects the whole of Europe.

Develop an effective package of preventive sanctions to deter aggression. Guarantee Ukraine's energy security, ensure its integration into the EU energy market when Nord Stream 2 is used as a weapon.

All these questions need answers.

So far we have silence instead of them. And as long as there is silence, there will be no silence in the east of our state. That is - in Europe. That is - in the whole world. I hope the whole world finally understands this, Europe understands.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

I thank all the states that supported Ukraine today.

In words, in declarations, in concrete help. Those who are on our side today. On the side of truth and international law. I'm not calling you by name - I don't want some other countries to be ashamed. But this is their business, this is their karma. And this is on their conscience. However, I do not know how they will be able to explain their actions to the two soldiers killed and three wounded in Ukraine today.

And most importantly - to three girls from Kyiv. One is ten years old, the second is six, and the third is only one. Today they were left without a father. At 6 o'clock in the morning Central European Time. When the Ukrainian intelligence officer, Captain Anton Sydorov was killed as a result of artillery fire prohibited by the Minsk agreements. I don't know what he thought at the last moment of his life. He definitely didn't know what agenda someone needs to meet to end the war.

But he knows exactly the answer to the question I asked at the beginning. He knows exactly who of us is lying.

May his memory live forever. May the memory of all those who died today and during the war in the east of our state live forever.

Thank you.



Videos



Working visit of the President of Ukraine to Germany to participate in the 58th Munich Security Conference

 19 February 2022 - 14:35



Speech by the President of Ukraine at the 58th Munich Security Confer...

<https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/vistup-prezidenta-ukrayini-na-58...>



Annex 23

Address by the President of Ukraine, 25 February 2022



PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE
VOLODYMYR ZELENSKYY
Official website

Address by the President of Ukraine

25 February 2022 - 13:07



Chancellor of Germany Olaf Scholz yesterday said Russia's invasion of Ukraine is something Europe has not seen for 75 years. And it's true. But this is not the whole truth.

This is not just Russia's invasion in Ukraine, this is the beginning of the war against Europe. Against the unity of Europe. Against elementary human rights in Europe. Against all coexistence rules on the continent. Against the fact that European states refuse to divide, yes, to divide the borders by force.

The cities of Ukraine undergo rocket bombing for the second day already. Tank columns and air strikes are as similar as something Europe has already seen a long time ago - during the Second World War and talked "never again" about it. But this

is it! Again. Now. In 2022. 75 years after the Second World War completion.

I'm confident you see it - all of you, entire Europe. But we do not see in full what you are going to do. How are you going to protect yourself when you help us so slowly in Ukraine?

I'd like to point out what has already happened. And for this we are grateful. Sectoral sanctions. The United States, Canada, United Kingdom, the European Union, Australia and New Zealand introduced precisely sectoral sanctions against Russia. In particular, against all the largest banks. Against the largest Russian enterprises. Against Russia's access to Western technologies.

But Russian tanks are still shooting at residential buildings in our cities. Armored vehicles are still attacking, including civilians. Ordinary citizens of Ukraine.

Europe has sufficient force to stop this aggression. What to expect from European states further?

Cancellation of visas for Russians? Cutting off Swift? Full isolation of Russia? Recalling ambassadors? Oil embargo? Closure of the sky? Today, all this should be on the table, because it is a threat to us, all of us, all of Europe. You can still stop aggression. We must act without delay.

Ordinary people can also do their part of the job, I'm sure, in every country of the world, in each country of Europe. Go out on the square of your cities and demand peace for Europe, peace for Ukraine, stop this war. Go out, go out on the squares and demand to stop the war. This is our right. This is your right.

When bombs fall in Kyiv, this happens in Europe, not only in Ukraine. When missiles kill our people, it's the death of all Europeans. Require more protection for Europe, more protection for Ukraine - as part of a democratic world.

While state institutions in Europe are in no hurry with really strong decisions, every European in the capital can already come to our embassy and offer assistance. Demand from your governments more financial, more military assistance to Ukraine. For this help is a help to you. For it is a help to Europe. You help yourself.

If you have a combat experience in Europe and do not want to look at the indecision of politicians, you can arrive in our state and protect Europe with us where it is now urgently required.

You have already been blackmailed with gas. Already humiliated. They already want to split and divide you the same way as they are trying to divide Ukraine today.

Protect yourself. Just as we protect yourself.

Address by the President of Ukraine — Official website of the Preside... <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/zvernennya-prezidenta-ukrayin...>

I want to address Russian Federation President once again. Battles take place all over the territory of Ukraine. Let's sit at the negotiating table. To stop the death of people.

And now I want to address the Armed Forces of Ukraine. Stand firmly. You are all we have. You are everything that protects our state.

Glory to Ukraine!



Videos

Annex 24

Statement by the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation, 14 March 2022

Statement by Russian Defence Ministry : Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation

14.03.2022 (15:45)

On March 14, at about 11.30 a.m. Moscow time, Tochka-U tactical missile was fired at a residential block of Donetsk city from the territory controlled by the Kiev nationalist regime.

The shelling of the city was carried out from the north-western direction, from the area of Krasnoarmeysk settlement, which is controlled by Ukrainian nationalist units.

As a result of the explosion of a cluster warhead in the center of Donetsk, 20 civilians were killed. Another 28 people, including children, were seriously injured and taken to medical institutions.

The use of such weapons on a town with no armed forces firing positions, i.e. deliberately targeting civilians, is a war crime.

The armament of 'Tochka-U missile' warhead with cluster ammunition proves that the purpose of the nationalists' strike on the city was to kill as many civilians as possible.

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the decision to use this type of missile weapons is made, at least, by the command of the Ukrainian grouping of troops, after approval by the leadership of the Armed Forces of Ukraine in Kiev.

All this once again confirms the Nazi and anti-human nature of the ruling regime in Ukraine today.

Tags:



Annex 25

Statement by the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation, 8 April 2022

Statement by Russian Defence Ministry : Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation

08.04.2022 (14:50)

In order to accuse Russia of an alleged missile strike on Kramatorsk railway station, Kiev regime has posted on social media pictures of Tochka-U missile launchers that took part in "Union Courage 2022" Russian-Belarusian exercise in February.

Please note, all photos published by Kiev from "Union Courage 2022" exercise show non-Russian missile systems.

Tochka-U tactical missiles whose wreckage was found near Kramatorsk railway station are used only by the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

According to clarified information, the strike on Kramatorsk railway station was carried out by missile division of the Ukrainian armed forces from the area of Dobropol'e, 45 kilometres south-west of the city.

The aim of the Kiev regime's strike on the railway station in Kramatorsk was to disrupt the mass exit of residents from the city in order to use them as a "human shield" to defend Ukrainian armed forces positions, as in many other Ukrainian population centres.

Tags:



Annex 26

Report of the Donetsk Office in the Joint Center for Coordination and Control, 22 September
2022

(translation)

Translation from Russian

Report of the Donetsk Office in the Joint Center for Coordination and Control, 22 September 2022, available at: <https://dnr-sckk.ru/25934-2/>

22.09.2022

Information regarding civilian casualties in cities of the DPR as of 22 September came from the operational line of DPR's Joint Centre for Coordination and Monitoring:

city of Donetsk (Voroshilov district):

⚡ According to preliminary information, 6 civilians were killed and 6 more people received injuries of varying degrees of severity.

! Additional information about damage caused by the shelling of the DPR's cities by Ukrainian armed formations has been received:

city of Donetsk:

Voroshilov district:

- Chelyuskintsev Street - tramway rail in front of flower pavilions was hit the, fixed-route taxi bus (route #38) was damaged;
- 133 "v" Artema Street - direct hit on the swimming pool of Donetsk National Technical University;
- 6 "b" Shevchenko Blvd. - direct hits on the territory of the Central Market.

Kirov District:

- 40 Akhmatova Street – fire at a private dwelling house was noted.

Gorlovka settlement (Nikitov district):

- 46 Zhivopisnaya Street - Michurin penal colony No. 57.

Reports of the consequences of shelling continue to come in.

@online_dnr_sckk.

Category : Breaking news

Annex 27

Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine on Russia's False and Offensive Allegations of Genocide as a Pretext for Its Unlawful Military Aggression, 26 February 2022



Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine on Russia's
False and Offensive Allegations of Genocide as a Pretext for Its
Unlawful Military Aggression

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, posted 26 February 2022 18:39

Already over the past two days, the world continues to see unprecedented and brutal aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine. Looking for justification of its groundless and unfair invasion into Ukraine, the Russian Federation has cynically distorted to perversion of the international community's most solemn human rights commitments.

In 1948, after emerging from the horrors of World War II, the international community came together to create the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Together, the world defined the crime of genocide and pledged to prevent and punish it. But the Russian Federation has twisted the concept of genocide, and the solemn treaty obligations concerning genocide, in order to justify aggression and its own blatant human rights violations.

Top military and political leadership of the Russian Federation has publicly tried to justify its own aggression against Ukraine as a mean of preventing and punishing the genocide that is purportedly taking place in our country.

This brazen manipulation has no real basis, as the whole world knows. Ukraine strongly denies Russia's allegations of genocide and denies any attempt to use such manipulative allegations as an excuse for unlawful aggression. The crime of genocide is defined in the Genocide Convention, and under that Convention Russia's claims are baseless and absurd.

Russia's claims of genocide as justification for its lawless conduct are an insult to the Genocide Convention, and to the work of the international community in preventing and punishing the world's most serious crime.

Russia must immediately cease its unlawful aggression against Ukraine taken under this baseless pretext.

Russia's lie is all the more offensive, and ironic, because it appears that it is Russia planning acts of genocide in Ukraine. Russia is intentionally killing and inflicting serious injury on members of the Ukrainian nationality. These acts must be viewed together with President Putin's rhetoric denying the very existence of a Ukrainian people, which is suggestive of Russia's intentional killings bearing genocidal intent.

Annex 28

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Statement by H.E. Mr Dmytro Kuleba, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, at the UN General Assembly Debate on the Situation in the Temporarily Occupied Territories of Ukraine, 23 February 2022



Statement by H.E. Mr. Dmytro Kuleba, Minister of Foreign Affairs
of Ukraine, at the UN General Assembly debate on the situation
in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, posted 23 February 2022 20:04

Mr. President,

I am grateful for your leadership in this main policymaking and representative organ of the United Nations.

You have chosen the word “Hope” as a motto for your Presidency. The same feeling currently dominates the mindsets of Ukrainians and people around the globe. Hope for peace. Hope for common sense to prevail. Hope for diplomacy to ease tensions.

However, today we need much more than hope. We need swift, concrete and resolute actions. A new type of action by the UN and international community which is relevant to the level of threat we all, not just Ukraine, face today because of Russia’s aggressive course.

The people of Ukraine need these actions by Ukraine’s strategic partners and international community. We are at a critical juncture in world history and our actions today define it for decades to come. We all read history books. We all watched movies about the mistakes of politicians in the runup to 1914 and 1939. About the feats of our grandparents and a catastrophic price at which a revanchist evil in Europe was defeated.

There is no more important task today than to not repeat the mistakes of the past. I do believe in the power of the free world and our joint ability to avert a new devastating catastrophe in Europe that no nation will be able to sit out. This is why today I address you on behalf of over 40 millions of Ukrainians who only wish to live in peace and prosperity. Not in fear, intimidation, not under Russian fire, bombs and shelling.

We are currently at the middle of the largest security crisis in Europe since the Second World War. This crisis was created and is being escalated by one side unilaterally, by the Russian Federation. Russia’s accusations of Ukraine are absurd. Ukraine has never threatened or attacked anyone. Ukraine has never planned and does not plan any such action. Ukraine has never planned and does not plan any military offensive in the Donbas. Neither any provocations or acts of sabotage. It is ultimately absurd to suggest that Ukraine could have prepared for anything like this and waited for months until Russia amassed an enormous military force along our borders to proceed with such alleged plans. This absurdity defies basic logic.

Not less absurd are accusations of Ukraine escalating by acquiring defensive weapons from its partners. The only, I want to stress it, the only reason for Ukraine to boost its defenses is Russia’s ongoing and planned military and political actions. Russia’s actions and statements are outrageous, horrific and go far beyond threatening Ukraine.

In fact, in his address this week Russian president Vladimir Putin overtly denied Ukraine’s right to exist. Anyone who might think I exaggerate as the Ukrainian Foreign Minister should just watch this horrifying speech. It is with a heavy heart that we all need to admit the grim reality of a new aggressive and revanchist rule rising over Europe.

This is the fourth time that the General Assembly debates the situation in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine. However, this is the first time we debate the situation in the new reality created by the illegal recognition of two territories of Ukraine by Russia. And the backdrop of our discussion today is much more dangerous as Russia attacked the very fundamental principles of international peace and security, the pillars of the United Nations and, as I mentioned, the very existence of the Ukrainian state, the founding member of the United Nations.

A Ukrainian state that signed the UN Charter in San Francisco in 1945 as a founding member and made the principle enshrined in Article 2 of the Charter a cornerstone of its foreign policy. A state that voluntarily gave up its nuclear arsenal under the security assurances of nuclear powers. A state that has endured years of assault by one of these powers, a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council.

Two days ago, on February 21st, the Russian President recognized “independence” of the temporarily occupied parts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine and ordered the deployment of the Russian Armed Forces in these areas. This is an affront attack on the United Nations and core principles of international law, an ultimate blow to years of peace process and Russia’s unilateral withdrawal from the Minsk agreements.

What is happening right now in Eastern Ukraine, where Russian tanks are rolling in, and along the Ukrainian borders, where Russian forces are amassed in enormous quantities, must be a concern for everyone, for all of you.

I warn every nation in this distinguished chamber: no one will be able to sit out this crisis if Putin decides that he can move forward with his aggression against Ukraine. Your governments and your people will face painful consequences together with our government and our people. This is why we need to use this last chance for action and stop Russia where it is. It is clear that President Putin will not stop by himself.

Distinguished representatives,

The beginning of a large-scale war in Ukraine will be the end of the world order as we know it. If Russia does not get a severe, swift and decisive response now, this will mean a total bankruptcy of the international security system and international institutions which are tasked with maintaining the global security order. This is a grim scenario which will throw us back to the darkest times of the 20th century. Russia will not stop at Ukraine. If a permanent member of the UN Security Council succeeds in breaking literally all rules, other actors will be inspired by him and follow his pattern. What he tries to do now is to prove that the United Nations are weak, indecisive and unable to defend their core principles, that rules do not apply to him, to Russia, to Putin.

What role for the UN does Russia see? A new League of Nations. We must deny Russia what it wants. I graduated from the university with a degree in international law and a strong belief in multilateralism. After many years of practicing diplomacy, I still do believe in both: rules containing aggression and the power of our collective and firm action. If the United Nations makes a pivot right now to become a strong and proactive player, which is not afraid of resolute actions and using all of its might and powers, I am confident that Russia will stop.

In this context, I welcome yesterday's statement by the United Nations Secretary General which is truly different in tone. We need decisive actions of the same kind to follow these right words.

Russia shows signs of readiness to further escalate its aggression against Ukraine and we have limited time to stop, deter and contain it. Every hour of inaction now is a threat to the lives of Ukrainians, not only military but also civilians, including women and children. This is an escalating threat to our collective global security and to our freedom.

Ukraine expects decisive, immediate and proportional actions by the international community. The United Nations is the organization that has to demonstrate leadership. Not just condemnations. Concrete actions to stop the Russian machine of war without stepping into a bloody conflict with many thousands of casualties, devastation and suffering. I do not want this. Ukraine does not want this. The world does not want this. We need your help right now to stop Russia from proceeding with aggressive plans.

Ukraine believes in diplomacy. We see no alternative to peaceful solutions by political and diplomatic means. There is still an opportunity for diplomacy to say its word. Even as Russia continues its escalation and provocations. For months Russia pretended to pursue diplomacy while bringing more and more troops to our borders and in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine. Now this number stands at least at 150 thousand.

Under the OSCE Vienna Document on Confidence and Security-Building Measures such actions fall under the qualification of "unusual military activities" that would require explanation. However, Russia has persistently refused to provide it. Instead, it proceeded with threats.

Russia has literally stuffed the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov with at least 46 military vessels. It routinely closes large parts of the seas under the pretext of holding naval exercises. In practice, it amounts almost to a blockade of Ukrainian seaports. This is already an attack on the global freedom of navigation, one of the sacred principles of international law.

Russia's propaganda machine is in full swing. It desperately tries to create a pretext for further aggression against Ukraine.

We resolutely reject all Russian insinuations about any alleged Ukrainian offensive military operations in the Donbas. We do not hold or plan any such actions.

We remain committed to political and diplomatic settlement and together with our partners we maximize efforts to reduce tensions and keep the situation in line with diplomatic dialogue.

For now, we see that Russian occupation forces have already significantly increased shelling of Ukrainian territory and civilian infrastructure. Artillery fire at the contact line in the Donbas from the occupied territory hit a kindergarten in a town called Stanytsia Luhanska and a school in Vrubivka, among the latest terrible examples.

Recognition of the so-called "republics" has no legal implications. It merely confirms Russia's own involvement as a party to the armed conflict in Donbas, which Russia vehemently denied all these years.

The situation in the occupied Donbas has already been terrible for years, with residents living in the atmosphere of fear, lawlessness and insecurity.

The infamous secret prison called "Izolyatsia" in the occupied Donetsk remains inaccessible for human rights and humanitarian missions. It continues to function as a literal concentration camp. In Europe, in the 21st century. Hundreds of people have passed through this camp and were subjected to heavy forced labour, humiliation, tortures. Cases of extrajudicial killings have been reported too.

Russia continues to block the release of the illegally detained persons. In September 2021 the President of Ukraine handed over to the Secretary General the list of more than a hundred of Ukrainians from Donbas and Crimea who had been unlawfully detained, sentenced or even transferred from the occupied territories to the Russian Federation. We reiterate our call on the Secretary-General to provide good offices and facilitate their immediate release. And I appreciate the readiness of the Secretary General to do so.

Mr. President,

Today, Ukraine defends not only global security, but also freedom, democracy and fundamental principles of international law. Peaceful life and the future of millions of people in Europe and around the globe rely on the rules that Russia tries to destroy. Diplomacy and international fora must prevail and stop Russian aggression.

Since 2014, the General Assembly has already adopted eleven resolutions reaffirming its commitment to Ukraine's territorial integrity and condemning the temporary occupation of Ukraine's territories by Russia.

27.09.2022, 17:36

Statement by H.E. Mr. Dmytro Kuleba, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, at the UN General Assembly debate on the situ...

The General Assembly has not and will not accept the Russian mantra that “the case of Crimea is closed”. The occupying power persists in destroying the identity of Ukrainians and the indigenous people of the peninsula – the Crimean Tatars. Since 2014 more than 64,000 Ukrainian citizens have had to leave Crimea and move to mainland Ukraine due to fear, persecution for political and human rights activism, discrimination on ethnic and religious grounds. Political persecutions continue unabated.

Among many others, Mr. Nariman Dzhelyalov, Deputy Head of the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar people, participant of the International Crimea Platform Summit, remains behind bars. He is one of more than 100 political prisoners of the Kremlin.

On February 16th, a court in Simferopol sentenced journalist Vladyslav Yesypenko on trumped-up charges to six years in prison. He is one of fourteen Ukrainian journalists kept by Russians in prison. Russia may continue to pretend it doesn't violate any international norms and principles. Yet, reports by the UN Secretary-General, OHCHR, OSCE, their missions, as well as the report of the ICC Prosecutor, all testify to the contrary.

If Russia doesn't agree with all the mentioned resolutions and reports it should simply provide access to Crimea to the UN Human Rights Monitoring Mission in Ukraine and the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission. The access of international organizations to the occupied territories is critical. Ukraine guarantees such access throughout the government-controlled territory and continues to demand from the Russian side to do the same in the occupied territories.

Esteemed members of the General Assembly,

The whole world witnesses today that Russia turns to threatening and blackmailing the global community to “close the Crimea case”. It is in fact one of the points in the long-list of its recent so-called “security demands”.

Ukraine continues efforts to achieve de-occupation of Crimea by peaceful means.

The Crimea Platform is a tool designed exactly for that end. We are truly thankful to all the countries supporting the International Crimea Platform. Your active involvement in the Platform is a sound foundation for our future success. We are open to new members and I call on you to join the Crimea Platform. Be it states or international organizations, you are welcome. We expect the UN will find proper modalities to engage with this initiative, established on the principles of the UN Charter.

Mr. President, dear colleagues,

Ukraine made a historic contribution to global security. In 1994 we denuclearized, giving up the world's third largest nuclear arsenal. We have no plans to regain nuclear weapons. Today, we expect the world to reciprocally ensure our security with relevant scale and resoluteness of actions in the face of a historic level of threat. This is the reason why Ukraine requested urgent consultations under article 6 of the Budapest memorandum.

The world owes Ukraine its security.

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy initiated a new format of negotiations to settle the security crisis created by Russia. Five permanent members of the UN Security Council plus Ukraine, Germany and Turkey. This is the format that we are trying to convene.

I reaffirm that Ukraine proposed some years ago to deploy a UN peacekeeping mission to Ukraine. Until now, the UNSC has failed to take necessary decisions.

Ukraine proposes to combine stark sanctions policy and strengthening of Ukraine together with keeping diplomatic channels open to persuade Russia to de-escalate and prioritize diplomacy.

We urge member states to use all available means to protect Ukraine and deter Russia. Whatever action you can take is appreciated. We are grateful for the actions already taken by many of you.

We expect the international community to do its best to put out the fire in the center of Europe, which is about to flare up.

The Russian security crisis must end with Russia returning to the path of diplomacy.

We call on all States and international organizations not to recognize any alteration of the status of the certain areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine and to refrain from any action or dealing that might be interpreted as recognizing any such altered status.

The absence of proper reaction or a neutral stance will only contribute to further escalation and sufferings. And it will not be limited to Ukraine's border and territory.

On the contrary, active diplomacy, strong political messaging, tough economic sanctions and strengthening Ukraine can still force Moscow to abandon aggressive plans. Swift and resolute actions by the United Nations can reclaim the organization's leading role at this historic and dark moment.

Russia must withdraw its forces from the sovereign territory of Ukraine. Russia must stop destabilizing the international security situation. We, Ukrainians, want peace. And we want to resolve all issues through diplomacy. We stand ready for all possible scenarios and ready to protect our land and our people if Russia further attacks. Ukraine will not hesitate to exercise its inherent right of self-defense as outlined in article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations in response to the armed attacks of the Russian Federation.

These days we have probably the last window of opportunity to do what Russia does not expect the United Nations and its member states to do. Demonstrate unprecedented ability and readiness to act in order to stop aggression. No matter what relations you develop among each other, it is your ultimate duty to defend the UN Charter.

I thank you!

Annex 29

Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine on the Russian Federation's decision to recognise the "independence" of the so-called "DPR" and "LPR", 22 February 2022

Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine on the Russian Federation's decision to recognise the "independence" of the so-called "DPR" and "LPR"

22 February 2022 05:44

Ukraine condemns the Russian Federation's decision to recognise the "independence" of the quasi-entities it had created in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine, the so-called "Luhansk People's Republic" and "Donetsk People's Republic".

With this action the Russian side has blatantly defied the fundamental norms and principles of international law, the UN Charter, violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognised borders.

The Russian Federation's decision to recognise the so-called "Luhansk People's Republic" and "Donetsk People's Republic" will have no legal implications. This decision sharply escalates the situation and can mean the Russian Federation's unilateral withdrawal from the Minsk agreements.

The Ukrainian side understands Russia's intentions and its objective to provoke Ukraine. We are taking into account all the risks and not giving in to the provocations as we remain committed to politico-diplomatic settlement of the Russian-Ukrainian armed conflict.

At the instruction by President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky, the Ukrainian diplomatic service is currently making use of the entire arsenal of instruments of diplomacy to avert the expansion of the armed conflict.

Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Dmytro Kuleba is staying in continuous communication with his colleagues to coordinate the diplomatic efforts and take action to conduct meeting of international agencies and summits as well as attract defence assistance and ensure application of harsh sanctions against the Russian Federation.

The Russian Federation's next decisions and moves depend greatly on global reactions to today's developments. We therefore insist on application against Russia of harsh sanctions to send a clear signal of inadmissibility of further escalation. The time has come to act in order to stop Russian aggression and restore peace and stability in Europe.

Annex 30

Ukraine qualifies Russia's latest actions as a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our state - Volodymyr Zelenskyy, 22 February 2022

Ukraine qualifies Russia's latest actions as a violation of the sovereignty... <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/ukrayina-kvalifikuye-ostanni-diyi...>



PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE
VOLODYMYR ZELENSKYI
Official website

Ukraine qualifies Russia's latest actions as a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our state - Volodymyr Zelenskyy

22 February 2022 - 02:48



By its decisions to recognize the "independence" of the occupied districts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, Russia is violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine and legalizing its troops in Donbas, which have been there since

Ukraine qualifies Russia's latest actions as a violation of the sovereignty... <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/ukrayina-kvalifikuye-ostanni-diyi...>

2014. This was stated by President Volodymyr Zelenskyy in an address following a meeting of the National Security and Defense Council.

"Ukraine unequivocally qualifies the recent actions of the Russian Federation as a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our state. All responsibility for the consequences of these decisions rests with Russia's political leadership," the President stressed.

In addition, he said, recognizing the "independence" of the occupied districts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions could mean Russia's unilateral withdrawal from the Minsk agreements and ignoring decisions within the Normandy Four.

"It undermines peaceful efforts and destroys existing negotiating formats. With today's and tomorrow's possible decisions, Russia is legalizing its troops, which have actually been in the occupied areas of Donbas since 2014. A country that has supported the war for eight years cannot support peace, as it claims," the President of Ukraine said.

Volodymyr Zelenskyy said that he had discussed the situation with French President Emmanuel Macron, German Chancellor Olaf Scholz, US President Joseph Biden, British Prime Minister Boris Johnson and European Council President Charles Michel. A phone conversation with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is also planned.

He noted that today the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine had sent a request to the member states of the UN Security Council on the basis of the Budapest Memorandum with a request to hold immediate consultations. A meeting of the UN Security Council and a special meeting of the OSCE were also initiated.

"We insist on the full work of the OSCE SMM to prevent provocations and further escalation," the President said.

In addition, according to Volodymyr Zelenskyy, an emergency convocation of the Normandy Four summit has been initiated.

"We expect clear and effective steps of support from our partners. It is very important to see now who is our true friend and partner, and who will continue to intimidate the Russian Federation with words," the Head of State stressed.

The President assured that Ukraine is committed to a political-diplomatic settlement and does not give in to provocations.

"We can clearly distinguish between the provocations and the offensive of the aggressor's troops. The truth is on our side. And we will never hide the truth from you.

Ukraine qualifies Russia's latest actions as a violation of the sovereignty... <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/ukrayina-kvalifikuye-ostanni-diyi...>

As soon as we see a change in the situation, as soon as we see an increase in risks - you will know all this. There is currently no reason for chaotic action. We will do everything to keep it that way," Volodymyr Zelenskyy said.

The Head of State thanked all the citizens of Ukraine, who once again prove that Ukrainians are a smart and wise nation that keeps a cool head, reacts calmly and prudently despite everything.

"For a long time, we have been ready for everything. But there is no reason for your sleepless night," the President said.



Videos

Annex 31

Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine on the new wave of aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, 24 February 2022

Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine on the new wave of aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine

24 February 2022 08:24

The President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin has announced the start of the new wave of aggression against Ukraine.

The goal of the Russian offensive military operation is to destroy the Ukrainian state, to seize by force Ukrainian territory, and to establish occupational control.

The Russian Armed Forces are launching attacks on peaceful Ukrainian cities from different directions, including from the territory of the temporary occupied Donbas and Crimea, as well as from South-East region.

This is an act of war, an attack on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine, a brutal violation of the UN Charter and basic norms and principles of the international law.

Ukraine has activated its right to self-defense in accordance with international law.

The combat spirit of the Ukrainian military is high, our defenders are ready to give a decisive response to the aggressor state, and will protect the Ukrainian soil with all their strength.

Ukraine calls on the international community to act immediately. Only united and decisive actions can stop Vladimir Putin's aggression against Ukraine.

Our partners should immediately enact a package of new sanctions. We also call on friendly capitals to continue strengthening Ukraine's defense capabilities by providing weapons and military equipment.

Not only the lives and security of Ukrainian citizens, but also security of citizens of the entire Europe and the future of the world order depend on our joint response.

Annex 32

Joint statement by the President of Ukraine, the President of the Republic of Lithuania, the President of the Republic of Poland on the Russian Federation's decision to recognise the so-called "DPR" and "LPR", 23 February 2022



PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE
VOLODYMYR ZELENSKYY
Official website

Joint statement by the President of Ukraine, the President of the Republic of Lithuania, the President of the Republic of Poland on the Russian Federation's decision to recognise the so-called "DPR" and "LPR"

23 February 2022 - 15:51

We, the Presidents of Ukraine, the Republic of Lithuania and the Republic of Poland – the Lublin Triangle, gathered in Kyiv on 23 February 2022, express our strongest condemnation of the decision by the Russian Federation to recognise the quasi-entities in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine – the so-called "Luhansk People's Republic" and "Donetsk People's Republic".

This unprovoked aggressive step by Russia constitutes yet another blatant violation of the fundamental norms and principles of the international law, including the UN Charter, as well as security assurances given to Ukraine in the framework of the 1994 Budapest Memorandum.

Russia deliberately and unilaterally has withdrawn from the Minsk agreements and therefore bears full responsibility for further deterioration of the security situation on the ground.

We reaffirm our strong commitment to the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders, extending to its territorial waters. The Russian Federation's decision to recognise the so-called "LNR" and "DPR" will have no legal implications.

We call upon the international community to take resolute and far-reaching steps in

response to this yet another act of aggression committed by Russia against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine. This response should include swift introduction of robust package of sanctions against the Russian Federation, including the measures targeting the Nord Stream 2.

We urge Russia to de-escalate and to withdraw its armed forces deployed around Ukraine's borders and in temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine, and to refrain from taking any further military actions.

The Presidents of Lithuania and Poland stand by Ukraine and fully commend and support its efforts to solve Russian-Ukrainian conflict by diplomatic and peaceful means.

Ukraine deserves our strongest support of its European and Euro-Atlantic aspirations, which goes in line with the free will and choice of the Ukrainian nation.

Lithuania and Poland reconfirm their support for Ukraine's European perspective, in line with respective Joint Declarations signed on 18 March and on 3 May 2021.

We emphasize that, given the significant progress in the implementation of the Association Agreement and internal reforms, as well as the current security challenges, Ukraine deserves EU candidate status and the Republic of Lithuania and the Republic of Poland will support Ukraine in achieving this goal.

President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy

President of the Republic of Lithuania Gitanas Nausėda

President of the Republic of Poland Andrzej Duda

Annex 33

Statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Regarding the Severance of Diplomatic Relations with the Russian Federation, 24 February 2022

Statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Regarding the Severance of Diplomatic Relations with the Russian Federation

24 February 2022 12:54

President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy has supported the proposal of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine regarding the severance of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the Russian Federation. At the request of the Head of State, Ukraine's MFA has initiated the procedure to sever diplomatic relations in accordance with the norms established by international law.

Our country took this step in response to acts of military aggression by the Russian Federation against Ukraine, the invasion of Russian Armed Forces to destroy the Ukrainian state and the seizure by force of Ukrainian territories with the intent of establishing occupation control.

We emphasize that the Russian offensive operation is an attack on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine, a gross violation of the UN Charter, and the established norms and principles of international law.

Ukraine announces that it is severing diplomatic relations with Russia but is maintaining consular functions, in accordance with Article 2 of the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations from 1963. We will continue to defend the rights and interests of Ukrainians in Russia, including Ukrainian political prisoners. The MFA also has recalled to Kyiv the Charge d'affaires of Ukraine in Russia, Vasyl Pokotylo, for consultations. The MFA has also commenced the evacuation of Ukraine's Embassy in Moscow. Ukrainian Consulates on the territory of the Russian Federation are operating in their routine capacities for the time being.

Annex 34

Statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine regarding the Russian Federation's ongoing military aggression against Ukraine, 25 February 2022

Statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine regarding the Russian Federation's ongoing military aggression against Ukraine

25 February 2022 19:19

The Armed Forces of the Russian Federation continue their large-scale offensive operation on the territory of Ukraine in order to destroy the Ukrainian state, overthrow the Ukrainian government and establish occupation control.

The Russian Federation is attacking Ukraine from Russian territory, the Black and Azov seas, the temporarily occupied territories of Crimea and Donbas and the territory of Belarus, utilizing combat aircraft, ballistic missiles, artillery, tanks, armored vehicles, land and other forces and means. Russian units are launching missile and bomb strikes on civilian infrastructure in Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odesa, Chernihiv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv and other Ukrainian cities. The Kremlin has launched a large-scale military operation to seize the Ukrainian capital.

In the centre of Europe peaceful people are wounded and dying, including children.

Russia is grossly violating the rules of war and other norms of international law in Ukraine. In connection with Russia's numerous war crimes and other violations under the Rome Statute, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine together with the Office of the Prosecutor General of Ukraine is collecting materials to submit to the International Criminal Court to bring the Russian leadership to strict justice.

Russian occupiers seized the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. They have denied a rotation of the employees of the nuclear power plant, as required by international technical safety regulations. Higher than normal levels of radiation have been detected as a result of the disturbance of the top soil due to the movement of a large number of Russian military equipment and the release of contaminated radioactive dust into the air. The Ukrainian side has already warned the IAEA that Russia's actions could lead to a large-scale environmental catastrophe in Europe.

The Ukrainian Army and all other national defense forces have rebuffed the Russian attack with dignity, the enemy's forces are suffering losses, and we are holding strategic positions.

Ukraine is grateful to the United States of America, Canada, Great Britain the European Union and other international partners for implementing new economic sanctions against Russia. At the same time these efforts are currently insufficient to stop Russia's war against Ukraine.

We call upon some European countries to not be guided by narrow political interests, when it comes to protecting the security not only of Ukrainian citizens, but also the security of all the citizens of Europe. At stake is the future of the international security architecture and the entire world order, based on respect for the UN Charter and fundamental norms of international law. Russia must be immediately disconnected from the SWIFT payment system. We must act now and without delay.

Ukraine has also appealed to its partners to provide additional weapons in order to strengthen our country's defense capabilities.

We are also actively requesting financial and humanitarian support for Ukraine and Ukrainian citizens.

The Russian Federation must end its armed aggression against Ukraine and begin a dialogue regarding a peaceful settlement. This will help save lives and prevent a catastrophe, the scope of which Europe has not seen since World War II.

Annex 35

Ukraine filed a case against the Russian Federation at the International Court of Justice in Hague, 27 February 2022

MFA: Ukraine filed a case against the Russian Federation at the Interna... <https://www.kmu.gov.ua/en/news/mzs-ukrayina-podala-pozov-proti-rosi...>



MFA: Ukraine filed a case against the Russian Federation at the International Court of Justice in Hague

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine,
posted 27 February 2022 15:00

Ukraine filed a case against the Russian

Federation
at the
Internationa
l Court of
Justice, and
a request
for the
Court to
issue an
order of
provisional

MFA: Ukraine filed a case against the Russian Federation at the Interna... <https://www.kmu.gov.ua/en/news/mzs-ukrayina-podala-pozov-proti-rosi...>

measures
against
Russia.

Ukraine
seeks an
emergency
hearing and
an order by
the Court
that Russia
must cease

its unlawful
attack on
Ukraine.
Russia will
have to
answer for
its behavior
at the
World
Court in the
Hague.

MFA: Ukraine filed a case against the Russian Federation at the Interna... <https://www.kmu.gov.ua/en/news/mzs-ukrayina-podala-pozov-proti-rosi...>

The Court has jurisdiction to hear Ukraine's case, and to order emergency measures, on the basis of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide ("Genocide Convention"). The Genocide Convention is one of the most important international treaties, drafted in response to the horrors of World War II and the Holocaust. Russia, however, has twisted the concept of genocide, and perverted the solemn treaty obligation to prevent and punish genocide. It has made an absurd and unfounded claim of alleged genocide as a justification and pretext for

its own aggression against Ukraine and violation of the sovereignty and human rights of the Ukrainian People.

Ukraine's case before the ICJ will establish that Russia's aggression against Ukraine is based on a lie and a gross violation of international law, and must be stopped.

As the Ukrainian People continue to bravely stand against Russian aggression, Russia's lies will be exposed, and Russia's contempt for international law will be confirmed.

Ukraine will bring Russia to account.

Annex 36

US Department of State Daily Press Briefing No. 40, Briefer: James P. Rubin (30 March 1999)

The State Department web site below is a permanent electronic archive of information released online from January 1, 1997 to January 20, 2001. Please see www.state.gov for current material from the Department of State. Or visit <http://2001-2009.state.gov> for information from that period. Archive sites are not updated, so external links may no longer function. [Contact us](#) with any questions about finding information. NOTE: External links to other Internet sites should not be construed as an endorsement of the views contained therein.

Great Seal

U.S. Department of State

Daily Press Briefing

INDEX
TUESDAY, MARCH 30, 1999
Briefer: JAMES P. RUBIN

SERBIA (KOSOVO)	
STATEMENT	
1,6	Secretary's call to Montenegro's President
1	Prime Minister Primakov's trip to Belgrade
2,4	Milosevic's proposal / Rambouillet Status
2,8-9,12	Genocide unfolding in Kosovo
3,10	Overthrowing of Montenegro Government
3,4,5	Reports of atrocities / Assassination of ethnic Albanians
5,13,14	Status of Kosovar Liberation Army / Crimes against humanity
MONTENEGRO	
10,11	Toppling of the Government / Autonomy from Belgrade

ALBANIA	
11,12	Number of Refugees / Aid to Refugees
CROATIA	
12	Visit of Foreign Minister Granic
MACEDONIA	
7,12	Inflow of Refugee
BOSNIA/KOSOVO	
13	Similarities and Differences
MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS	
15,16	Implementation/Commitments of the Wye River Memorandum
16	Closure of Offices
CAMBODIA	
17	Khmer Rouge Leaders / Cut off of US Aid
NORTH KOREA	
17-19	US-DPRK Missile Talks
18	Agreed framework / Food aid
NIGERIA	
19	Readout of Secretary's Meeting with President Elect

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DAILY PRESS BRIEFING
DPB #40
TUESDAY, MARCH 30, 1999, 2:50 P.M.
(ON THE RECORD UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED)

MR. RUBIN: Greetings. Welcome to the State Department briefing.

Before addressing the question of the meeting between Prime Minister Primakov and President Milosevic, let me say that Secretary Albright called to President Djukanovic of Montenegro on March 29 to express her deep concern about the large inflows of displaced Kosovar citizens and the effects they could have on political, economic and social stability in Montenegro. She indicated that we will be increasing our humanitarian assistance to Montenegro to help care for displaced Kosovars. We are also going to work intensively with UNHCR.

She commended President Djukanovic of Montenegro for his steadfast leadership through difficult times, and underscored that American support for Montenegro is strong and unwavering. She told President Djukanovic that she remains concerned about a possible attempt by Belgrade to oust his government. Any attempt by Belgrade to overthrow the democratically-elected government in Montenegro would only fuel wider regional instability, lead to deeper isolation for the Yugoslavian authorities, and escalate the conflict with NATO.

We are focused on preserving democracy and stability in Montenegro and we have worked closely with NATO to exercise restraint and care in targeting Yugoslav military capabilities in Montenegro. NATO is not conducting air strikes against the people of Montenegro and Serbia, but against President Milosevic's ability to inflict more human suffering, repression and violence against the people of Yugoslavia.

With that statement, let me say with regard to the questions all of you have been asking all day with regard to Prime Minister Primakov's trip to Belgrade, President Clinton spoke to Chancellor Schroeder in the last hour, and Secretary Albright spoke to Foreign Minister Fischer as well as Foreign Ministers Vedrine and Cook. With respect to the President's call, my understanding is that the President and the Chancellor indicated that they see eye-to-eye on the need to continue in a determined fashion NATO's military operations against the brutal forces conducting this crackdown in Kosovo.

With respect to the details of what the Prime Minister received from President Milosevic, let me say that we regard this suggestion as falling far short of what is necessary in order for NATO to stop its air campaign. We have said what is required. Clearly, the proposals put forward by President Milosevic fall far short of what we think is necessary. Our position is clear: Milosevic must halt the offensive against the Kosovar Albanians, withdraw his forces, and embrace a settlement based on the Rambouillet framework.

QUESTION: Could you give more details on the Milosevic proposal?

MR. RUBIN: As far as I understand it, it's an indication that says he's prepared to pursue a political solution and indicates that if the bombing stops, then he would be prepared to reduce his forces and talk about a political solution. This is far short of what we think is necessary. We do appreciate the effort that Prime Minister Primakov made, and any movement towards our demands would be positive; but we regard this as falling far short.

QUESTION: What's the status of Rambouillet at this stage? I'm thinking specifically of the component which gives the Serbs sovereignty over the territory and ensures it by giving them control of the border posts. As we know now, their stripping all expelled refugees of all their papers. So if you have Serbs controlling the border posts, then they'll never come back in.

MR. RUBIN: We do believe that all the refugees must be able to return to Kosovo.

QUESTION: To follow up, does the Rambouillet plan, in that regard, make sense at this stage?

MR. RUBIN: Well, we don't think simply the fact that the Serb authorities have stripped people of their papers is going to prevent our determination to allow people to return to their homes.

QUESTION: You didn't mention this, but the reports from Europe say that Milosevic suggested a cease-fire. Is that part of your understanding?

MR. RUBIN: It was unclear to me, in my debriefing of what has been proposed, where exactly a cease-fire does or does not fit

in. But regardless, we regard the proposals as woefully inadequate. They fall far short of what is necessary for NATO to stop its air campaign.

QUESTION: And on a related subject also, to Milosevic, has this government made a determination whether what is going on in Kosovo now amounts to genocide?

MR. RUBIN: As I indicated yesterday, and you were here, I said that we have very clear indicators that genocide is unfolding in Kosovo. We are looking at a mixture of confirmed and unconfirmed reports at this time. But we don't see any need to await confirmation of genocide; clearly, there are crimes against humanity occurring in Kosovo. Our response to this criminal activity by Milosevic's forces is taking place right now. The full response we are now embarked upon with our NATO allies is fully justified by the crimes against humanity we know are being committed.

QUESTION: Did the Secretary speak to Foreign Minister Ivanov; and if so, did she get a more direct idea of what exactly the proposals are?

MR. RUBIN: As of 3:00 p.m. today, she has not yet spoken to Foreign Minister Ivanov. The meeting just broke a few minutes ago between Prime Minister Primakov, Foreign Minister Ivanov and Chancellor Schroeder and the German Foreign Minister. She immediately got on the phone with Foreign Minister Fischer and then spoke as well to Foreign Ministers Vedrine and Cook. She has not yet spoken to Foreign Minister Ivanov.

The descriptions -- our understanding of this proposal is that they are not based on the demands the international community has set forth.

QUESTION: Today is like the fourth or fifth time in a row that you've had a strong warning from Milosevic about Montenegro, and this one seems to be even stronger than the previous ones. Is the US aware of any plot by Milosevic to try and overthrow the government there?

MR. RUBIN: We have concerns in this regard. We do have information suggesting this is a possibility, and we are determined to make clear our views about it in advance if it is going to occur.

QUESTION: Yesterday you said something like, Milosevic is in danger of losing Kosovo; and today the President, as you know, said that the prospect of international support for Serbia's claim to Kosovo is jeopardized by his current actions. Could you explain what is being said here?

MR. RUBIN: Yes. The fact of the matter is there are some terrible crimes going on in Kosovo. The Serb authorities are committing forced expulsions. We have evidence that houses are burning throughout Kosovo. People are being forced out of their towns and pushed towards the border. We have reports of possible atrocities in many different situations. What has happened is that through this brutality, the Serb authorities are radicalizing the population of Kosovo and making it all the more difficult to imagine a circumstance where the peoples can begin to live together again. We're not saying that's not possible. But clearly the radicalization grows with each atrocity and each brutality the Serbs conduct.

QUESTION: Does that also mean that the United States may not feel as strongly about opposing Kosovo's independence and keeping it within Serbia as a result of these actions?

MR. RUBIN: Our position on independence has not changed.

QUESTION: You are talking about all the refugees have to be returned to Kosovo; but according to all wire reports, all the houses, the villages burned by the Serb's forces. If they return to Kosovo, they don't have any sanctuary.

MR. RUBIN: Well, what we have said is that the Serb forces have to withdraw; the Serbs have to pursue a peace settlement based on the framework of Rambouillet. There were 250,000 displaced persons last fall. When the situation improved, they were able to return to their homes. What we're saying is we're determined that they will be able to return to their homes.

QUESTION: I wonder if you can help me with the middle ground between two of your responses. You say that the population of Kosovo may become so radicalized that it would no longer be able to tolerate control by Serbia; yet, at the same time, the United States does not support independence. Is there something in between there that you are leaning towards that you could tell us about?

MR. RUBIN: No.

QUESTION: They seem to be contradictory. How do you square that?

MR. RUBIN: There is something in between.

QUESTION: There have been reports out of Europe that some of the ethnic Albanians involved with the peace process have been assassinated and are even being targeted. Do you know if there is anything like a hit list, or are these people just being picked up in the general sweeps that are going on; and what are we doing about it?

MR. RUBIN: Well, obviously, we're getting a lot of reports of these kinds of assassinations and target lists. It's very difficult to confirm each one of those reports. We've had some conflicting reports, for example, on the status of Mr. Agani in the last 24-hours and others. Clearly, there are people being killed in Kosovo for who they are and their ethnicity and their moderate position and their role as intellectuals and others. That is clearly going on.

We are continuing, as I think the Pentagon indicated, an air campaign that is now increasingly focused on a wider range of targets, including the capabilities to conduct these kinds of crackdowns and interfering and disrupting the ability of the Serb forces to conduct these crackdowns. As far as these types of crimes are concerned, we are collecting and will continue to collect all the evidence we can to make sure that those responsible are brought to justice. And we are going to share that information with the War Crimes Tribunal.

QUESTION: Jamie, yesterday you said that the ambassador had talked to Thaci. Has she talked to him?

MR. RUBIN: The Secretary.

QUESTION: Right, I'm sorry. You said that the Secretary had talked to Thaci the day before. Has she talked to him again?

MR. RUBIN: No, he called into the Department today and he provided another chilling account of what's going on in Kosovo. He basically indicated that the situation is worse today than it was yesterday.

QUESTION: Could you elaborate on that -- why it is worse, how it is worse?

MR. RUBIN: He said that the killing is more widespread; that there is shelling of a whole series of towns; that the Kosovar Liberation Army is doing the best it can under the circumstances but that it's becoming increasingly difficult. He indicated that people were being held in the soccer stadium in Pristina; that people were being held in two other locations; that several thousand people who had been evacuated from a particular town, whose name I don't have in front of me, are missing; and a number of other reports of that nature.

QUESTION: Are you able to confirm any of these reports, like the people being held in the soccer stadium, which would be an open target, I presume?

MR. RUBIN: We've heard a lot of reports of that. I'm not able to confirm it. What I am able to confirm is that there is widespread fires in Kosovo in many different towns, and the refugee flows we're able to confirm on our own. But as far as that particularly incident, I'm not.

QUESTION: You dismissed what Milosevic offered through Primakov as woefully inadequate and falling far short, and you restated what seems to be the standing US position without any wavering in it. However, did anything occur on the edges of this situation? Has Primakov made any headway to start any sort of a helpful or constructive dialogue? Is there any room, do you see any give at all in Milosevic's position; or is this a one-shot deal that is flatly off the mark?

MR. RUBIN: I wouldn't rule out efforts to continue to convince President Milosevic to reverse course. We're not going to dissuade people from doing so, if he really will reverse course. But what I've said is that the position as we understand it is woefully inadequate; it falls far short.

QUESTION: Do you know if the Russians have said whether they will make an effort?

MR. RUBIN: I don't have any information on their intentions.

QUESTION: I mean, they didn't tell the US they would?

MR. RUBIN: Oh, she hasn't spoken to Foreign Minister Ivanov yet today.

QUESTION: Primakov has a history of freelancing when on these diplomatic missions. Is there any indication that he did come up with any ideas of his own, other than the message he was supposed to deliver?

MR. RUBIN: Well, he wasn't going at our behest, so he wasn't delivering our message. As I indicated yesterday, the United

States and Russia have very different views about the appropriateness of the use of force. So I don't expect him to have gone in there and made the case that we would have made for why the use of force is justified.

Primakov and Foreign Minister Ivanov were well aware of the West's and NATO's position with regard to what President Milosevic needs to do to reverse course. The proposal that President Milosevic proffered falls well short of that.

QUESTION: Given the history of fairly good relations between the United States and Russia, would you have expected Prime Minister Primakov to at least telephone some official in this country before he went to Germany or after he went to Germany? What do you make of this extended pregnant period of time before the Russians contact you, and the Secretary's inability to get a hold of Ivanov?

MR. RUBIN: Well, I didn't say she was trying to get a hold of Ivanov, so that information you suggest is incorrect.

Let me say this -- Secretary Albright has been in regular contact with Foreign Minister Ivanov in the last couple of days. She spoke to him yesterday; she spoke to him the day before yesterday; and she spoke to him on Friday. So we've been in regular contact with Foreign Minister Ivanov. As I indicated to you, the meetings just took place with Foreign Minister Fischer and Chancellor Schroeder just in the last hour and a half. Foreign Minister Ivanov was meeting with Prime Minister Primakov and Chancellor Schroeder and then German Foreign Minister Fischer called her immediately afterwards. So we got a read-out through that mechanism. I don't think the Russians had any doubt that the first person that Foreign Minister Fischer was going to call was going to be Secretary Albright, and I would expect Secretary Albright to be in touch with Foreign Minister Ivanov shortly.

QUESTION: No ill feelings, then?

QUESTION: During Secretary Albright's conversation with President Djukanovic, did she explain what is viewed by the Montenegrin people as a contradiction -- on the one hand the United States expressing strong and unwavering support for the leadership of Montenegro, yet on the other, bombing various sites within that province?

MR. RUBIN: I think the leadership in Montenegro understands there are certain targets -- particularly air defense targets -- that are in Montenegro that we can't responsibly leave off our list. But what we have said is we are exercising restraint and care in the targeting of FRY military capabilities in Montenegro.

QUESTION: Is Montenegrin leadership to understand that the bombing campaign in Montenegro is not finished as far as NATO is concerned?

MR. RUBIN: I'm not in a position to specify future targeting.

QUESTION: One other question on Pristina. From the Thaci conversation or anything else, can you say anything more about what's going on in Pristina? There are some reports that an ethnic cleansing campaign has begun there in a couple of quarters where they are literally clearing everybody out, all the Albanians out. Do you know anything about that?

MR. RUBIN: Yesterday, Mr. Thaci told the Secretary that Pristina had become kind of a dead city. We have also received reports since then of people being moved out of certain neighborhoods of Pristina, and we've received some horrible oral reports about what is going on there.

QUESTION: It looks like the Macedonians have again restricted the inflow of ethnic Albanians from Kosovo. Does the United States take a position on this? Are you in favor of completely unrestricted inflows?

MR. RUBIN: Well, we have been working very closely with Macedonia throughout this crisis. There were times when refugee flows were restricted and then opened, and we obviously want to do all we can and work with the Macedonian Government to do all we can to make it possible for refugees to be cared for and fed and sheltered.

QUESTION: Have you asked them to --

MR. RUBIN: I don't know what specific direct contact we've had, but we obviously want to be able to work with them in making it possible for the refugees to be taken care of.

QUESTION: There have been reports that the Serbs are holding back men in Kosovo, not allowing them to leave. But I believe last night, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, someone from that group, said that some young women -- reports that young women are being held back as well. Can you elaborate on what you're hearing?

MR. RUBIN: Again, we all, I think, are dealing with the same database of reports, oral reports, that some women are being held back and possibly raped. I mean, it's all very horrific. I just don't have any confirmation of it.

QUESTION: Can we bring two things into this discussion? The Yeltsin speech, the Yeltsin message to the nation, would seem to be heavily critical of the Kosovo operation and conciliatory, for instance, on arms control. Is it about what you expected from the Russian leader; have you had a chance to appraise it? Secondly, this is, I guess, a question for a therapist but if you could indulge the question, is there any size-up here of why Milosevic offered what he offered? Is he beginning to feel the pain, or is he playing some game where he will move back about a quarter of an inch if he can get the bombings stopped? What is he up to, do you suppose?

MR. RUBIN: Well, I'm neither a psychiatrist nor a criminal psychiatrist. Let me say that it's not possible for me to ascertain what his motivations are. The fact of the matter is that the Serbs know precisely what they need to do, and they know how to go about doing it. If they choose to reverse course, then NATO's bombing campaign will stop.

With respect to President Yeltsin, he also indicated that Russia did not have any intention of being dragged into this conflict. He indicated there were certain things they were going to continue to work with the United States and the West on -- certain things that they fundamentally disagreed with. It's much like my answer to someone's question yesterday about our views about the effect this is having on the US-Russian relationship. That is very simple: we fundamentally disagree about the question of whether we should have stood idly by and watched, by doing nothing, when President Milosevic and his military and police forces conducted this massive crackdown on Kosovo.

We think that NATO did the right thing by making sure that Milosevic and his forces pay a heavy price for this kind of brutality and barbarism. The Russians have a different view. Meanwhile, we have common interests on arms control, on highly enriched uranium agreement that was worked on, on the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty. As you know, the IMF Director was in Moscow yesterday, working on economic matters. So we will continue to work together where we can and try to overcome the differences where they exist. They clearly exist on this subject.

QUESTION: Jamie, when you say that NATO and the United States expects Milosevic to agree to a cease-fire, withdraw his troops and embrace the settlement of the Rambouillet framework, are we to understand that to include NATO-led implementation force and, obviously, the cease-fire?

MR. RUBIN: Well, our view hasn't changed on this. In the absence of an implementation force, we have no reason to believe that any agreement would work; because in the past, President Milosevic has not implemented agreements that did not have an implementation force to ensure that they were implemented.

QUESTION: The rhetoric coming out of NATO in Brussels seems to be getting harsher. Yesterday it was, this is compared to possibly the greatest humanitarian catastrophe since the end of the Second World War. Today it's being likened to 1975 and Cambodia. Does the State Department or the US share specifically these analogies that are being made in Brussels?

MR. RUBIN: Well, I don't want to comment on every comment a spokesman makes in another part of the world. Let me say that clearly some terrible, terrible things are going on in Kosovo. We're talking about forced expulsions; we're talking about rape; we're talking about mass murder; we're talking about hundreds of thousands of people being moved out of their homes. It's a terrible, terrible thing. Crimes against humanity are occurring, and there are indications that genocide is occurring. There is no need to compare it.

QUESTION: You used genocide -- indicators of genocide yesterday. The White House spokesman, when asked about it, said he'd like to look into it; it has legal implications. Today he said exactly what you said yesterday. It's a term of art but also a legal term. Is there any serious analysis being made within the Administration if this indeed is genocide under international law? Because if it is, there are all sorts of implications.

MR. RUBIN: Let me say we have been and are taking significant action through NATO right now to confront the criminal conduct of the Yugoslav Army and police in Kosovo as a result of the campaign that's going on.

Declaring it genocide wouldn't change our determination to continue to pursue action through NATO.

I fear for my legal hide.

QUESTION: No, you used the phrase "mass murder," and Strobe Talbott, in The New York Times this morning used a phrase, "frenzied slaughter." It implies that you actually have some examples, some facts that you haven't quite maybe given us all the --

MR. RUBIN: Well, I've given you as much information as I can, Roy. I will continue, during my briefings, to provide you as much information as I can in this forum. We are making judgments based on a variety of reporting, a variety of our own information; and we have come to the conclusion that crimes against humanity are occurring.

QUESTION: Jamie, to just follow up on that earlier point, you say you're taking action within NATO. What do you mean by that?

MR. RUBIN: The air strikes that are being conducted every day, the determination we have to see this air campaign through to the end.

QUESTION: In terms of using any sort of prosecutorial means to go after Milosevic or any other members of the Serb leadership, are you doing anything --

MR. RUBIN: No, I think you're mixing apples and oranges there. What I'm saying is that the fact that we know crimes against humanity are occurring has caused us to take military action against the Serbs in a massive air campaign that we're determined to see through the end. Whether or not the formal definition of genocide has been met, there are indicators that genocide is occurring, and our reaction would be the same.

As far as the criminal aspect of this is concerned, let me say this -- we are determined to use all of our available resources to try to determine what's going on there, to try to find the evidence and to make that evidence available so that those who are conducting this criminal campaign are brought to justice.

QUESTION: Do you know what the legal implications are of a finding of genocide?

MR. RUBIN: My understanding is it would be no different than what we're doing right now, which is conducting military operations against the Serbs in Kosovo.

QUESTION: No, no (inaudible) prosecution. The United States took a long time subscribing to the concept of genocide because isolationists felt it would involve the United States in all sorts of international disputes that maybe the US would have a different view of. So if it's genocide, that means the US is obliged by treaty to support, as you said, war crimes, et cetera. It's more than just bombing the Serbs.

MR. RUBIN: It's also to take action, and we are taking action. Our legal scholar in the second row has nodded his head, so I feel much better.

QUESTION: Going back to October '98 and the Holbrooke-brokered truce, up until the start of the bombing, the human rights groups list several hundred people, a number of incidents -- several hundred horrific incidents where approximately 200 or 300 people were killed. Since the bombing began, you've got mass displacement, hundreds of people being killed and so on and so forth. Is there any concern that the NATO cure is worse than the problem to begin with?

MR. RUBIN: We think it would be perverse in the extreme to blame NATO for the conduct and barbarity of President Milosevic's forces. This campaign has been going on for 14 months. There are thousands of people that died over the last year; hundreds of thousands that were forced from their homes. In January of this year, there was a massacre at Racak. We had every reason to believe that President Milosevic had both the intent and the capability to conduct offensive operations during the very time we were negotiating in France. Prior to the NATO air strikes, this offensive operation began.

Has it intensified? Yes, it's intensified. The difference now between now and the last 14 months is that President Milosevic's forces are going to pay a heavy, heavy price for their intent and their capability to conduct this kind of crackdown.

QUESTION: Did the North Atlantic Council today reach any consensus on approving a third phase for the air campaign?

MR. RUBIN: I don't want to get into phases. I believe agreement was reached, but you would have to check with NATO.

QUESTION: Can we go back to Montenegro for a second? Two questions -- you said that there are indications that Milosevic might be trying to topple the government there?

MR. RUBIN: Over the last couple of years, there's been many indications that he has worked with certain allies in Montenegro to destabilize President Djukanovic. We have indications in recent days that that is a risk. It justified the Secretary writing Djukanovic a letter, justified her speaking to him yesterday and making clear the points that I made clear to you.

QUESTION: Okay, just to flesh it out a little more and then to follow up, can you say a little more about these indications?

MR. RUBIN: No.

QUESTION: Okay. There's also reports out of Montenegro that the Montenegrins have been doing some things bureaucratically within their government to separate them bureaucratically from Belgrade -- some legal changes, some parliamentary changes -- that are viewed as quite provocative in Belgrade. Can you talk about that?

MR. RUBIN: Well, all I can say is that we believe that President Djukanovic has been pursuing a democratic program in Montenegro, and has been trying to disassociate his government from the criminal program that has been pursued by the Yugoslav authorities in Kosovo. So the fact that Montenegro is taking steps to disassociate itself from the policies that are being pursued in Kosovo, we regard as a good thing.

QUESTION: Do you think that Montenegro might deserve, perhaps, some sort of greater autonomy from Belgrade?

MR. RUBIN: We haven't changed our position on the status of Montenegro.

QUESTION: I'm not sure I've ever heard your position on the status of Montenegro. Do you have it?

MR. RUBIN: It's on the record and it remains unchanged.

QUESTION: Which record is that?

(Laughter.)

MR. RUBIN: The record we'll provide you after the briefing.

QUESTION: Do you have any refugee counts going into Albania? There have been reports today that it could be up to 100,000.

MR. RUBIN: UNHCR reports an additional 5,000 have fled into Albania since yesterday's reports. This means that some 70,000 refugees have moved into Albania since March 24, bringing the total to over 83,000 refugees. In addition, some 20,000 have moved into Montenegro in the past several days, bringing that total up to approximately 45,000. UNHCR also reports there are approximately 25,000 refugees in Macedonia, and some 15,000 in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We continue to work closely with UNHCR and other relief organizations to increase their capacity to respond to the conflict. Secretary Albright was informed the European countries are going to be taking significant steps in the next couple of days to assist the refugees. And as you know from the briefing yesterday, we are stepping up our efforts as well.

QUESTION: Do you have anything out of the pledging conference in Geneva?

MR. RUBIN: I have no new information on that.

QUESTION: Is this in addition to the \$8.5 million announced on Friday?

MR. RUBIN: As I indicated, as Julia Taft indicated yesterday, there will be reprogramming monies available in addition to the \$8.5 million.

QUESTION: Along the lines of the refugee assistance for Montenegro, Macedonia, Albania, whomever, have you gotten any requests from any of those governments for American troops to help out with refugee assistance?

MR. RUBIN: I'm not aware of that. Let me say that we are going to be putting together a plan to try to assist the refugees as best we can.

QUESTION: Given the reports of genocide and the war crimes that you say are occurring, how is the United States encouraging regime change in Belgrade, and are you seeking regime change there?

MR. RUBIN: I have nothing new for you on that. We're conducting a massive air campaign. It's been in operation many days, and it will continue until either President Milosevic reverses course or the military objectives are met. Secretary Albright has been very heartened in her discussions with her counterparts that what has happened in the last few days is the images that have been seen around the world of the terrible brutalities and atrocities of the Serb regime have only redoubled the determination of NATO's leaders from all 19 countries to continue this air campaign until it's completed.

QUESTION: Could I follow up? Did you anticipate anything like the scale of what has occurred and the need for a NATO

response?

MR. RUBIN: Absolutely. I think we understood completely that the offensive that we expected this spring, knowing of what happened last fall when 250,000 people were moved out of their homes and put into the hills, that we could be dealing with a situation of this magnitude.

QUESTION: Jamie, the Croatian Foreign Minister is coming in to see the Secretary tomorrow. That brings to mind the Bosnia situation and the apparent lack of spill-over. So it's sort of a two-part question. Is the Secretary is it just he that's coming, or is the Secretary going to have now consultations with other Foreign Ministers in the region in Washington? And if Milosevic is keeping his part of the bargain in Bosnia, why do you suppose he is, or is he?

MR. RUBIN: Well, we don't believe Milosevic has been a helpful influence on the situation in Bosnia in recent months; on the contrary, he's played a negative role in trying to stir up political opposition to the agreement there. Nevertheless, we have NATO's SFOR force on the ground that is ensuring its implementation and is there to provide a secure environment for the peace process to work.

The Secretary will meet with Foreign Minister Granic here in Washington. They will meet at the State Department tomorrow late in the morning. The Secretary plans to review developments in Kosovo and to express appreciation for Croatia's forthcoming stand on NATO operations there. She will also review US-Croatian relations and discuss issues related to implementation of the Dayton peace accords.

QUESTION: (Inaudible) -- permission for using their airspace -- have they given permission?

MR. RUBIN: You would have to check that with the Pentagon.

QUESTION: Could I ask another question about the goals, as they now seem to be emerging, of the Milosevic campaign? One of the often discussed theories is that he may be trying to clear Kosovo -- certainly at least the top third of Kosovo -- and to resettle that with Serbs and to have the bottom two-thirds either an empty space or whoever is left there. Is there any indication that you've seen that this is actually his goal, his policy?

MR. RUBIN: As far as what his intentions are, I do not want to make any specific comment. All I can tell you is what we've seen; and what we've seen is people kicked out of their homes, tens of thousands of people on the move, terrible reports of atrocities. But I don't want to speculate further.

QUESTION: (Inaudible) -- partition, because this might also be, at the end of the day, if negotiations ever take place, this is obviously going to be a proposal that people will be making -- to partition Kosovo into a Serb-ethnic --

MR. RUBIN: Our position on basic political configurations in the former Yugoslavia hasn't changed. I have no new positions to provide you.

QUESTION: Follow-up on the previous topic of the alleged Serb atrocities. In light of the reports that you're getting, how realistic is it to work with Milosevic after the campaign ends on peace in Kosovo?

MR. RUBIN: Well, clearly, as the President indicated, the international community is finding his policies increasingly abhorrent. On the other hand, he does now control the military force in Kosovo and in Serbia, and he is in charge. Meanwhile, we are pursuing a democratization policy in Serbia to assist in various ways those who are trying to pursue democracy so that some day Serbia can really be a democracy.

QUESTION: On the KLA, are you getting any reports or information on the status of the KLA now, in light of the Serb offensive? How viable an organization is it now politically and militarily?

MR. RUBIN: Well, clearly, they're having a tough time right now with over 10,000 Yugoslav forces involved directly in an offensive, supported by another 30,000 in the region. They are outgunned substantially with heavy equipment -- 300-plus tanks -- heavy other artillery and armored vehicles that they don't have. They're having a very tough time of it.

QUESTION: Jamie, going back to Bosnia, even the President talked about the similarities between Bosnia and Kosovo. While a lot of analysts think there are similarities, some think there are big differences; one being that while the bombing back in '95 eventually led to Milosevic backing down, in part that's because it came four years into a war -- both sides were tired and exhausted and ready to go to the peace table. But here both sides may not be so willing and they're probably willing to keep fighting. What do you say to that?

MR. RUBIN: Well, there are similarities and differences between Bosnia and Kosovo. One of the big similarities is the brutal policies of President Milosevic. One of the differences is that the international community acted very early on in making sure that we didn't stand idly by as millions of refugees were kicked out of their homes, as they were in Bosnia. The international community got together and is making sure that President Milosevic and his forces pay a heavy, heavy price; that they can't conduct the kind of grisly policies in Kosovo with impunity that they conducted in Bosnia with impunity for many years. That's one of the big differences.

As far as where it will all end up, we're determined to continue this air campaign until President Milosevic reverses course or its objectives are met. That will be different than Bosnia.

QUESTION: Are you really saying that we stood idly by for three years while millions were evicted from their homes in Bosnia?

MR. RUBIN: Well, the air strikes didn't get conducted until 1995.

QUESTION: What does the US make of these appeals by certain prominent Serb politicians that NATO should stop this because they are brother Christians for this coming Holy Week -- not just a Christian holiday but also a Jewish holiday?

MR. RUBIN: I retract the word "idly."

QUESTION: Does that mean you didn't hear the first part?

MR. RUBIN: I heard your question.

QUESTION: Okay. What do you make of these calls? And then an adjunct to that, the Vatican and the Pope have also said that it is bad for this bombing to be going on during this most holy of weeks.

MR. RUBIN: I understand that many of these people didn't think the bombing should start. So that's important information as to the motivations of the speakers who disagree on the rationale and justification and need for the air campaign to begin with.

As far as the religious question is concerned, let me say this -- we obviously respect all religions of the world, and we are going to pursue this campaign based on what's going on on the ground. If President Milosevic is going to be pursuing these crimes against humanity regardless of religious holidays, it would be very unseemly for the West to take into account that the people on the ground aren't getting any advantage of.

QUESTION: The Administration has said the NATO argument is with Mr. Milosevic. Yet every day in Belgrade there are these large gatherings, there are rock concerts and so forth, where thousands and thousands of people come out in support of the policies, wearing targets and so forth. So isn't, in fact, part of the argument with the Serbian people?

MR. RUBIN: The argument is with President Milosevic and those who support his policies, not the Serbian people. I don't believe that all the Serbian people support his policies. Clearly, there was to be expected a certain backlash in the short term. But as people learn more about what's really going on and to the extent they are not blinded by the propaganda and disinformation spewing out of Serbian television, they will find themselves in less and less support for the policies of President Milosevic.

QUESTION: Can we go to another subject? About US policy on an Israeli withdrawal, one reason being that the Israeli Cabinet took those accounts very seriously and it became notations in their meetings yesterday. Could you run us by it one more time? We know there's a parallel situation; if the Palestinians do something, the Israelis have to do something -- somebody has to do something first. There's still an impression -- I don't know how widespread in Israel -- that the US view is the Palestinians have to move first in some additional security areas before Israel would be considered obliged by the US' reading of the Wye agreement to continue the withdrawal. Could you (inaudible) or any version, obviously we can put to rest maybe for a day?

MR. RUBIN: Okay, let me say this. Yesterday, I was asked about a report in a respected newspaper by a very respected reporter, based on a conversation with a senior administration official. I disputed the report because the senior administration official, whoever he or she might be, isn't always right.

Our view -- the view of the State Department and the Secretary of State -- is that our position on implementation of the Wye River memorandum has not changed. The issue is not who goes first. Rather than focus on sequence, the government of Israel should focus on implementing their obligations. We're calling on both parties to focus on a serious process of implementing their responsibilities. If we had a serious process under way, one in which both sides were fulfilling their obligations, we would

not be having this discussion.

On the issue of implementation, our position is as follows. During phase one, both sides work together to fulfill their obligations under the Wye River memorandum. Under phase two, the Palestinians have fulfilled some of their commitments, particularly with respect to fighting terror. There are other commitments under phase two that they have yet to fulfill. The Israelis, for their part, have not fulfilled any of their commitments under phase two.

Our view is that both sides should move forward in a parallel phased approach to fulfill all of their commitments under the Wye River memorandum. In short, if we had a serious process engaged right now, we wouldn't be engaged in discussion of sequence.

QUESTION: Today surfaced again another old problem that you might have something on, the US view on: Palestinian offices in East Jerusalem. There's a dispute over them. The Prime Minister is outraged or something, very angry about the situation. There seems to be two types of offices, those that go way back and efforts, perhaps, to establish some presence in East Jerusalem currently. Does the US have a view on this current dispute?

MR. RUBIN: We have seen reports of the closing of offices associated with the Palestinian Authority in East Jerusalem. As with other issues relating to Jerusalem, we regard this as an extremely sensitive matter. We urge both sides to avoid steps that further complicate an already volatile issue, and we do understand that both sides are in contact about it now.

QUESTION: Do you have any interpretation of Oslo and Wye and Hebron, all the above, that bears on whether these offices are supposed to remain open?

MR. RUBIN: Not in front of me.

QUESTION: Jamie, on Israeli withdrawal, I seem to remember that when this came up at the time, you said that --

MR. RUBIN: Which issue?

QUESTION: The question of the next Israeli withdrawal.

MR. RUBIN: Okay, we were just on the offices here. You're stepping back, okay.

QUESTION: I seem to remember that you said that you didn't see any justification for delay in the withdrawal. Now you seem to be saying that the Palestinians also have to take some --

MR. RUBIN: I don't think that's exactly what I said when this first come up. I think I've been quite clear: we want both sides to fulfill their obligations. We believe that the Palestinians have moved forward on some of their obligations, including fighting terror. Both sides now need to focus on fulfilling their obligations.

QUESTION: Could you be more specific on what the Palestinians need to do?

MR. RUBIN: All the obligations and the Israelis --

QUESTION: What are they?

MR. RUBIN: I'll be happy to provide you a copy of the Wye River memorandum.

QUESTION: I have it, but you are the judges of what they have completed and what they have not.

MR. RUBIN: What I said is some of their obligations, including fighting terror, they have been implementing. Let me say, our interest here is not to get into a public squabble and a public scorecard. Our interest is in getting both sides to approach this matter seriously.

QUESTION: One more on it.

MR. RUBIN: Okay.

QUESTION: Which comes to mind -- and I won't get into the difficult background because I think you know it, and I know it. Is any assurance in the midst of going out, or has any assurance gone out to the Palestinians on the withdrawal? Should I go a little further?

MR. RUBIN: Yes.

QUESTION: All right, you don't want the Palestinians to be making unilateral statehood declarations. It's my understanding part of the deal is that the US, who will submit a statement, that it intends to see Israel to continue to withdrawal. Has any assurance like that gone to them?

MR. RUBIN: I haven't heard about that deal.

QUESTION: See, they are concerned also about yesterday. They think that means you've eased back on withdrawal.

MR. RUBIN: I haven't heard about that deal.

QUESTION: But you're not easing back on withdrawal, that's clear.

MR. RUBIN: Our position remains unchanged.

QUESTION: Yes, Jamie, I have two questions, one on Cambodia and one on North Korea. There was a Reuters report this morning which said that Senator Mitch McConnell apparently told Hun Sen in Cambodia that if Khmer Rouge leaders are not tried in an international tribunal, there could be a complete cut off of US aid to Cambodia. I was wondering whether that reflects Administration policy?

MR. RUBIN: I'm not aware that we coordinated that with Senator McConnell.

QUESTION: Okay, and then also, do you have anything on the conclusion of the missile talk in Pyongyang?

MR. RUBIN: With respect to the missile talks, let me say that we do have a comment on the missile talks. The US and North Korea met March 29-30, for another round of missile talks. The talks occurred in Pyongyang in North Korea, and the US delegation was led by our Deputy Assistant Secretary Robert Einhorn. The talks were business like, substantive and detailed. The entire range of missile proliferation issues were discussed and covered. We used the talks to press our serious concerns about North Korea's development, testing, deployment and export of missiles and missile technology and to call for tight constraints on these activities.

In particular, we stressed that further launches of long missiles or further exports of such missiles or their technology would have serious negative implications for US-North Korean relations. The sides agreed to hold another round of talks as soon as possible. We will work out the timing and venue through the New York channel.

It's not surprising to us that we have not yet reached an agreement. For those of you who ask me about the Kumchang-ni talks time after time after time, you know that negotiating with North Korea is a marathon process with our marathon negotiators, and they are determined to continue to pursue our objectives.

QUESTION: This is a follow up to yesterday question, that the Japanese Government has now confirmed that the two ships they shot at were North Korean. Is there a US reaction; and also, did they discuss this at the missile talks?

MR. RUBIN: The United States remains seriously concerned about the incursion of the two unidentified ships into Japanese waters. We have been in close consultations with our Japanese allies on this issue, and we continue to cooperate with Japan on this matter. As regards whether this came up in our discussions with North Korea, we do not wish to comment on this kind of detail of our diplomatic exchange.

QUESTION: Jamie, when you say that further launches would complicate --

MR. RUBIN: Serious negative implications for US-North Korean relations.

QUESTION: Does that include attempts to launch communication satellites or other types of satellites?

MR. RUBIN: Well, what we're talking about is long-range missiles, and we define that our way. A long-range missile is a long-range missile, but I will try to get a technical answer for you.

QUESTION: But when you say that's serious implications for North Korea, does that mean you're going to cancel the potato program?

MR. RUBIN: Well, we have developed an ongoing process with North Korea, a step-by-step program including the agreed framework and all that goes with it that has very serious programs. We have this food aid; we have a lot of other programs. We

have always made our policy on food aid based on humanitarian concerns. I don't want to be more specific on what a serious negative implication would be, other than to say that it would have serious negative implications.

QUESTION: I understand you didn't reach agreement in these talks, but can you tell us whether you saw any progress? And can you in some way describe the response of the North Koreans to these points that you put to them?

MR. RUBIN: Well, from our perspective, we achieved the objective of pressing our concern about the North Koreans' indigenous missile activities and missile exports and of calling for tight constraints on these activities. We've only had four meetings to discuss this important and complex issue. We don't think it's surprising that we have not yet reached agreement. They did agree to hold another round of talks as soon as possible, so we're able to continue the process.

It would not be appropriate for me to get into the details of the talks; however, we made our concerns very clear. We have made clear our concerns with both missile exports and with indigenous development and deployment activities. Both elements must be addressed. We've also made clear to the North Koreans the US is not prepared to "compensate" North Korea for stopping destabilizing missile sales it should not be making in the first place.

QUESTION: Can you give us any readout on the meeting with the President-elect of Nigeria today?

MR. RUBIN: Yes, the President, I think, will be meeting shortly or is now meeting with the Nigerian President, so I don't want to give you too much information about that pending that meeting; except to say that Secretary Albright did discuss bilateral issues, including regional security and the challenges Nigeria faces as it moves to inaugurate its first democratic government in over 15 years.

Nigeria is Africa's most populous country. A successful transition to civilian democratic rule there will impact not only Nigeria but the whole region. We hope to work with Nigeria to ensure its successful transition to the economic, political and social leader it can and should be in Africa.

The discussions will be wide-ranging, focusing on how we can best work together with the current government of Nigeria and the President-elect on the challenges and opportunities Nigeria has at hand. These include economic reform, reconstituting democratic institutions, improved cooperation in counter narcotics efforts and Nigeria's role in regional peacekeeping.

QUESTION: Did you say the Secretary will be going to his inauguration?

MR. RUBIN: I have no detail on that plan or non-plan.

QUESTION: Thank you.

(The briefing concluded at 3:45 P.M.)

[end of document]

[Back](#) to the Press Briefing Calendar.

[Return](#) to the Home Page.

This is an [official U.S. Government source](#) for information on the WWW. Inclusion of non-U.S. Government links does not imply endorsement of contents.

Annex 37

On-the Record Briefing on Atrocities in Kosovo released by the Office of the Spokesman, US
Department of State, Washington, DC (9 April 1999)

The State Department web site below is a permanent electronic archive of information released online from January 1, 1997 to January 20, 2001. Please see www.state.gov for current material from the Department of State. Or visit <http://2001-2009.state.gov> for information from that period. Archive sites are not updated, so external links may no longer function. [Contact us](#) with any questions about finding information. NOTE: External links to other Internet sites should not be construed as an endorsement of the views contained therein.

Department **David Scheffer, Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes Issues**
Seal On-the Record Briefing on Atrocities in Kosovo released by the Office of the
Spokesman, U.S. Department of State, Washington, DC, April 9, 1999

Flag bar

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: Thank you, Jim. Welcome. My purpose this afternoon is to provide a better understanding of the overall context in which the crimes unfolding in Kosovo have been and are being committed.

Briefly, I want to remind everyone here of our recent statements to this effect so that you can see the chronology of how we have been speaking of this within the last couple of weeks. On Friday, March 26th, the spokesman, Jamie Rubin, issued a statement, indicating at that time within day or two of the start of the bombing, that we are using national technical means to observe the activity on the ground with respect to possible atrocities; and that we put the Yugoslav Army and Ministry of Internal Affairs on notice that attacks are, indeed, being observed.

On Monday, March 29th, spokesman Rubin from this podium described what we concluded were ethnic cleansing, war crimes, crimes against humanity and indicators of genocide occurring in Kosovo. On Wednesday, April 7th, again, spokesman Rubin from this podium put named commanders of the VJ and the MUP, the police, on notice that we are extremely cognizant of what is occurring with the armed forces and the police on the ground. We know that they're undertaking criminal activity; and that the responsibility of command of those forces is with those named commanders. They have a duty under international law to prevent and punish the actions of their subordinates.

I think I can show you today six of the nine individuals -- photos of those individuals -- who were named by Jamie Rubin on Wednesday. I won't take your time to list through them all, but these are six of the nine that we're able to provide you with visual images of and obviously invite you to take some snapshots of that if you wish.

Also, on Wednesday, April 7th, my report of my trip to the region was released by the State Department, and that's now available on the State website. Finally, I need to note for all of you that the ethnic cleansing and KVM/KDOM reports issued through our facilities are also on the State website. So there's actually quite a bit out there that can be looked at for purposes of specific actions that we've observed and heard reports about on the ground.

Finally, I just want to remind everyone of prosecutor Louise Arbour's letter of March 26th to -- she addressed this letter to 13 top Yugoslav authorities, including President Milosevic. In that letter, she put them on notice that they are responsible in terms of command responsibility for the actions of their forces, their police on the ground in Kosovo; and that she is, in a sense, aggressively investigating those actions on the ground. She also publicly announced the indictment of Arcan on March 31st.

Now, we have sought to provide you what we can, in real time, of what we know from refugee interviews and other sources of information about the criminal actions being perpetrated in Kosovo. I want to place this afternoon those events in a larger context for you, particularly in terms of the criminal conduct of primarily the Serb military, paramilitary and police.

I want to start that context with a quick drop back to 1998, because the criminal conduct that we're concerned

about stretches back to March of 1998. It intensified during May and early June of 1998. The Office of the Prosecutor of the Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal affirmed its jurisdiction on March 10th of 1998, and again on June 12th of 1998, and again in July of 1998, to the Contact Group that it had jurisdiction over the events in Kosovo; and that those events constituted an internal armed conflict, which is the factual prerequisite for bringing indictments for crimes against humanity or violations of the laws and customs of war. The United States agreed with the prosecutor's statement to the Contact Group that Belgrade's attempt to deny the Tribunal's jurisdiction on grounds that Kosovo is a "police action" is simply wrong both in law and in fact.

In May of 1998, the United States provided \$400,000 to the Yugoslav Tribunal to investigate Kosovo crimes. In late July, August, September and early October 1998, that assault on Kosovo by Serb military, paramilitary and police clearly established the pattern which has now been shown in a much more accelerated and intensified manner in the last few weeks. During that period in 1998, KDOM and NGOs were actually on the ground to report the pattern as it unfolded.

I, myself, reported in September of 1998 that actions by Serb authorities in Kosovo have resulted in widespread burning of settlements, the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Kosovar Albanians and the deaths of many innocent civilians and humanitarian aid workers; and that we concluded serious violations of international humanitarian law were occurring.

Quickly listing those, we saw a scorched earth policy unfolding. We saw over one-third of the villages being damaged. At least an estimated 4,000 houses were severely damaged or destroyed during that period. At least 59 towns sustained 50 percent or more damage. There was crop burning, the slaughter of livestock. The level of destruction in September of 1998 rose dramatically. Serb forces also delayed relief convoys, conducted protracted shelling of targets in areas of no military necessity, forced displacement of hundreds of thousands of Kosovars. Then in November, I visited Kosovo, saw the destruction myself, as well as recent killings.

We concluded that these attacks served no military objective; and that that points toward the kind of activity prohibited under well established customary international law. The conduct of last year demonstrated a clear capacity and intent on the part of the Yugoslav authorities to commit war crime and crimes against humanity against the Kosovar Albanians. We need to remember this when we examine the ferocity with which similar actions have been undertaken in the last few weeks.

The pattern was established in 1998. Indeed, one might consider what happened in 1998, as a practice run for what was unleashed with remarkable speed and thoroughness in the last few weeks. Milosevic and the Serb leadership are trying to bring to closure what they began in 1998.

Now, the events of the last few weeks exceed in magnitude and ferocity all that occurred in 1998. Without question Serb assaults on the civilian population of Kosovo are widespread and systematic. Let me point you to the definition as provided in the Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal Statute of crimes against humanity. That definition is not very hard to understand:

"Persons can be prosecuted -- those who are responsible for the following crimes when committed in armed conflict, whether international or internal in character, and directed against any civilian population. It includes: murder; extermination; enslavement; deportation; imprisonment; torture; rape; persecutions on political, racial and religious grounds and other inhumane acts."

Many of these crimes are being committed in Kosovo. There are also clear violations of the Geneva Conventions and of the Laws and Customs of War. In particular, I would point you to destruction of civilian property as a major factor.

A consistent pattern of reports from refugees and other sources of information indicates that Serb forces have been responsible for criminal violations of international humanitarian law throughout much of Kosovo. These violations include -- first, forced expulsion of large segments of the ethnic Albanian population on a scale not seen in Europe since World War II. Serb forces are systematically expelling ethnic Albanians from both villages and the larger towns of Kosovo, including from many places that had not been scene of any previous UCK or KLA activity or fighting. At least 800,000 Kosovars probably are internally displaced.

At this time, I would like to point to the map the my colleague, Pierre Prosper, is putting up. This ethnographic map shows you about 20 sites, which are the blue triangular sites, that we have been able to locate internally displaced sites of significant magnitude. Also on this point -- also on this map, I'd like to point out that it's

4/9/99: Special Briefing by Ambassador Scheffer on Atrocities in Kosovo https://1997-2001.state.gov/policy_remarks/1999/990409_scheffer_kos...

interesting if you -- and this will pertain both to what I'll be talking about in a minute which are the yellow dots that the destruction of towns, as well as the internally displaced sites which are the blue triangles -- you'll notice that eastern Kosovo, as well as the very northeastern quadrant of Kosovo, as well as these two areas here, are generally devoid of either destruction or internally displaced persons. You'll notice that those are areas where there is a relatively small percentage of Kosovo Albanians in residence.

So the dramatic, I think, feature of this map is the systematic character of going after the Kosovar Albanian areas of Kosovo without much appreciable damage or internally displaced populations from those areas that are largely populated by Serbs.

Now, under this issue of forced expulsions, I can give you some details if you wish of more details about that particular violation, but it does include forced removal of Albanians from their homes at gun point; destruction of all official and identifying documents; cramming of Albanians into trains; infliction of unsanitary conditions on the trains, et cetera.

The second major category, I would describe as detention and summary execution of military-aged men and mass executions. Refugees have provided accounts of summary executions in at least 50 towns and villages throughout Kosovo. Some accounts refer to large numbers of Kosovars being killed in apparent massacres. At least one report appears to have been corroborated. The summary executions of approximately 100 men at Velika Kruska. The bodies of some 70 ethnic Albanians ranging in age from 14 to 50 were discovered by internally displaced persons on April 1st.

Now some of the details are killings of intellectuals and leaders; separating fighting-aged men from the group; killing of fighting-aged men; causing of serious bodily harm; and mass executions.

Now the third major category brings us to burning and destruction of civilian homes and villages. This brings us back to this map. The yellow dots, we've been able to confirm with overhead imagery, are villages and towns that have been torched or otherwise destroyed by gunfire during this most recent conflict. You can see the large number. We have counted about 220 sites indicated on this map. But as of today, we've counted 250. It is a dynamic number that continues to rise.

I'd like to show you just a couple of photographs, imagery. This is damage to buildings. This graphic illustrates systematic destruction of a neighborhood around a mosque in Grejkovce. The mosque is also heavily damaged -- and that's located right here -- but you can actually still see the smoke rising from the burned area of the town. The next image is a damage to buildings in Kosovska Mitrovica, and the graph illustrates before and after imagery of the systematic destruction of residential homes at that location. The homes are on the edge of a village. They were originally built of concrete and stone.

Of course, you'll notice here the absence of any battle damage, any cratering or any damage to any of the land around these homes. Clearly, it's not a battle scene. These homes would have appeared to have been simply because of the nature of the occupancy of those homes.

I believe there's one other photo or image that we did not get up during my reference to internally displaced persons, but it's a very interesting one. Let's go back to IDPs for a moment because I want to describe this to you. This graphic illustrates numerous tents and campsites in central Kosovo. Some of the many sites located throughout five valleys within the Laupusnik Mountain range, sheltering tens of thousands of IDPs. This is actually a more narrow shot of what is present in the larger area. These IDPs stretch throughout this valley. They're without permanent shelter. What you are seeing are some of their vehicles, tents, et cetera that they have been able to bring with them. They are exposed in this area. Typically, one can discern VJ or police who are in the area around these IDPs and placing them at obvious risk.

With respect to the destruction of civilian property, the third category that I pointed to you, I just want to point to what we believe we have incontrovertible evidence of the burning of residential areas in most of the larger towns and cities of Kosovo and in many of the villages, i.e., those areas of Kosovo that I outlined on the map that I showed you earlier.

Now, if you take the totality of this information that we have acquired so far, we believe that it creates the basis for stating that there are indicators of genocide unfolding in Kosovo. Now, some questions have been raised recently about the provision of evidence to the Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal. Let me confirm to you that we are providing information as quickly as we possibly can to the Yugoslav Tribunal during a period of very dynamic action on the

ground.

The procedures that were established several years ago were procedures that related typically to events that had occurred some time in the past. Therefore, there was a very methodical procedure of cataloging and providing that information to the Yugoslav Tribunal. Under these circumstances, with a situation that is happening so quickly, we have accelerated those procedures, and we are starting to flow that information to the Tribunal as quickly as you can.

I have spoken directly with the deputy prosecutor, Graham Bluett. I've spoken with the chief of investigations to confirm to them and to obtain their confirmation that this information is starting to come in, in real time, and as quickly as we can possibly get it to them. But we do need to follow the necessary provisions under Rule 70 and other procedures to provide information to the Tribunal, and they understand that.

I would also like to say that the United States Government, as part of its contribution to the Kosovo Verification Mission, is assisting in the collection of information for the Tribunal in the field with respect to interviews with refugees. We thus have people on the ground doing those interviews. Their interviews are being given to the Tribunal -- the records of those interviews.

The Tribunal, in my opinion, seems fully committed to a vigorous investigation of the events in Kosovo. I have just recently confirmed that with the officials of the Tribunal to my satisfaction. So with that I think I will leave the formal briefing. Jim, how would you like to proceed?

QUESTION: There are so many questions that could and should be asked. So let me try to just ask one or two. When you hold these commanders up as potentially responsible -- the nine -- is it based on them giving orders or setting a climate, an atmosphere, permissive? Do they actually tell the troops to go out and kill civilians? I ask that for a purpose, because then how and why don't you bring your same accusation against Milosevic, who is the ultimate commander? Why do you stop short? I ask this against the back-drop of a government that made a big fuss over Bosnia and the major accused are still free in Bosnia. So your track record suggests some lack of resolve once the firing stops.

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: No, I would beg to differ, Barry. The answer is really quite simple. On March 26th, Prosecutor Arbour named Milosevic directly in her communication to not only Milosevic but the 12 other top leaders of the government in Belgrade. We firmly support what she did. We look primarily to the prosecutor of the Tribunal to take actions of this character.

So therefore, what I can confirm to you is that we found Prosecutor's Arbour's communication on March 26th to be an entirely appropriate communication by the prosecutor of the Tribunal, alerting Mr. Milosevic and other leaders of exactly the points that we then found it useful to alert the Kosovo-level commanders of precisely the same points.

QUESTION: So is it the U.S. Government view that Milosevic is potentially guilty of war crimes?

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: President Milosevic has political responsibility for the conduct of these forces. Let me just say this --

QUESTION: Political sounds like a cop-out.

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: No, there's nothing contradictory here, Barry. Neither these commanders that we've identified, nor Mr. Milosevic, nor anyone else is being fingered by the United States Government for criminal responsibility as individuals. That's the job of the prosecutor. We have not identified these individuals as anything other than commanders of forces that we believe are committing war crimes and crimes against humanity in Kosovo.

So therefore, we're simply stating the facts. These guys are commanders. Under the laws of war, they have command responsibility. We've stated very clearly that the responsibility for what takes place in Kosovo does stretch back to Belgrade and to the leadership in Belgrade.

QUESTION: Isn't that tantamount to an accusation?

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: Not at all. The job of indicating someone for criminal culpability is the job of the prosecutor --

4/9/99: Special Briefing by Ambassador Scheffer on Atrocities in Kosovo https://1997-2001.state.gov/policy_remarks/1999/990409_scheffer_kos...

QUESTION: But that's an indictment. I mean, anyone can accuse anyone of anything else. That doesn't take a Tribunal to do that.

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: But we're not accusing anyone in any of these statements.

QUESTION: Why not, though?

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: Why should we? That's the job of the prosecutor.

QUESTION: But -- well, the prosecutor's job is to take an accusation and turn it into an indictment --

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: Look, from 1993, we've strongly supported the establishment of an international criminal tribunal for Yugoslavia, whose job and responsibility is to do precisely that, to investigate, draw up indictments and prosecute. That is not the job of the United States Government.

QUESTION: Why is it taking so long? I mean, Milosevic's track record -- as the Secretary of State herself has said -- is long and quite demonstrable. Why is there not an indictment today?

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: Prosecutor Arbour has actually answered that many times on the public record. I think if you look at her public statements, we would be very understanding and supportive of what she has said publicly about this. She will undertake investigations as she sees fit in the most professional manner possible. We have a very high degree of confidence in how she is actually conducting her investigations.

QUESTION: Can I just follow-up? Your statements were quite dramatic in its indictment of the Serb forces for a pattern of abuses. It seems to me that if it is quite so certain that a year ago we saw what is now a practice run for this -- what's going on now and -- I mean, aren't your words also an indictment of the international community for not acting sooner?

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: Absolutely not. The United States Government in early August initiated discussions and actions within NATO that resulted in an ACTORD in early October to respond to what was occurring on the ground. So it wasn't as if we were sitting aside and not reacting to the criminal activity that was occurring on the ground. We were reacting to it.

We also -- in terms of the judicial side of the matter -- the investigative side, in May of 1998, we were the first country to commit a very large, voluntary contribution to the Yugoslav Tribunal to initiate Kosovo investigations -- exclusively Kosovo investigations. We have been at the forefront of the international community in encouraging the Tribunal to continue to focus on Kosovo. So I don't see us not acting. In fact, I see us acting.

QUESTION: Well, I'm not saying that the United States didn't act. I mean, obviously, you have been at the forefront of a lot that's gone on. But on the other hand, the international community did not seriously move with military action to try to stop this -- the Serb offensive in Kosovo until now.

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: Well, I will leave actually to others to comment more broadly on your point. I would only say that I have a great deal of confidence in how our government acted in 1998 to respond as quickly as we could to these actions, both in terms of our engagement with NATO and in terms of our effort to get talks underway with President Milosevic.

QUESTION: You said -- in preface to your remarks -- that the conduct last year demonstrated a clear capacity and intent. How does that fit in with the Administration's line in the last several weeks that they were surprised at how quickly this unfolded and how ferociously the acts are committed on the ground?

If you all were so clearly aware of the capacity and the intent, how was it that you were surprised when this actually came out?

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: No, the intent that I was describing for 1998 was not some specific intent that in March and April of 1999 within a two-week period he would sweep through Kosovo with this kind of ferocity. But I think that what was demonstrated in 1998 is that the Serb authorities clearly demonstrated a will and a capacity to assault the civilian population of Kosovo in an egregious and criminal character. But it is true that no one could have predicted -- I think -- with a great deal of accuracy that within a two-week period he would have unleashed his army with this kind of ferocity.

QUESTION: Ambassador Scheffer, given what you said earlier following up on that, why couldn't they predict? Wouldn't there be human intelligence on the ground? I mean, this isn't North Korea; it isn't Iraq. Why wouldn't you know he would be doing something like this?

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: Well, all I will say is this, that I, myself, recognized before March 24th and 25th when the bombing began that the massing of the forces and the village by village decimation that was going on by units of the Yugoslav Army and police that were coming into Kosovo, clearly started to demonstrate to me that the horror of 1998 was starting to be repeated.

Now if we had not launched that bombing campaign, I have every degree of confidence that we would have seen the sweep occur anyway.

QUESTION: But not on that, but just that element -- were you surprised or not surprised by what has taken place?

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: I don't understand why the issue of surprise is so pertinent to everyone. The fact is it happened, and we're trying to respond to it happening. It's just hindsight analysis.

QUESTION: I want to go back to the role the US is playing with the tribunal. If it's not the US role to investigate, how is it exactly that you've been able to come up with these nine names? I mean, surely that takes investigation, so the US has been doing some investigation. You've gone there yourself and interviewed these people. So I don't understand why the US is not in a position to directly accuse whoever it wants or whoever it thinks is doing this stuff to the Tribunal.

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: It's the job of the prosecutor to investigate precisely an individual's relationship to criminal activity. We can provide the prosecutor with a great deal of information. It is not the job of the United States Government to make that determination. It is the job of the prosecutor, looking at the evidence, to make that determination.

What we can do is set the context for the prosecutor by ourselves as a government, concluding that the facts on the ground clearly demonstrate criminal activity. We can point to who commands these forces, but then we leave it to the prosecutor to actually arrive at determinations that would result in indictments.

QUESTION: The Pentagon, today, talked about an incident in which Serb forces gathered women at Dakovica barracks and apparently raped them and killed them. Do you know anything about that?

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: I really don't. I've only heard the report. I know nothing further than what has been reported and as you have stated it.

QUESTION: Can you give us a breakdown of percentage -- the map that you had up there earlier -- the villages burning -- what percentage of villages, what percentages of the towns; and also, displacement internally and externally, just a bigger picture of that.

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: We're trying to determine that percentage as you speak. We don't have it yet because there's so much coming in. All I know is with what percentage we had in September of 1998, and I, myself, will be interested to compare now what percentage. We know it's much greater. We just don't actually know what that percentage is. In terms of -- did you ask for percentages of IDPs, was that it?

QUESTION: Yes.

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: I actually don't have the figure, other than the IDP number -- I just don't have it for you. I just know it's in the hundreds of thousands. What percentage that is of the Kosovo population, which was 1.7 million the last time I heard, we're looking at about 330-340,000 IDPs that we're guesstimating at this time.

QUESTION: Refugees -- I mean I heard a figure earlier of 1.1 million?

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: Yes, there the numbers reached a million or so, but I would leave that to others in this building to get you the exact figures on those.

QUESTION: Also, one other thing, you mentioned that you're now getting this information -- I think you were referring to villages burning or whatever -- real time, so you can actually -- can you explain that a little more?

4/9/99: Special Briefing by Ambassador Scheffer on Atrocities in Kosovo https://1997-2001.state.gov/policy_remarks/1999/990409_scheffer_kos...

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: Well, we're using, obviously, national technical means. I can't go into any details of that, other than to say within the last couple of weeks, we've been able to determine with a great deal of accuracy, what's burning.

QUESTION: I'm sorry you said 330-340 in internally displaced -- because I thought earlier you said 800,000?

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: No. That's a total number -- well, can we have someone else check those figures, Jim, because 800,000 is a total internally displaced in their totality in this conflict.

QUESTION: Can you talk a little bit -- you had the map earlier with the blue triangles, and you made the point how you didn't see some of this destruction and expulsion activities in places where there aren't ethnic Albanians. The stated goal of the Serbian forces is to go after the KLA, which some officials have called a terrorist organization. To what degree is the discrepancy between the areas where there are expulsions and the areas that you pointed out that weren't expulsions a factor of where the KLA is? Wouldn't one think that the KLA would be dispersed within the ethnic Albanian populations as opposed to the Serbian populations of Kosovo?

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: I think all I will say on that is there's an enormous number of non-KLA civilians living in these areas. What we've noticed both in August and September as well as in this campaign is that villages are being destroyed long after we've seen any indication of KLA activity anywhere near that village. It's very much long after their presence, that the destruction is actually taking place. In fact, in some of the extreme areas in the north and in the south, where there has never been any record of KLA activity, the villages are being torched anyway.

QUESTION: In your opinion, is it fair to say that the sweep of the VJ and the MUP that began with the bombing was primarily undertaken uproot ethnic Albanians, as opposed to targeting the KLA? Is that their primary intention?

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: I don't see how you can reach any other conclusion. When you assault a civilian population with this severity and so systematically -- as I described in my April 7th report -- that is not a military action against a guerrilla force. That is an assault, wholesale on a civilian population. I can't think of a better example of it, frankly, than what has unfolded in Kosovo in the last two weeks.

MR. FOLEY: Other questions?

QUESTION: What indication do you have about the extent of the planning of this sweep that existed, you know, right prior to the bombings? Does this seem to you something that was meticulously planned weeks or months in advance?

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: I don't care to comment on that other than to say if you look at how it has unfolded on the ground, it's very, very difficult -- if not impossible -- to conclude that what happened on the ground was anything other than planned. This was not a spontaneous action -- village-by-village. It was a sweep. In fact, within villages and towns, it was neighborhood by neighborhood. I, for one, don't see how that could happen without it having been planned and pursuant to a policy.

QUESTION: How much does that make a difference -- the extent of the planning in terms of the severity of possible charges -- possible charges that could come against?

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: Let's just say that obviously, if you can demonstrate a well thought out plan that has an intent behind it, then -that's why we point to indicators of genocide. But I want to emphasize that regardless, you can have a very well planned campaign of crimes against humanity, and there is no question that that's what's unfolded in Kosovo.

QUESTION: Do you have any estimates, how many ethnic Albanians have been killed? I thought before the international observers were forced to leave that the number was about 2,000. I wonder if you have any estimates now?

AMBASSADOR SCHEFFER: That was the number that really rose from 1998, when we actually had monitors on the ground and were able to keep a far more accurate count. I think it would be very problematic to speculate at this time on a number. It simply -- I fear -- would be too low if I did speculate. I think we have to wait to find what the death count is.

4/9/99: Special Briefing by Ambassador Scheffer on Atrocities in Kosovo

https://1997-2001.state.gov/policy_remarks/1999/990409_scheffer_kos...

QUESTION: Thank you.

[end of text]

Flag bar

[Policy Remarks Page](#)

[Kosovo Page](#)

[Office of the Special Representative](#)

[Bureau of European Affairs Home Page](#)

[DOSFAN Home Page](#)

Annex 38

Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and UK Foreign Secretary Robin Cook Press
Conference, Washington, D.C. (22 April 1999)

4/22/99 Albright and For. Sec. Cook remarks(Kosovo)

<https://1997-2001.state.gov/statements/1999/990422a.html>

Other State Department Archive Sites

The State Department web site below is a permanent electronic archive of information released online from January 1, 1997 to January 20, 2001. Please see www.state.gov for current material from the Department of State. Or visit <http://2001-2009.state.gov> for information from that period. Archive sites are not updated, so external links may no longer function. [Contact us](#) with any questions about finding information. NOTE: External links to other Internet sites should not be construed as an endorsement of the views contained therein.

Great Seal

**Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and
U.K. Foreign Secretary Robin Cook**
Press Conference
Washington, D.C., April 22, 1999
As released by the Office of the Spokesman
U.S. Department of State

Blue Bar

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Good morning. Let me welcome you here. Foreign Secretary Cook and I have had, already, a very useful meeting. The Foreign Secretary is here, of course, for the NATO summit, which begins tomorrow and marks the biggest invasion of Washington since what we diplomats refer to as the "unpleasantness of 1812."

(Laughter.)

Fifty years ago, another distinguished British Foreign Minister, Ernest Bevin, came to Washington. He said, in signing the NATO treaty, that "at last, democracy is no longer a series of isolated units; it's a coherent organism." The intervening years proved the wisdom of those words, as NATO provided the shield behind which a generation of our citizens grew up and grew old in peace.

Today, too, NATO stands united. And nowhere is that unity stronger than in the enduring friendship between the United States and the United Kingdom.

This morning, we have reviewed plans for the NATO summit; we have discussed the latest developments in Kosovo. NATO's position is rock-solid: we will persist until the conflict in Kosovo can be ended on the terms we have set. We will help care for the people of Kosovo made refugees by Milosevic's depredations and we will help them return and rebuild.

Let me just say how disgusted I was to hear Milosevic repeat in an interview broadcast last night his big lie; that refugees from Kosovo are fleeing NATO's bombs, not Belgrade's ethnic cleansing. That will certainly be news to the refugees, who are giving eyewitness accounts of the atrocities perpetrated at Milosevic's order.

Milosevic can deny the truth, but he cannot change it. The truth is that his forces are responsible for the worst crimes committed in Europe in more than half a century. In that connection, we will do all that we can to share information with the War Crimes Tribunal and to see that those who commit atrocities are held accountable.

We're considering new economic measures designed to deny Belgrade the ability to wage war on its own people, such as an embargo on oil products. We will do our part in a broader initiative to bring the Balkans fully into the mainstream of a Europe whole and free.

The United States, Britain and others have put forward very good proposals. We must now move forward on a coordinated effort to consolidate democracy, promote economic growth and support those who strive for peace across Southeast Europe.

With respect to the question of ground forces -- a subject of much speculation amongst all of you -- let me tell you where we are. We are confident that a sustained and relentless air campaign can achieve our objectives, and I think that most recently the targets of the Socialist Party headquarters and command and control centers are evidence of the continued damage that our air campaign is doing.

We do not favor the deployment of ground forces into a hostile environment in Kosovo. We do, however, believe it is prudent to update our plans and assessments and to support Secretary General Solana's efforts to do so.

Events in Kosovo have shown clearly why we need a strong and adapted NATO with new members and new capabilities, ready to take on new missions. The Foreign Secretary and I discussed the remaining summit issues, and I welcomed Prime Minister Blair's ideas on strengthening the European pillar of our alliance to help make Europe more able to act effectively while maintaining its strong links to NATO.

NATO's fundamental purpose -- safeguarding the ideals, interests and territory of its members -- is unchanging. At its foundation are enduring ties of trust and friendship between America and its allies. No bond is stronger than the one we share with the United Kingdom, and none is more certain to endure for another 50 years and beyond.

And now, my good friend, the Foreign Secretary.

FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK: Thank you, Madeleine. I'll just gloss over 1812 and we can put that one behind us.

(Laughter.)

But I do want to go back 50 years, and I welcome Madeleine's reference to Ernest Bevin, the distinguished previous Labor Foreign Secretary. Fifty years ago, NATO was born out of the defeat of fascism in Europe. This weekend we'll be commemorating those 50 years of security which we have brought to Europe and to the free world. But just as we were born out of the defeat of fascism, NATO cannot tolerate the rebirth of fascism within Europe. And that is what we are witnessing at the present time.

In 1945 when we looked at the Europe that we inherited, it was a Europe scarred by genocide, by mass deportation of peoples, by ethnic confrontation and ethnic aggression. The tragedy is that we witness all of those again in Kosovo today.

Over the past three weeks, I have met a number of Kosovar Albanians in London. They all bring the same tales of the savagery from Kosovo. Earlier this week, I met one man who was one of the last to leave Pristina. He described the methodical way in which that town was emptied by Milosevic's thugs -- district by district; time after time families being told the same thing, that they have five minutes to get out of the house. If they looked wealthy, they were also told that if you have 5,000 DM, we will allow you to take your father with you; how much value do you put on your mother, that you would take your mother with you.

We cannot tolerate the return of the doctrine of ethnic superiority to Europe; nor can we tolerate the aggression that's been practiced by President Milosevic's forces without conveying a clear signal of encouragement to dictators around the world. That is why it is so important that we make a stand in Kosovo.

I agree absolutely with the point that has already been made by Madeleine Albright that President Milosevic lies when he says that the Kosovar Albanians have fled NATO's bombing. Tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of refugees have come out of Kosovo over the past month. Not one has said that they were fleeing from NATO bombs. All have said that they are fleeing from President Milosevic's special police and from his paramilitary thugs.

That is why we have given an undertaking that we will pass all our information to the War Crimes Tribunal, including our own intelligence, in order that they can come to a judgment as to who is guilty of those war crimes and bring to justice before the International Tribunal those who have been guilty of the atrocities within Kosovo.

I want to make, also though, a message not of shock and revulsion alone, but of determination that we are going to reverse the atrocities and the ethnic cleansing of Kosovo. Our air campaign is being effective; it is cutting off the communications of the Yugoslav Army; it is making them run low on fuel; it has denied them air cover, so that much of the time they stay in hiding rather than venture out into the open.

I am in total agreement with the point that has already been made by Madeleine Albright that we are not going to

4/22/99 Albright and For. Sec. Cook remarks(Kosovo)

<https://1997-2001.state.gov/statements/1999/990422a.html>

commit ground forces in a hostile environment; nor do we need to. Time is our greatest ally. As President Milosevic gets weaker with the passage of time, so too, does the strength of our case for returning the Kosovars under international protection.

This weekend, NATO will demonstrate its resolve to complete the job to which we have set our hand. The best basis for that resolve is the unity of the Alliance. I want to end with a particular word of appreciation for the contribution that has been made by Madeleine Albright to building that unity and strengthening that resolve.

I think we've spoken almost daily for four weeks now, Madeleine, and I know also that Madeleine speaks equally frequently to my colleagues in France and Germany and Italy, and has built up a great respect throughout Europe as a person who has provided leadership among the foreign ministers to ensure that unity in the Alliance and the resolve to complete the task. Nobody worked harder than Madeleine at Rambouillet to try and achieve peace, and nobody should forget that President Milosevic had every opportunity to resolve this issue through dialogue.

It was his refusal to negotiate in good faith that produced the conflict. And now that we are in that conflict, it is vital that for the sake of the refugees -- and for the sake of the Alliance -- we make sure we secure our objective of enabling the refugees to return, of forcing President Milosevic to reverse the ethnic cleansing, and securing the entry of an international military presence which will help us to rebuild Kosovo and create a free and democratic Kosovo.

QUESTION: You both made rather straightforward statements about ground troops, appearing to rule them out. But the speculation, as the Secretary described it, is based on statements by the British and French, and also based on the fact you haven't won the war and it's taking a long time to deliver that knock-out punch and to get at the Serb troops who are torturing those people you talk about. So is there something between the lines here that we miss when the Secretary refers to plans being looked at again this weekend? Is there some nuance here about ground troops? Could everybody have interpreted French and British statements incorrectly, as if the use of ground troops is on the table? The US has said no; that's great. But following the French and British positions has been a little difficult. Could you give us some help?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Let me just make one comment and then let Robin respond. I think it is inappropriate to rule anything out, and we have not done so.

FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK: I would absolutely agree with that.

First of all, we're both quite clear at some point ground troops will be required in Kosovo; indeed, we agreed to that at Rambouillet even before the commencement of the present military conflict. We have always said that ground troops would be necessary in Kosovo to guarantee security and a cease-fire in Kosovo.

I have to say, after the last four weeks, it will be necessary to give the refugees the confidence to return to have that international military presence.

We are also absolutely clear that we are not sending in troops to fight their way in in a ground force invasion. That has never been on. Therefore, what will happen in the future and the endgame -- to make sure when the time is right, when it's appropriate, when it is safe to commit those ground troops to guarantee a cease-fire in Kosovo -- that will be a NATO decision. It will be one that will be taken jointly. And there is no difference between us in the need to make sure we do some preparation so we are ready when that moment comes.

QUESTION: Are you now not using -- or why are you not using the term "permissive environment?" You've used the word "hostile" -- that you wouldn't want to send ground troops into a hostile environment. But what about the permissive environment; is that still on the table, as it were, or can you sort of live with a permissive-minus, as it were?

FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK: I'm not sure what a permissive-minus would be. First of all, nobody goes in in a hostile environment. Secondly, no problem if we get agreement from Belgrade. Sure, there may be circumstances in which Belgrade has not signed a formal treaty in which it may be appropriate to go in. But what is a permissive environment and what is an appropriate time to go in is a judgment that we can only make when that time comes. It's a judgment we'll make together; it's a judgment we'll make with the military on board.

QUESTION: But do you need a formal agreement from Belgrade to allow troops in, or will you consider sending troops in in a non-permissive environment?

FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK: I'm not sure that we would necessarily make it an absolute condition that there has to be a formal treaty signing with a ceremony and photographs. But at what point is appropriate to go in is a matter we have to judge with care and with very clear regard to military advice.

QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, you had said earlier -- I believe it was before Parliament -- that it is possible to conceive of circumstances in which it may be feasible to commit ground troops. Could you elaborate on that and explain what you meant by that?

FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK: I think I've been elaborating about that since we started questions. I'm not sure that there is that much fresh that I have to add to what I said. But let me just repeat for the ones that doubt: no ground troops that have to fight their way in; yes ground troops to guarantee a cease-fire; when it would be appropriate to commit those ground troops will depend on a judgment as to what the circumstances are in Kosovo and how near we are to that cease-fire.

QUESTION: How, then, is NATO going to look at revising its policy on ground troops if there's still no way that it's going to agree to send in ground troops that have to fight to get into Kosovo? How does this revision occur? What gets revised?

FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK: I don't think anybody's proposing we revise the policy. I mean, the policy that I have spoken to is one that we jointly share and that our allies are on board for. Obviously, we want the military to be ready for contingencies and to make sure that they're ready for all options. But that doesn't mean to say the policy is changing.

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: I think, first of all, as you all know, there were assessments made last fall about the situation on the ground. We believe that it is prudent for those military planners and assessors at NATO to take as a statement of fact to recognize the current situation and provide for NATO an update in their assessment and plans. That's what's happening.

QUESTION: Madame Secretary, you spoke about considering new economic measures, and you did mention the oil embargo as one of them. Are there any other economic measures that are under consideration?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Well, first of all, let me say that we are particularly focusing on oil because that is the way that forces move around. As you know, some of the targets have been specifically against oil refineries. Therefore, we have agreed, in these many, many conversations, that basically it didn't make a lot of sense for us to be bombing refineries and at the same time not doing enough to prevent the access of oil by sea.

So the EU decided on an oil embargo. We believe that additional steps can be taken whereby each country in interpreting its laws can, in fact, search and visit the vessels that are on the Adriatic, which in no way would interfere with neutral shipping.

I think we are looking at a variety of other ways, but I'm not prepared to discuss any more details.

QUESTION: Madame Secretary, regarding the 20,000 Kosovar refugees that the US has agreed to take in, first, can you tell us how it will be decided who will come to the US? When will they come? And also, why the change of heart -- not going to Guantanamo Bay?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Well, first of all, let me say that I think we are looking to families and those who have families that there can be reuniting and a sense that many of the European countries that are undertaking this kind of a reception of the Albanians do not have the same kind of status that we do in terms of temporary. We wanted to be on the same footing to show the generosity of spirit of the American people, as the British are showing.

QUESTION: Madame Secretary, on the European pillar, ten days ago or so I read your Brookings Institution speech as not favoring the European pillar. You were saying that it would tend to create a split within NATO. Has there been an evolution of your position on that?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: I think you misread my speech. We have always favored a European pillar, we just don't want it to be separate from NATO. We have argued for the fact that there should be no de-coupling, no duplication and no discrimination. But we do believe that there is great value in having a European pillar, but not outside of NATO.

4/22/99 Albright and For. Sec. Cook remarks(Kosovo)

<https://1997-2001.state.gov/statements/1999/990422a.html>

FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK: May I just add briefly to that? Britain would not be proposing the initiatives being done on European security if we felt that was in any way a threat to our alliance with the United States. We believe that if Europe is better able to make its security contributions to the Alliance -- and perhaps also manage some crisis management of its own in Europe, where it is appropriate to do so -- that is a strength for the Alliance; it is not weakening the Alliance. The last few weeks have reminded our people how very much we need that alliance with the United States.

QUESTION: Madame Secretary, speaking of revising plans, is there any revision of plans being looked at in terms of air drops of humanitarian supplies to the internally displaced inside Kosovo?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Again let me say -- and we have had this discussion -- we are very concerned about what is happening to the people inside Kosovo, concerned about their physical condition as well as where they're living and whether they have enough to eat and medicines. We are looking at a variety of ways to get supplies to them.

As we talk about the potential ways, we do talk about air drops. But I think that we have been told by the experts that is not a slam dunk, as we would say -- that it is difficult --

FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK: Pardon?

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: It is an American term, basketball.

(Laughter.)

FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK: Oh, I see.

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Just to show that I know about sports terms. But basically one can't be sure that it will accomplish the goals and that the airplanes can actually deliver to the places that are necessary.

FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK: Can I just add to that? I think it's a great shame that President Milosevic did not use his interview yesterday to come clean on what is the state of those refugees in Kosovo, to tell us about the conditions, to confirm whether or not it is true they are short of food and water and have been living in the open -- in some cases, for three or four weeks.

We are reviewing all possible ways in which we can help them, but it is a very difficult task to do so from outside Kosovo. But let's not lose sight of whose responsibility their fate is. President Milosevic keeps claiming that they are his citizens and that Kosovo is his territory. Very well; they are his responsibility. He will be held to account for what happens to those refugees.

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: I can't resist reading one paragraph from this incredible interview. This is Milosevic's words.

"Everybody's running away because of bombing -- Serbs, Turks, Gypsies, Muslims; of course, Albanians, their number is biggest. Everybody's running. Deers are running, birds are running, everybody's running away because of bombing. Bees are running; everybody's running away. And who can ask to understand a civilian population cannot play the role of hero, staying in their places when bombs are going down. That's not possible. And you know that before the 24th of March, when they started damn bombing, they started their dirty aggression against this country, there was no one single refugee."

I think --

FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK: There were 400,000 already before it began.

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Yes. Thank you.

FOREIGN SECRETARY COOK: Thank you.

[End of Document]

Blue Bar

[Secretary's Home Page](#) | [State Department Home Page](#)

Annex 39

The Crisis in Kosovo: Hearings before the Subcommittee on European Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate (6 May and 24 June 1998)

(excerpt)

27.09.2022, 01:57

- THE CRISIS IN KOSOVO

[Senate Hearing 105-649]
[From the U.S. Government Printing Office]

S. Hrg. 105-649

THE CRISIS IN KOSOVO

=====

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE
ONE HUNDRED FIFTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

MAY 6 AND JUNE 24, 1998

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations

Available via the World Wide Web: <http://www.access.gpo.gov/congress/senate>

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1998

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| JESSE HELMS, North Carolina, Chairman | |
| RICHARD G. LUGAR, Indiana | JOSEPH R. BIDEN, Jr., Delaware |
| PAUL COVERDELL, Georgia | PAUL S. SARBANES, Maryland |
| CHUCK HAGEL, Nebraska | CHRISTOPHER J. DODD, Connecticut |
| GORDON H. SMITH, Oregon | JOHN F. KERRY, Massachusetts |
| CRAIG THOMAS, Wyoming | CHARLES S. ROBB, Virginia |
| ROD GRAMS, Minnesota | RUSSELL D. FEINGOLD, Wisconsin |
| JOHN ASHCROFT, Missouri | DIANNE FEINSTEIN, California |
| BILL FRIST, Tennessee | PAUL D. WELLSTONE, Minnesota |
| SAM BROWNBACK, Kansas | |

James W. Nance, Staff Director
Edwin K. Hall, Minority Staff Director

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| GORDON H. SMITH, Oregon, Chairman | |
| RICHARD. G LUGAR, Indiana | JOSEPH R. BIDEN, Jr., Delaware |
| JOHN ASHCROFT, Missouri | PAUL D. WELLSTONE, Minnesota |

27.09.2022, 01:57

- THE CRISIS IN KOSOVO

CHUCK HAGEL, Nebraska
CRAIG THOMAS, Wyoming

PAUL S. SARBANES, Maryland
CHRISTOPHER J. DODD, Connecticut

(ii)

C O N T E N T S

Page

Hearing of May 6, 1998

DioGuardi, Hon. Joseph, Volunteer President, Albanian-American Civic League.....	29
Fox, John, Director, Washington Office, Open Society Institute, Washington, DC.....	24
Gelbard, Hon. Robert S., Special Representative of the President and the Secretary of State for Implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords.....	2
Hooper, James R., Director, The Balkan Institute, Washington, DC.	19

Hearing of June 24, 1998

Abramowitz, Hon. Morton I., International Crisis Group; and former Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research.....	63
D'Amato, Hon. Alfonse, a United States Senator from the State of New York.....	48
Dole, Hon. Robert, Chairman, International Commission on Missing Persons in the former Yugoslavia, Washington, DC.....	51

(iii)

APPENDIX

Hearing of May 6, 1998

Response of Ambassador Gelbard to Question asked by Senator Biden	79
Response of Ambassador Gelbard to Questions asked by Senator D'Amato.....	81
Response of Ambassador Gelbard to Questions asked by Senator Biden and Senator D'Amato.....	83

THE CRISIS IN KOSOVO

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1998

U.S. Senate,
Subcommittee on European Affairs,
Committee on Foreign Relations,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:10 p.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Gordon H. Smith (chairman of the subcommittee), presiding.

Present: Senators Smith and Biden.

Senator Smith. Ladies and gentlemen, I will call this hearing to order. We expect the arrival of some other Senators soon, when their conferences, lunches, break up, but we welcome you all.

Today the Foreign Relations Committee is convened to

27.09.2022, 01:57

- THE CRISIS IN KOSOVO

tactical miscalculation to think that there would be any help.

The one thing that is likely to allow those who do not even want to be involved anywhere in the Balkans to be able to say that this is a civil war of independence, and you will find everybody walk away here--I think. I could be dead wrong.

Ambassador Gelbard. If I could just add a point to that, we also worry about the imitation effect this would have in Macedonia, too.

Senator Biden. That is why everyone would walk away.

Ambassador Gelbard. Twenty-three percent of the population in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia are also ethnic Albanians, and there are some, including in the United States, who envision the idea of cutting off part of Macedonia along with Kosovo to create this kind of new country.

This is a recipe for real regional instability.

Senator Biden. Woodrow Wilson is dead, and his idea was not so hot in the first place.

I just think--I really get a sinking sense, as this goes on, that the more people like me and the chairman and you and the President and others who speak up about the atrocities that are being waged by Milosevic in Belgrade, the more we may be--and there is no alternative but to speak out against that, so I am not suggesting that be silenced.

But I think some people are reading the wrong message from that, that that means that we believe that there should be an independent State of Kosovo, or some changed statutes as it relates to sovereignty within Yugoslavia, and it seems to--I just hope that message is not one that--I think it would be a misreading of our revulsion of Milosevic and his policies to conclude that those of us, speaking again for me, that I think that means there should be an independent State of Kosovo.

I do think autonomy--I do think the status, predisintegration of the greater Yugoslavia, is important, and I do think we should participate in providing a fora, or at least indirectly through the Contact Group of bringing about a change in the behavior on the part of Belgrade, but I again suggest the one thing that will probably curtail any consensus on that effort would be if, in fact, the statement that I read was viewed as the policy, a national question which calls for the liberation of occupied Albanian lands, national identity, and self-determination.

I do not have any further questions.

Senator Smith. Thank you, Senator Biden.

Mr. Ambassador, Senator D'Amato of New York had hoped to be with us to ask you a few questions. He is tied up in another hearing, but if there is no objection I will leave the record open and he will submit to you some written questions.

Mr. Ambassador, we thank you. We appreciate your time and your work, and we will now call up our second panel. We recognize James Hooper with the Balkan Institute, John Fox with the Open Society Institute, and former Congressman Joseph DioGuardi with the Albanian-American Civic League.

We would ask each witness to limit their opening statement to 5 or 10 minutes to allow time for questions.

We welcome our second panel, and if the room can come to order, let's begin with Mr. Hooper. Sir, we thank you for coming and invite your statement.

STATEMENT OF JAMES R. HOOPER, DIRECTOR, THE BALKAN INSTITUTE,
WASHINGTON, DC

Mr. Hooper. Senator, thank you very much. I appreciate the invitation. I am very glad to be here.

The Serbian crackdown in Kosovo presents the United States with a Bosnia-like situation. Remain on the sidelines and watch ethnic cleansing unfold, or muster the political will to intervene early and forcefully to prevent escalation, genocide, and spillover to neighboring States that will destroy NATO's credibility and upset the Dayton Peace Accords.

The level of political courage in Washington will determine the level of slaughter in the Balkans. Serbian strong man Slobodan Milosevic's troops have been attacking villages since late February in defiance of the Christmas warning. The credibility of the Christmas warning conveyed to Milosevic from President Bush in December 1992 and renewed in 1993 by then-Secretary of State Warren Christopher on behalf of the Clinton administration has eroded.

That very specific threat of force helped keep the peace in Kosovo for over 5 years, but Milosevic in February crossed the line that Bush and Clinton had drawn with impunity, if not with our blessing.

A resolute U.S. policy has given a de facto green light that Milosevic has exploited with predictable effectiveness. The only thing that will stop him now is a credible threat of force by the President of the United States.

Could President Clinton mobilize Congress, the American public, and the allies to support a tough conflict prevention strategy in Kosovo? Milosevic is betting that the President will not try and has calculated that in any case he would not succeed. Once again, Serbia confronts Washington with a defining moment in the Balkans.

At stake is the belief in American power, purpose, and resolve to deal with the toughest postwar security problems in Europe, preventing genocidal conflict and spillover of local disputes into broader regional war, sustaining the credibility of NATO, and ensuring the continued implementation of the Dayton peace agreement in Bosnia.

Clinton blamed Bush for inheriting Bosnia. You cannot blame Bush for Kosovo. Clinton administration officials conveniently suggested during the Bosnia conflict that crises are best nipped in the bud. In Kosovo, this is the bud. Confronting a population ratio of 9 to 1 in the Kosovar Albanians' favor, Milosevic has only two choices for altering the balance: Ethnic cleansing, and/or partition.

The intensity of the conflict is escalating rapidly. Small-scale ethnic cleansing, begun on President Bill Clinton's watch, also threatens to expand in the coming weeks. We will not have long to wait to determine whether nip-in-the-bud represents policy conviction or the basis for a new genocide apology.

The administration's crisis approach represents four points of a political compass, rhetoric, economic sanctions, diplomacy, and wishful thinking. Navigating with this compass will steer the U.S. toward inevitable military involvement in a Balkan-wide conflict after it becomes too late to prevent conflict, and when our forces will have to shoot their way in rather than deploy peacefully.

The consequences of a policy whose purpose is the avoidance of risk, engagement, and responsibility, rather than the deterrence of war, will be significantly greater risks, violent engagements, and burdensome responsibilities for resolving Kosovo, repairing NATO, and resuscitating Dayton.

A forceful strategy, as outlined in the following proposals, will be needed to prevent conflict in Kosovo. The administration should:

First, renew the Christmas warning threatening Milosevic with military intervention if he continues to crack down in Kosovo.

Second, restore the credibility of the Christmas warning by disbanding the ineffective Contact Group and shifting the venue for U.S. leadership and actio to NATO. NATO engagement is critical.

Third, establish a NATO no-fly zone over Kosovo as an immediate down-payment on a conflict prevention strategy.

Fourth, deploy a NATO observer mission to Kosovo. This will relieve tensions there, undercut growing support for the Kosovo Liberation Army, and provide justification for Kosovo Albanians to engage in serious negotiations with Belgrade.

27.09.2022, 01:57

- THE CRISIS IN KOSOVO

Fifth, link the NATO observer mission to NATO mandates to take over the U.N. preventive deployment force in Macedonia and establish a similar force in Albania.

Sixth, request that the War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague send the prosecutor immediately to Kosovo and Belgrade to stress that the tribunal will hold Serbian officials, beginning this time at the top, accountable for crimes against humanity committed in Kosovo.

To show we mean business, NATO should apprehend indicted Bosnian Serb war criminal Radovan Karadzic immediately. The U.S. should also publicly call upon the tribunal to begin preparing an indictment of Milosevic for crimes against humanity in Bosnia.

Seventh, appoint a special envoy of recognized public stature with responsibility only for Kosovo. This will reduce Milosevic's incentive to trade off cooperation in Bosnia for freedom of action in Kosovo and will give our diplomacy more leverage.

Eighth, launch a major and sustained initiative to buildup Serbia's democratic forces, to establish democracy and civic society in Serbia. The root cause of our problems in the Balkans is the U.S. failure over the past decade to advance democracy in Serbia. It is time to make clear to everyone that Milosevic is the troublemaker, not the peacemaker of the Balkans, and so long as he is in power, the U.S. will be forced to repeatedly confront him.

The conflict prevention proposals outlined above impose considerable burdens on policymakers for ideas and implementation, the Congress for support of the risks involved, and especially on the President for leadership.

Better such risks and burdens in preventing conflict than dealing with the consequences of an action and an American political debate over who lost NATO.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Hooper follows:]

Prepared Statement of James R. Hooper

The Serbian crack down in Kosovo presents the United States with a Bosnia-like situation: Remain on the sidelines and watch ethnic cleansing unfold. Or, muster the political will to intervene early and forcefully to prevent escalation, genocide and spill over to neighboring states that will destroy NATO's credibility and upset the Dayton peace accords.

The level of political courage in Washington will determine the level of slaughter in the Balkans. Serbian strong man Slobodan Milosevic's troops have been attacking villages since late February, in defiance of the Christmas warning. The credibility of the Christmas warning--conveyed to Milosevic from President Bush in December 1992 and renewed in 1993 by then-Secretary of State Christopher on behalf of the Clinton administration--has eroded. That very specific threat of force helped keep the peace in Kosovo for over five years. But Milosevic in February crossed the line that Bush and Clinton had drawn, with impunity, if not our blessing. Irresolute U.S. policy has given a de facto green light that Milosevic has exploited with predictable effectiveness. The only thing that will stop him now is a credible threat of force by the President of the United States.

Could President Clinton mobilize Congress, the American, public and the allies to support a tough conflict prevention strategy in Kosovo? Milosevic is betting that the president will not try, and has calculated that in any case he would not succeed once again, Serbia confronts Washington with a defining moment in the Balkans.

U.S. Stakes in Kosovo

The stakes for the U.S. in this escalating crisis are self-evident and compelling. First, the credibility of an enlarging NATO is at risk. Ethnic cleansing in Kosovo and an expanding war in the Balkans will undermine the viability of the alliance just as surely as did U.S. inaction in Bosnia. Failure by the U.S. and its allies to prevent genocidal conflict in Kosovo will hollow out the alliance. The inevitable spill over of large-scale violence across the borders of neighboring states will shift NATO's focus to messy conflict

27.09.2022, 01:57

- THE CRISIS IN KOSOVO

containment, as Albania--no matter the wishes of its weak government--is drawn into the fighting. Macedonia's delicate internal political balance will be disrupted with harmful regional consequences. Greece will find itself preoccupied with anticipating Turkey's response to the war. The policy risks of forceful U.S. conflict prevention pale in contrast to the burdens and dangers posed by battlefield ``facts'' being created by Belgrade.

Second, it is wishful thinking to expect that the Dayton peace accords will somehow remain unaffected by the dynamic of conflict set in motion in Kosovo. If NATO fails to stay Milosevic's hand in Kosovo, he will be emboldened to up the ante in Bosnia. Tenuous reforms promoted by some Bosnian Serbs will immediately be jeopardized. If escalation in Kosovo occurs in conjunction with the September Bosnian elections, we can look forward to an electoral campaign that lights up the Balkan skyline with the fireworks of ultranationalist politicking.

Third, genocidal conflict in Kosovo will likely reinforce the trend toward greater tolerance of intolerance that we see occurring throughout much of Europe. Growing extreme nationalist and neo-fascist political movements are steadily increasing their support, moving from the margins toward the political mainstream and becoming an increasingly worrisome minority in eastern Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Denmark, and some of the former communist states of East Central Europe. In Russia they have already entered the mainstream. This will increase the temptation for democratic political parties and governments to compromise with the anti-pluralist and anti-democratic agendas of the extreme nationalists, many of whom openly identify with Milosevic's policies and values.

Fourth, Kosovo is a challenge to U.S. leadership and resolve. The Kosovo crisis tests the belief in American power, purpose and resolve to deal with the toughest post-Cold War security problems in Europe. Regrettably, until now the purpose of U.S. policy in Kosovo has been to avoid risk, forceful engagement and responsibility for the outcome. The United States needs to stop dithering and follow a conflict prevention strategy that will deter conflict.

Background to the Crisis

The Serbs regard the province of Kosovo as the touchstone of their national identity. But 90 percent of Kosovo's neatly two million inhabitants are Kosovar Albanians and only ten percent are ethnic Serbs. Milosevic consolidated his power in Serbia in the 1980s through an ultranationalist appeal to restore Serb primacy in Kosovo. His first step toward destroying Yugoslavia was to remove Kosovo's status as an autonomous province in 1989. He did the same to the autonomous province of Vojvodina, which has a large population of ethnic Hungarians. This provided Serbia with two additional votes on the Yugoslav collective presidency and signaled at an early stage that Milosevic aimed to destroy pluralism in Yugoslavia. In Kosovo he redeemed his political promises by establishing martial law and removing the Kosovar Albanian's political, economic and educational rights.

But he could not yet persuade Serbs to settle there.

By 1992, with Serbia's war underway in Croatia and Bosnia, tensions were rising perceptibly in Kosovo. On Christmas Day in 1992, President Bush warned Milosevic, according to an authoritative New York Times article, ``In the event of conflict in Kosovo caused by Serbian action, the United States will be prepared to employ military force against the Serbs in Kosovo and in Serbia proper.'' Secretary of State Warren Christopher on behalf of the Clinton administration renewed the Christmas warning shortly after taking office one month later.

For five years Washington's threat of force helped keep the peace in the volatile province. But Kosovar Albanians, who had been promised that the Dayton peace negotiations would address their concerns, were literally shut out of the 1995 peace talks. U.S. negotiators, fearing that Milosevic would up the ante in Bosnia, succumbed to his demand that Kosovo remain off the table.

The frustration felt by the Kosovar Albanians toward the West and some of their own leaders increased exponentially after Dayton. The Kosovo Albanians' elected president, Ibrahim Rugova, found his leadership, assumptions about Western support, and advocacy of non-violence increasingly questioned by students, journalists and other political figures. The first reports of a shadowy organization called

27.09.2022, 01:57

- THE CRISIS IN KOSOVO

the Kosovo Liberation Army, or KLA, moreover, date from the post-Dayton period. Belgrade's violent crack down against a number of Kosovar Albanian villages, beginning in late February, has significantly increased public sympathy for the KLA and projected the struggle as an insurgency that draws in ever-greater numbers of Serbian military troops as well as heavily-armed special police units reinforced by irregular paramilitaries led by veteran war criminals of the Bosnian and Croatian campaigns.

Meanwhile, Milosevic continues to experience his own frustrations with a repressive status quo that has not improved the population ratio for the Serbs, who continue to resist settling in a province that is becoming steadily more volatile. Even homeless Serb refugees from Croatia and Bosnia, offered homes in Kosovo, have found the situation there so untenable that most of them depart shortly after arriving and advise their friends to shun Kosovo.

To change the situation on the ground, Milosevic has two fundamental policy options: ethnic cleansing or partition. He has been rehearsing ethnic cleansing in Kosovo for the past two months, albeit on a small scale. Large-scale ethnic cleansing would lead to hundreds, then thousands, then perhaps tens of thousands of casualties and drive hundreds of thousands of Kosovar Albanians toward the nearest cross-border sanctuaries in Albania, Macedonia and Montenegro.

This century's history teaches that those who commit genocide once are likely to do it again, if permitted. Having already used ethnic cleansing to achieve the de facto partition of Bosnia, Milosevic has no compunctions about relying on it as a policy tool in Kosovo. That is why all eyes now turn to Washington look to the U.S. for leadership in preventing conflict. Balkan moderates understand that only the U.S. can constrain Belgrade from using genocidal force and provide realistic alternatives that could draw support from the advocates of violence.

Milosevic sees Washington as the only potential impediment to achieving his objectives. That is why he has devoted such effort to sowing discord among the allies and enlisting the support of Moscow. While using Serbian troops to erase the red line that the U.S. drew with the Christmas warning, he has focused the political discourse on side issues: snookering Western diplomats into depicting his actions as an effort to subdue KLA "terrorists," obtaining an international consensus that Kosovo is an "internal issue," engaging the Contact Group in counterproductive debate over imposition of irrelevant economic sanctions, and implying that Western resistance to his aims in Kosovo will tempt him to cause more trouble in Bosnia. NATO inaction allows Milosevic to define the issues and lends credence to the belief that the U.S. has given him the green light for conflict.

Policy Proposals

A forceful strategy, as outlined in the following proposals, will be needed to prevent conflict in Kosovo. The Clinton administration should:

1. Renew the Christmas warning, threatening Milosevic with U.S. military intervention if he continues the crack down in Kosovo.
2. Restore the credibility of the Christmas warning by disbanding the ineffective Contact Group and shifting the venue for U.S. leadership and action to NATO. NATO engagement is critical.
3. Establish a NATO no-fly zone over Kosovo, as an immediate down payment on a conflict prevention strategy.
4. Deploy a NATO observer mission to Kosovo. This will relieve tensions there, undercut growing support for the Kosovo Liberation Army, and provide the justification for Kosovar Albanians to engage in serious negotiations with Belgrade,
5. Link the NATO observer mission to NATO mandates to take over the UNPREDEP role in Macedonia and establish a force in Albania.
6. Request that the War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague send the Prosecutor immediately to Kosovo and Belgrade to stress that the tribunal will hold Serbian officials--beginning this time at the very top--accountable for crimes against humanity committed in Kosovo. To show we mean business, NATO should apprehend indicted Bosnian Serb war criminal Radovan Karadzic immediately. The U.S. should also publicly call upon the tribunal to begin preparing an indictment of Milosevi for crimes against humanity in Bosnia.

27.09.2022, 01:57

- THE CRISIS IN KOSOVO

7. Appoint a special envoy of recognized public stature with responsibility only for Kosovo. This will also reduce Milosevic's incentive to trade off ``cooperation'' in Bosnia for freedom of action in Kosovo and will give our diplomacy more leverage

8. Launch a major and sustained initiative to build up Serbia's democratic forces to establish democracy and civic society in Serbia. The root cause of our problems in the Balkans is the U.S failure over the past decade to advance democracy in Serbia. It is time to make clear to everyone that Milosevic is the troublemaker, not the peacemaker, of the Balkans, and so long as he is in power, the U.S. will be forced to repeatedly confront him.

The conflict prevention proposals outlined above impose considerable burdens on policymakers for ideas and implementation, the Congress for support of the risks involved, and especially on the president for leadership. Better such risks and burdens than dealing with the consequences of inaction and an American political debate over who lost NATO.

Senator Smith. Thank you very much, Mr. Hooper. Mr. Fox.

STATEMENT OF JOHN FOX, DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON OFFICE, OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE, WASHINGTON, DC

Mr. Fox. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Senator Biden. Thank you for the opportunity to speak here today.

On his trip to the Balkans 6 weeks ago, Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott offered a stark description of what is at stake for the West in the Kosovo crisis. ``The dangerous situation in Kosovo,'' he said, ``constitutes a dire threat to regional stability, and therefore it poses a threat to the vital interest of the United States.''

Mr. Talbott went further: ``Kosovo could yet turn out to be the most explosive of all the powder kegs in this part of Europe. If Kosovo truly blows, it could be even worse than Bosnia, with the risk of war spreading in all directions, including south and east.

``The dire emergency there is directly related to the peace of Europe as a whole, and the implications are potentially disastrous.''

The challenge to the international community, the Deputy Secretary said, is, ``to prevent the brutal policies of Belgrade from triggering a forth Balkan war in this century.''

A strikingly similar assessment of U.S. national interests in Kosovo was rendered by both the Bush administration and by the first Clinton administration. More importantly, this strategic calculation was then backed by the credible threat of force.

I would like to quote for the committee a portion of the ``Christmas warning'' letter that President Bush sent to Slobodan Milosevic and to the Belgrade military leadership in December 1992. This letter was authoritatively leaked to the press at the time:

``In the event of the conflict in Kosovo caused by Serbian action, the United States will be prepared to employ military force against the Serbians in Kosovo and in Serbia proper.''

Senior administration officials stated that this force would consist of air power, including strikes at Serbian air bases, supply lines and other military installations. The Christmas warning established a unilateral red line that Belgrade did not cross until this year, in fact, after American deterrence had been unaccountably let go by the second Clinton administration.

What is the administration relying on instead of credible force to back its diplomacy now that the Kosovo powder keg has begun to blow? Rather than unilateral Christmas warnings, the U.S. has been part of setting new lows and lowest common denominator diplomacy through the six-nation Contact Group.

The vital interests of the United States are being

Annex 40

The Guardian, Ukraine's Western Pro-European Cities Warn They Could Break Away (21 February 2014)



Europe

🕒 This article is more than **8 years old**

Ukraine's western pro-European cities warn they could break away

Police no longer seen on streets in Lviv while local troops say they will refuse to carry out certain commands

Howard Amos in Lviv

Fri 21 Feb 2014 17:01 GMT

While protests continue on the streets of central Kiev, the cities in the west of **Ukraine** are slipping towards autonomy with new parallel governments and security forces that have openly admitted they have deserted to the side of protesters.

In Lviv, the heartland of Ukrainian nationalism, firearms have been stolen from local military bases and police are no longer to be seen on the streets.

Amid talk of civil war, few want to see any permanent division between the country's mainly Russian-speaking east and the more pro-European west, but many admit there is a risk it could happen.

"The parliament of Ukraine has to change the law and pass responsibilities for

9/26/22, 2:22 PM

Ukraine's western pro-European cities warn they could break away | Europe | The Guardian

"The parliament of Ukraine has to change the law and pass responsibilities for security into the hands of local elected authorities," said Lviv's mayor Andriy Sadovyi, who has emerged as one of the leading power brokers amid a brittle coalition of municipal and regional assemblies.

"Those countries that have a high level of self-government and self-organisation are the most successful," he said.

Lviv has been providing money, personnel and materials for the rolling anti-government protests in Kiev since they broke out in November. Many have done a stint on the barricades.

Thirteen people from Lviv have been killed since violence broke out this week, but injured people have been trickling back for weeks. "One of my friends came back without a hand. He was 23," said Sofiya, who runs a hostel in the centre of Lviv with her husband.



9/26/22, 2:22 PM

Ukraine's western pro-European cities warn they could break away | Europe | The Guardian



📍 Ukraine is divided into the nationalist west and pro-Russian east.

A similar breakdown in law and order followed by the seizure of control by local authorities has occurred across western Ukraine, including in the cities of Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, Khmelnytskyi and Lutsk. Sadovyi said he was in close contact with his counterparts in all those places.

Lviv's affinity for Europe has long roots. Before falling under Soviet rule after the second world war, the city was a trading hub in central Europe, first within the Polish empire and then the Austrian empire.

There is little doubt that people in Lviv would oppose any deal between protesters and the government that did not include the immediate removal of president Viktor Yanukovich, who has tightened Ukraine's links to Russia.

"If Yanukovich was a gentleman, he would hang himself," said Olena, a student watching coverage of Kiev's protests on a big screen in central Lviv. "We are waiting for the moment he goes or the moment when something happens to him."

When deadly clashes broke out this week in Kiev, Lviv's police stations, the prosecutor's office and the local branch of the security services were attacked with cobblestones and molotov cocktails. Cars were set on fire; the burned chassis of many are strewn across the city.

Many condemn those behind the violence as foreigners - provocateurs acting in the interest of shadowy security forces or radical youths. But others describe it as a spontaneous outburst. "It had to be done otherwise nobody would have listened to us," said Solamiya Pavliv, a student in the city.

At one military base, two people died in a fire and the chief of police in Lviv, Sergei Zyubanenko, said 1,000 firearms including Kalashnikov assault rifles and

Makarov pistols were taken, as well as large amounts of ammunition.

"If the confrontation continues in Kiev, I can't exclude that in Lviv there will be an escalation," said Zyubanenko, who urged those officers under his command who had - conveniently - taken sick leave to make up their minds which side they were on.

"The police will not carry out any criminal orders ... this should not be thought of as a betrayal," he said, adding that 70 police officers from the Lviv region had even gone to Kiev to support protesters. Footage from the capital showed the officers, still in uniform, receiving a rapturous welcome.

The local troops, who are answerable to Ukraine's interior ministry, will also refuse to carry out certain commands, Colonel Oleg Sakhon told journalists.

Oksana Pogorzelskaya, a pensioner coming out of church in central Lviv, said: "The police are on the side of the people now."

Lviv's police force is now entirely invisible on the streets, apparently nervous of the hostile reaction their uniforms might provoke. But they are co-ordinating behind the scenes with civil defence units that have sprung up.

Several thousand men turned up on Thursday evening to be assigned into patrols - on foot, on bicycles, in cars and on horseback. "People are very angry ... if we don't do this, the city will burn," said Sergei Savchenko, an artist who had volunteered with his friends. "We have been to Kiev many times, but now it is more important to be in Lviv."

Most viewed

Annex 41

The Guardian, Ukraine Civil War Fears Mount as Volunteer Units Take Up Arms (15 May 2014)



Ukraine

🕒 This article is more than **8 years old**

Ukraine civil war fears mount as volunteer units take up arms

As Kiev struggles to wrest back control of east from pro-Russia fighters, irregular units of 'Ukrainian patriots' are stepping in

Shaun Walker in Mariupol and Howard Amos in Kiev

Thu 15 May 2014 12.16 BST

The men, dressed in irregular fatigues and with balaclavas pulled over their heads, fingered their Kalashnikovs nervously and jumped at every unusual sound. Eager to aid their country's military struggle, the so-called Donbas volunteer battalion was ready to fight, but appeared to be short on training.

The battalion commander, Semyon Semchenko, a 40-year-old from Donetsk with a degree in film-making, insisted that he and all his men had combat experience, from the Ukrainian or Soviet armies. They are all volunteers, receiving zero salary from either the state or oligarchs, he said, claiming they live off their own savings and donations from patriotic Ukrainians, who transfer them money after reading about them on social media.

"Our state needs defending, and we decided that if the army could not do it, we should do it ourselves," said Semenchenko, during a meeting with the Guardian outside the town of Mariupol, where his men were based and offering support to regular units of the Ukrainian army in their fight against armed separatists in the region.

With military operations inside Ukraine's borders an unappealing prospect for many of the country's professional soldiers, irregular units are springing up as Kiev struggles to wrest back control of Donetsk and Luhansk regions from the grip of pro-Russia fighters. They have been given semi-legitimacy by the Ukrainian authorities, grateful for any help they can get in their fight in the east.

"It is hard to trust the army and the national guard," said Semenchenko. "There are cases when they have just given up their weapons and fled. I don't understand it at all, how can you give an oath to a country and then not stick to it?"

Volunteers are recruited from western Ukraine and Kiev, and more quietly, within the east itself. A self-published newspaper in Donetsk gives the phone number where "Ukrainian patriots" can sign up for the volunteer battalions; its editor has gone into hiding to avoid being kidnapped by the separatist fighters. Volunteers undergo training in neighbouring Dnepropetrovsk region, and their battalions can be brought under the command of the interior ministry, allowing them to operate legally. Nevertheless, the training period can be as little as 50 hours, before the volunteers are put into real combat situations.

Arming troops with almost no real training and sending them into extremely sensitive situations where they may be shot at with weapons from within

crowds, largely made up of angry but unarmed civilians, sounds like a recipe for disaster.





📷 Members of a self-defence battalion take part in a training exercise. Photograph: Gleb Garanich/Reuters/Reuters

Indeed, it has resulted in bloodshed on a number of occasions so far, most notably in Mariupol last Friday, when at least eight people died when the national guard entered the city to clear the police station of separatist fighters. On their retreat, troops fired at civilians, almost all of whom were unarmed.

These incidents, already awful enough, are often amplified and distorted by Russian media, leading to even more anger among the crowds in what is becoming a downward spiral of hatred and violence.

Kiev's "anti-terrorism operation" in the east of the country involves units of the army, the police, special forces and the national guard, which is partly made up of volunteers drawn from those who participated in the Maidan protests in Kiev.

Andriy Parubiy, head of Ukraine's national security and defence council, told the Guardian that these were all coordinated from a single anti-terrorism command centre, but numerous sources on the ground attest to the fact that coordination is poor, and there are major concerns over how ready the volunteer brigades are for combat.

In addition to the difficulties of coordinating such a diverse range of paramilitary groups, there has also been concern at the extreme nationalist element among those fighting. The frequent Russian claim that the Ukrainian government itself is fascist is untrue, but there are certainly far-right elements involved in the fight in the east.

Parubiy himself has an extremely dubious past, having set up the neo-fascist Social National party of Ukraine together with the current leader of far-right Svoboda, Oleh Tyahnybok, in the early 1990s. While there has been little evidence that the militias have been motivated by any kind of far-right ideology when fighting in east Ukraine, there is no doubt that radicals have been the people most willing to fight, and this has led to a number of situations which

appear to be well beyond the bounds of normal military behaviour.

In one incident, the radical politician Oleh Liashko was shown in footage that emerged last week humiliating captured insurgent and self-proclaimed defence minister of the "Donetsk People's Republic", Igor Kakidzyanov.

A video of the interrogation, where Kakidzyanov was shown in his underwear with his hands bound, circulated widely on social media and was promoted by Liashko himself.

"This whole situation is completely out of control," said Anna Neistat, an associate director at Human Rights Watch, who is currently in eastern Ukraine.

Five days after the incident, Parubiy told the Guardian that he had not even watched the footage, which also appeared to show Liashko ordering around armed men, and there had been no formal condemnation from the government.

Posters promoting Liashko's presidential campaign read: "Death to the Occupiers!" and are widely displayed all over cities across western Ukraine.

Speaking to the Guardian by telephone, Liashko said he conducted the interrogation because he wanted to find out what the motivations and ideas of Kakidzyanov were. He said he did not think it inappropriate that he was allowed to carry out the interrogation, nor that the questioning took place with Kakidzyanov stripped to his underwear.

"I had before me a terrorist and I wanted to understand how he thinks; what his goals, motivations and ideals were," said Liashko. "It turned out he was in close contact with Russian intelligence; it just proves that the people we are dealing with are Russian agents."

Liashko is currently in the process of setting up his own volunteer battalion, which he hopes will become another addition to the motley selection of forces currently fighting for Kiev in the east.

"For 23 years nobody has paid any attention to our army, and now when we need to fight for the borders of our country today, we can't," he said.

"We need a people's war, like in the second world war when people rose up to fight fascism, that's what we need to do now."



9/26/22, 2:34 PM

Ukraine civil war fears mount as volunteer units take up arms | Ukraine | The Guardian



Pro-Ukrainian self defence unit performs weapons practice at their training ground outside Donetsk, Ukraine. Photograph: Efrem Lukatsky/Associated Press

Liashko said that he would be the "commissar" of the battalion but that it would take military orders from the army or the interior ministry. So far, he said, over 3,000 people had applied to join, of which around 400 had been selected. The criteria were that they should be physically fit, have combat experience, and undergo a background check to ensure they were not working for foreign intelligence agencies.

"We are fighting against terrorists and we will work according to the principle: if they don't surrender, they should be destroyed," said Liashko. "Russian mercenaries are trying to turn Donbas into a second Chechnya, and we cannot allow it."

Russian media reported earlier in the week that Liashko had been captured by rebels, but he later emerged unscathed, announcing his security by posting a photograph of himself, his mother and a large white cat on his blog. He told the Guardian that four pro-Russia separatists had been killed and three captured during the attempt to take him hostage, but gave no further details.

With the new militias often fighting in unmarked uniforms, it has sometimes been difficult even to identify who they are. In one incident during Sunday's unrecognised referendums on independence, a group of militiamen arrived in the town of Krasnoarmeisk, supposedly to stop people from voting.

They said they were from the "Dnepr" volunteer battalion, a similar outfit to the

Donbas battalion, made up of volunteers and trained in neighbouring Dnepropetrovsk region, funded by the local governor-oligarch, Ihor Kolomoysky.

There was shouting and aggression from the crowd about the men who had disrupted the voting. At one point, several people lunged towards them, unarmed, and the men shot into the air. The volley of bullets did nothing to placate the crowd, and the men kept shooting, a look of panic on their faces. The incident ended with two civilians dead, and later the Dnepr battalion claimed its forces had never been there.

Exactly who the men were remains unclear, and the Ukrainian government has said it will investigate. Photographs from the event appear to show one of the deputy leaders of Right Sector involved in the incident.

The Right Sector is a loose grouping of ultra-radical elements that led confrontations with riot police in Kiev, throwing molotov cocktails and wielding baseball bats. The group's influence has been consistently distorted by its own boasts and Russian state media exaggerations, but it is clear that some of its members are fighting in the east, presumably within volunteer battalions.

It is Right Sector that is most often mentioned as the fascist component of the new government. Although its leader has met with the Israeli ambassador to Ukraine and insisted that the group does not adhere to racial ideology, it is clear that it contains some extremely far-right elements.

One 18-year old Right Sector member, who gave his nickname as "White", claimed that he was involved in fighting in the east and had been wounded outside the insurgent-controlled town of Slavyansk.

"People are terrified of Right Sector and think that we will kill children, but we don't make a big show of it [in the east] and we wear different uniforms without recognisable insignia," he said while patrolling in central Kiev with a gas mask and a rubber truncheon.

In addition to the huge number of different groups fighting on the Ukrainian side, there is also a ragtag assortment of people fighting for the separatists - a mixture of Cossack militias and others from Russia who may have links with Russian intelligence, people representing local business and criminal interests, and ideologically motivated locals who genuinely believe in the cause.

Insiders say there are already extreme tensions between the various armed

9/26/22, 2:34 PM

Ukraine civil war fears mount as volunteer units take up arms | Ukraine | The Guardian

groups that make up the forces of the self-proclaimed Donetsk People's Republic, and there have been exchanges of fire between different pro-separatist groups on more than one occasion.

"I hope it does not progress further, but there is a tendency of moving towards the scenario we saw in the Yugoslav wars," says Ihor Todorov, a professor at Donetsk National University. "We can end up with different field commanders, who are fighting against everyone; not for a particular side but just for their own ends."

For now, all-out infighting between groups ostensibly on the same side has been prevented by a stronger hatred for the enemy, as both the pro-Kiev and pro-separation forces have cultivated a hatred for their opponents.

On the pro-Russia side, the gunmen regularly speak of the Ukrainian army as "fascists". Rumours that Ukrainians are forced to go through psychological training that allows them to kill unarmed women and children with no remorse are widespread.

On the Ukrainian side, too, there is little sympathy for the views or goals of those they are fighting against.

Semenchenko, of the Donbas volunteer battalion, was uncompromising about civilian casualties, claiming that many of the unarmed people in the crowds were paid to be there as cover for armed attackers, and referred to them as "pigs". It was the "terrorists" who were responsible for genuinely unarmed protesters being inadvertently shot by pro-Kiev forces, such as in Mariupol, he said.

It is the sort of language that precedes civil wars, and talking of Russian anger that the bloodshed in Mariupol had come on Victory Day, Semenchenko he did not believe that the pro-Russians had anything to celebrate.

"My grandfather also fought in the second world war. I think these people are the grandchildren of traitors, secret policemen and collaborators, as real heroes could not produce such grandchildren."

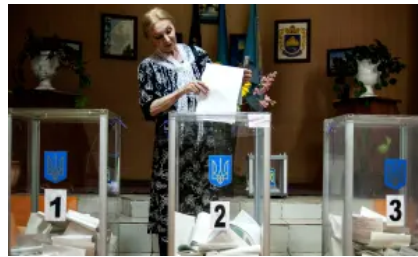
More on this story



Petro Poroshenko wins Ukraine presidency, according to exit polls

🕒 26 May 2014

💬 1,949



Ukraine goes to the polls but pro-Russia regions stay home

🕒 25 May 2014

💬 182



Tensions mount as U prepares to elect new president

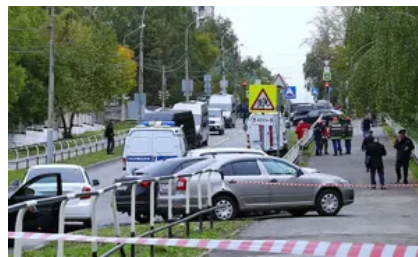
🕒 24 May 2014

More from **Headlines**



Live / Italy election: Near-final results show Giorgia Meloni's far-right Brothers of Italy have won most votes

🕒 40m ago



Russia school shooting / Seven children among 13 dead

🕒 2h ago



Live / Traders bet on interest rate hikes after pound plunges to record low against dollar

🕒 43m ago

Most viewed

Annex 42

SRB Podcast, Interview with Dmytro Yarosh, Leader of Right Sector (7 February 2014)



(<https://srbpodcast.org/>)



Interview with Dmytro Yarosh, Leader of Right Sector

📅 February 7, 2014(<https://srbpodcast.org/2014/02/07/>)



(<https://io.wp.com/srbpodcast.org/wp->

<https://srbpodcast.org/2014/02/07/interview-dmytro-yarosh-leader-right-sector/>

content/uploads/2014/02/Yarosh.jpg) ***Ukrains'ka Pravda*, 4 February 2014, 15:59**

“Dmytro Yarosh, Leader of Right Sector: When 80% of the Country Does Not Support the Regime, There Can't be a Civil War

(<http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2014/02/4/7012683/>)”

**An Interview by Mustafa Nayyem and Oksana Kovalenko
(Translated from Ukrainian by William Risch
(<http://williamrisch.wordpress.com/>))**

Dmytro Yarosh, leader of Right Sector, has been the least well-known figure over the past two months. Just two weeks ago, only a narrow circle of people involved with organizing the Euromaidan even knew about the very existence of the Sector and Yarosh. Today, it's impossible not to describe events in Kyiv without mentioning Right Sector.

On January 19, after events on Hrushevskiyi Street started, world media exploded with fiery scenes of young guys with Molotov cocktails and masks over their faces. Right Sector's actions tore the term “peaceful

protest” to pieces, but at the same time, Right Sector forced the regime to listen to the Maidan and repeal the January 16 laws.

The headquarters of this still informal group is on the fifth floor of the Trade Unions' Building. Photography is forbidden in the hallway, numerous mattresses are spread on the floor, next to which, besides wood and metal sticks, lay textbooks – most of Right Sector's members are young guys of university age.

We met Dmytro Yarosh in one of the floor's offices – two by three meters – where Right Sector press conferences usually take place. Here, too, is the fully-equipped office for the sector's leader. Three guys with walkie-talkies, dressed in camouflage, with masks over their heads, man the office's “reception room.”

THEY CALL ME A HAWK IN TRIDENT

What is your personal story, and what have you done with your life?

I am leader of the all-Ukrainian organization, Stepan Bandera Trident. I have been involved in public life for the past 25 years. I'm from Dniprodzerzhyns'k, in the Dnipropetrovs'k Oblast' (Region). I raised the first blue-and-yellow flag in April 1989 in Dniprodzerzhyns'k.

I was one of the founders of the People's Movement of Ukraine (Rukh). I was a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union; in 1989 I received recommendations (to join it) from Levko Luk'ianenko and Stepan Khmara in Moscow, on the Arbat, where we picketed then for the renewal of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church's activities. Since 1994, as a founder of the Stepan Bandera Trident, I have had various positions in it: first as leader of Trident's city structure, then as leader of its oblast' structure, then its regional one, and so on.

I was commander of the organization from 1996 to 1999, then I was chief inspector of Trident, then I became commander of the organization again, then I passed on my duties as chief commander to my successor, Andriy Stempits'kyi. I've actually spent a lifetime in this. I have been trained as an instructor of Ukrainian language and literature, and in 2001, I finished the Drohobych Pedagogical University in the Philological Faculty.

How did Right Sector emerge?

There was a big protest in Kyiv on November 24-25 because of the decision to cancel the Eurointegration program. In general, Trident is not an active supporter of any integration processes, but we announced that we would create Right Sector as a platform for coordinating the actions of various revolutionary-oriented groups, because to a considerable degree, from the

very beginning, we were perfectly aware that we couldn't live in the system of state structures that has existed up to now.

Right Sector fully emerged after the events of November 30, when we went out to protest on Mykhailivs'kyi Square.

It was there that we started training and getting our defenses ready. Then we were at the Maidan all the time, and we entered the Maidan's self-defense force. Other organizations that entered Right Sector were Trident, UNA-UNSO (Ukrainian National Assembly – Ukrainian National Self Defense), and Carpathian Sich from the Subcarpathians.

Have you conducted training before?

Yes, for 20 years. We already have a lot of generations who have been changed by it. My kids were small at one time, and now my daughter is 20 years old, and she's spent her whole life in Trident.

Trident is an organization with narrow operations, like an order of knights. We have three specific tasks: propagandizing the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism as interpreted by Stepan Bandera; raising up Ukrainian youth

in a spirit of patriotism; and national defense activity, that is, defending the honor and dignity of the Ukrainian nation in all forms by all methods and means available.

In general, Ukrainian nationalism and Banderites are not narrow-minded plebs with sadistic tendencies; these are intellectuals, people who write, who publish, who are involved not just in using force. Trident is an organization that produces certain ideas.

We are not a political party. In Trident, we're even forbidden from taking state jobs.

Serhiy Kvit, President of the Kyiv Mohyla Academy, is among Trident's well-known members. He's my good friend and comrade. At one time, he

9/26/22, 2:37 PM

Interview with Dmytro Yarosh, Leader of Right Sector - SRB Podcast

was a *sotnyk* in our organization. There's also Petro Ivanysnyn, a doctor of philology, head of an academic department at the Drohobych Pedagogical University, who was also a *sotnyk*.

Where exactly do these training sessions take place?

At camps throughout Ukraine: Dnipropetrovs'k, Dniprodzerzhyns'k, Kryvyi Rih, Pavlohrad, Nikopol' and so on. Guys get together, and they have their plan of activities for a month, for half a year, for a year. They go through training and lessons. They conduct various events aimed at the de-communization and decolonization of Ukraine.

I think you've heard about events from 2011, when our mobile group blew up the head of Stalin's bust in Zaporizhzhia; that was a rather notorious thing.

We never made PR out of it. We simply do what is for our nation's good, for our state's good. Those of us who can do it close down drug dealerships and help law-enforcement organs (if you can call them that, because it seems to me that the police are the most active drug dealers).

Was what happened on January 19 on Hrushevs'kyi Street something planned in advance?

No, of course not. We were always on the front lines those two months. The dictatorship laws that were passed January 16 were the stimulus for these events. We couldn't live under state rules like those. On January 19, Automaidan activists drove up, and they wanted to go to the Supreme Rada and picket it. Right Sector came up there in organized fashion when hundreds of people were already there.

We tried to talk with the police and get them to agree to let us through. They responded rather aggressively. And what happened next, you know – we committed active deeds, and our guys defended the people. And I think that what happened was very good, because if it hadn't been for those events on the nineteenth, I don't think the regime would have made concessions and negotiate with the opposition.

How many of your people are at the Maidan?

Around 1,500 people, along with a mobilization reserve from Kyiv. But right now, affiliates are emerging all over Ukraine. They are organizing on their own, they call themselves Right Sector, and we are working to coordinate their activities as much as possible.

How many people in general can you mobilize across the country?

I think that for now, we can already mobilize 4,000 – 5,000 people.

How do you finance your organization?

I am not involved in that issue, but it's all financed by people. We even opened up bank cards, but they were blocked right away. And after January 19 – there's just been a flood of help. We need everything, because we've been here for two months already. People bring packs of money. We keep a complete account, everything is transparent, and guys buy equipment with the money.

Tell us about your organization's structure.

The structure will be completely finalized after these events. Right now, Right Sector is a completely orderly organization; it's not at all an extremist one, or a radical one; in general, I don't like the word "radical." Right now there is a unit on the Maidan, there are units in the oblasts, and there are spontaneous groups that have emerged. We invite leaders, we talk with them, we look to see if these are decent people, and then we make decisions about them. Right now we have started coordinating our actions with those of Afghan War veterans, too. They haven't officially entered Right Sector, but we now coordinate our activities with them completely, because I don't bring guys together just like that.

How do you make decisions?

There are strategic decisions, there are emergency ones, and there are

tactical ones. People themselves make them at all levels. Regarding strategic matters, we discuss this or that problem with a leadership group of up to 12 people, including me, and we make a decision. And all the commanders decide all the other things. For example, we have Iranian – he makes a decision in his group whether or not to send people to the barricades.

Iranian? Is he from Iran?

No, that's just his pseudonym. All the guys have pseudonyms for obvious reasons, because we live in such a state system. For example, since 1994, I have had the code name Hawk (*Iastrub*) in Trident. And we have one *Pylypach* and one *Letun*. Everyone chooses his own name, just like in the Cossack Sich.

AFTER JANUARY 19, NOT A SINGLE OPPOSITION LEADER CAME UP TO SEE OUR GUYS

Do you coordinate your activities with opposition forces?

First of all, we have relations with Andriy Parubiy as Maidan commander and de-facto leader of Self Defense (Samooborona), which we formally belong to as the 23rd hundredth (*sotnia*), though we have over 1,500 people.

But if you talk about the entire opposition, for the most part, we have no relations with them at all. They don't recognize our existence. It seems to me that this is a big mistake of the opposition, that they don't consider the forces of the Afghan veterans, Right Sector, or even Self Defense.

It seems to me that even Andriy Parubiy doesn't have such an easy time coordinating actions with the trio of opposition leaders. Because I see some of the remarks that they make there. Andriy says one thing, while the leaders say something slightly different.

For example, I'm surprised that after January 19, opposition leaders didn't come upstairs and thank the guys. Approach people, talk with them. These are live people, and they're good, too.

Yesterday, a television crew came by, and the cameraman said, "I was surprised. One guy was reading a textbook on materials' resistance, while the other was fluent in English and was speaking with some foreigner. You have such great guys!"

Well, it's true. They're the flower of the nation. These are people who right now are sacrificing their lives and their freedom for the sake of the Fatherland. This is something else, but politicians close their eyes to it.

Though there was Vitaliy Klychko – I met with him twice, and we had absolutely normal conversations. However, the opposition often fulfills part of our demands, because they are perfectly aware of our presence, and they see that Right Sector is a certain factor to be reckoned with on the Maidan.

But didn't you try to contact them for the sake of coordinating activities?

We had no direct contacts. I had the impression from the very start of the peaceful Maidan that they operated very much on impulse, not on a system of actions thought through. They didn't even set up a unified headquarters. From the very beginning, we called for unity at the Maidan so that there would be no divisions between politicians, Civic Sector, and Right Sector. In all interviews I've had, I've stressed that the uprising must be unified, and that I don't want to provoke responses from the opposition.

But everything has its limits. When the country faced a real threat of war, great distrust of opposition leaders surfaced on the Maidan. They just talked for two months. Even though they had been given a mandate – "Take it, decide things!" – they couldn't do anything. On January 19, we went on the offensive, and they started doing something. Well, we'll keep

putting pressure on them.

As far as we understand, the Freedom (Svoboda) Party is closest to you in ideological views...

Yes. We have a lot of common positions when it comes to ideological questions, but there are big differences. For instance, I don't understand certain racist things they share, I absolutely don't accept them. A Belarusian died for Ukraine, and an Armenian from Dnipropetrovs'k died for Ukraine. They are much greater comrades of mine than any, sorry, Communist cattle like Symonenko, who play for Russia but are ethnic Ukrainians.

Stepan Bandera once advocated three ways of dealing with non-Ukrainians. It's very simple. You deal with them as comrades – and this is for those who fight with you for Ukraine, regardless of their nationality. You deal with them in a tolerant way – for those who live on the land and do not oppose our struggle; thus, we treat them normally, Ukraine has a place for all. The third way of dealing with them is in a hostile way – and this is for those who oppose the Ukrainian people's national liberation struggle. And this is in any state; any people takes exactly these positions.

Social nationalism is very complicated for me, because it is my belief that nationalism does not require anything extra; it is enough. Oleh (Tiahnybok – *Ukrains'ka Pravda*), too, has lately tried to go the way of traditional nationalism. Thank God. Although there isn't much of a point talking about ideological discussions during a revolution. Finally, our guys stand at the barricades just like guys from Svoboda. This unites us.

People from the regime say that during negotiations, opposition leaders claimed that people were ready to leave administrative buildings if those arrested and prosecuted were released. Is this true?

I think the regime lied. I think that the opposition didn't say any such thing. Before the amnesty law was voted on, we made clear our position,

and it was like the same thing the opposition had said. That is, if the regime made a compromise and passed the law for a so-called amnesty drafted by the opposition, then Right Sector was ready to withdraw its fighters from Hrushevs'kyi Street and unblock the street. This would be a reasonable compromise.

This doesn't cancel out our political demands. We must change the country at another level. The Maidan is only a Sich (a Cossack military and administrative center – WR), a training ground, but it's not about constant fighting.

Your opponents would reply that you were the first ones to open fire and go on an all-out offensive...

No, no, no! Excuse me, Berkut special forces beat children on the Maidan on November 30, 2013. For two months, people stood at the Maidan and took no action. Then came the regime's usual provocation – passing the laws of January 16. They started beating activists, kidnapping people. Look what they've done with the Automaidan.

They were the very ones who provoked this situation, and people went on the attack, because people couldn't take it anymore. How much longer could you stand there and dance on the Maidan? We're not sheep, Ukrainians must have some pride, and they showed that Ukrainians do have pride.

What do you think, why did Right Sector have to show up for this, why didn't the opposition do it?

Because Right Sector is the Maidan's most revolutionary structure. Let me emphasize: revolutionary, and not radical. Revolution is reason, a plan, action. When the people are in an uproar, you can't avoid using this situation for the people's own benefit. The opposition, unfortunately, is incapable of doing this, maybe because their seats in parliament are very

soft and they can't take decisive steps. We can take such a step.

Have you spoken with the opposition about this?

I'm telling you, we have no contact with them. I'll stress it again – I am for unifying the opposition movement, the one involved in protests and in the general uprising. Thus, any explanation I give will wind up being used against me. They'll start yelling that I'm a provocateur. If you want my honest opinion, I don't care what they say about me. Our difference is that I'm not interested in political ratings.

Right now, representatives of opposition parties are taking part in negotiations with the regime. What do you think, can these people take responsibility for the Maidan's actions and give some guarantees on its behalf?

That's the problem; the Maidan doesn't control the negotiations process. The levels of trust opposition leaders had at the beginning and now are completely different.

We demand that not only opposition leaders be in the negotiations, but also representatives from the Maidan. At least as observers. Then you can offer some guarantees and at least articulate here, to people on the Maidan, that we have this agreement reached between the regime and the opposition, and it should be carried out.

Because otherwise, there's the impression that they agree on one thing, and then they change something among themselves, and then the result turns out to be completely different.

Our goal now is to force the opposition to go back to negotiations with specific demands and achieve a certain compromise. But this absolutely must happen with Maidan representatives.

I nose Aignan veterans or Andriy Parubiy as self-defense commander can be in the negotiating group. If they invite me, I'll go. We see nothing awful in this. We can argue our position and compel both the regime and the opposition to make an agreement, so that there will be no bloodshed, and so that the state will take different actions. I'm ready to go negotiate for this.

Let's make this simpler. Imagine that you are in negotiations, and Viktor Yanukovych is sitting across from you. What arguments would you use to convince him to change his actions?

I would seek a compromise. I would put pressure on him, though I know he wouldn't like that very much. I'm not sure that Yanukovych is getting reliable information. It seems to me that he has some inadequate understanding of the situation. For example, I think he doesn't understand that 80% of the people right now do not trust the regime. I think that his advisors are giving him slightly different figures and are showing him different scenarios from the real ones.

First, I'd start out by saying that he can't fight his own people. No one yet has defeated his own people. I would explain that those things that law enforcement are doing is a real war against Ukrainians. Second, and this is very important – I would try to explain to him that those thousands of self-defense forces that have already been formed will not give Berkut or riot police an easy time clearing the Maidan and pass through it in parade fashion.

They don't understand that the Maidan is a phenomenon with its own army, with its own medical services, with its own structures, and that it's already a certain state. And they won't be able to take it over without shedding a lot of blood.

It's already impossible to drive it away with clubs. They'll have to use weapons, real ones, not like the ones they use on Hrushevs'kyi Street. And they'll really get it from us, that I can guarantee Viktor Yanukovych.

9/26/22, 2:37 PM

Interview with Dmytro Yarosh, Leader of Right Sector - SRB Podcast

All right, but what do you want? So you tell VIKTOR FEDOROVYCH (Yanukvoych) that the situation is like this. What next?

A precondition for any negotiations must be the freeing of all those arrested. These people aren't terrorists and they aren't extremists. I think you even know some of those people. They are absolutely normal, decent people who got fed up. People should be freed. Any talk about normalizing the situation can only happen after this.

Second, the regime should stop using force. In the regions, above all. Stop kidnapping activists. This is terror against one's own people.

They must immediately start investigating crimes that have taken place on the streets. Berkut special forces couldn't have been shooting without the knowledge of the Minister of Internal Affairs. It's a military structure; there has to be discipline there, a clear sense of subordination. If they were provocations, then we need to find out who was doing the shooting. Give people information, don't be silent, don't close your eyes to what has been going on.

Yanukovych indeed has fulfilled several of our demands regarding the government's resignation and the repeal of the laws of January 16. But changing an existing office to another that has the prefix "v.o." ("acting" – translator) doesn't solve any problems.

We need to form a compromise government that could be made up of people who are not leaders of political parties, but professionals. Moreover, all those odious figures – all the Zakharchenkos, the Tabachnyks, and other politicians like them – should be replaced. This is the first step they would need to make, and it would remove the tensions immediately.

Who do you see heading the Cabinet of Ministers?

I can't say, because I'm not an expert at forming governments. Politicians

should talk about that.

But when you don't have your own proposals, you take away all responsibility from yourself and remove yourself from political developments.

For 25 years, I've avoided public politics. That's not a problem for me. Although now, we are looking into the possibility that, if there will be peace, Right Sector will grow into a political organization. All the guys have said this. For God's sake! We can always get involved in politics. For me, they're the flower of the nation, and they can't be cannon fodder people use and then forget. But it's still too early to talk about anything specific. Right Sector today can't be narrowed down to some political matters.

But that's exactly what it looks like right now – you're being used: you're standing at the barricades, while they offer government posts to Arseniy Iatseniuk and Vitaliy Klychko.

The fact is that the life of the state and the life of our people aren't limited to a sole Cabinet of Ministers. Let them take those positions. If they invite us to help, we will. We'll take over law enforcement, and we'll bring order in the state. But I doubt that we'll get even just one office.

WE WILL HAVE OUR OWN CANDIDATE IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

What will you propose to Viktor Yanukovich if the revolution is victorious?

It depends on him. Some time ago, we gave him 24 hours to leave the country, and no one would touch him. Today, if he made a smart decision, we could even grant him safety in his own state. Just so there would be no war, so there would be no bloodshed. Let him stay in Mezhyhir'ia, take care of his ostriches, and no one would bother him there. But that has to be his decision.

Do you see yourself in some office?

Right now, no. I have a really good office right now – I'm leader of Trident. It's easier for me to speak in front of members in formation, not onstage.

But that's not an office that can change the country. What would you do in a time of peace?

If you want peace, get ready for war. We started Right Sector, and Right Sector has changed the country a little. During peace, I would continue being involved in Trident. Like I'd been doing for the last twenty years.

You understand, Trident is not a structure that has an unequivocal goal of setting up some armed conflict. No. Any kind of normal state must have state paramilitary structures that prepare youth for service in the army, which gives it a chance to mobilize a certain personnel reserve for defending the people's interest in times of foreign or domestic peril. It's a normal thing in most civilized countries of the world. Trident will always be relevant. Even if we have the best president and the best government.

Do you have any information regarding who's kidnapping people?

Unfortunately, we don't. We are trying to dig this information up, but we've had no luck so far. We ask the regime to activate law enforcement, its Security Service (Security Service of Ukraine, or SBU – WR), so that all investigation teams are employed in this search. Finally, [the SBU] is not as compromised in all these events as the MVS (Ministry of Internal Affairs) is. But there's been nothing so far.

So you sincerely trust regime structures to investigate this issue?

I'm not certain that the regime is guilty of these crimes. I don't rule out foreign special services being responsible for this. For example, the FSB (Federal Security Service). Russia always makes use of instability in Ukraine. As soon as there is instability in Ukraine, they come over here and

deal with certain issues they have. Putin has said more than once that Ukraine is not a state. And I am more than convinced that up to the present, there have been plans for splitting Ukraine up into two or three, or five, or six zones of influence.

But Right Sector and its activities have been called a destabilizing factor.

It seems to me that it's the opposite – over the last few months Right Sector has shown that it is a stabilizing factor. If it hadn't been for Right Sector, there wouldn't have been any negotiations, radical moods would have increased, and they would have exploded in regions as partisan warfare. Why doesn't anyone think about that?

As for now, the situation anyway is under control, and it is now at some negotiating stage. If they don't reach an agreement, the risk of partisan warfare in Ukraine will sharply increase. We know Ukrainians have a very glorious tradition of waging partisan warfare. They've fought for decades. Only will this be useful for the state?

But aren't you afraid that a partisan war could grow into a civil war?

There can be no civil war. When 80% of the people do not support the regime, it will be a struggle between society, the people, and the regime. And these two things make great differences between a civil war and what we are talking about. This will be a national liberation war. But we'd rather not have one. We have a state, we have a foundation for developing nation building and state building.

But a lot of people in eastern Ukraine sincerely believe that Banderites and nationalists are gathered here, and they are really convinced that they must fight this. What should we do with these people?

According to the information I have, this is a very small percentage of people. I myself am from the Dnipropetrovs'k Oblast', and I completely

understand the situation. These are mostly people working for hire. You saw the events near the Dnipropetrovs'k Oblast' Administration building. There, local (Party of) Regions deputy Stupak for a year and a half got scumbags together and formed fight clubs and guard structures that, together with the police, out of "conviction" defend the Oblast' Administration.

Did you see at least one normal citizen among those defenders of the administration building who went out there voluntarily? Or in the Crimea itself, they've set up units of hatted Cossacks, chauvinists, who form Black Hundreds and defend the regime. But where are the masses of people? Besides that, Crimean Tatars are completely on the side of the Euromaidan. So none of this is simple.

If you'd speak with people in the East, they'd say the same thing about the Maidan: that there is a very small percentage of sincere supporters, and that the majority are hired nationalists. Both you and they have very similar rhetoric, which in the end is very unlikely to produce a compromise.

Let's consider some examples. The Party of Regions tried to set up an Anti-Maidan by bringing in people from all over Ukraine. Who actually has been standing there? It's either really asocial elements or state employees and recipients of state aid who simply were forced to come. I spoke with a whole bunch of such people, and when I yelled out, "Get out, crook!" (*Zeka het'!*), they waved and laughed. It's a myth that there's some social support for Yanukovych and his regime.

The soccer ultras all over Ukraine, the ones who supported the Maidan, are clear examples of this. These are people with real ideas, from Luhans'k Zoria, Simferopil' Tavriia, Zaporizhzhia Metalurh, Dnipropetrovs'k Dnipro, Kharkiv Metalist, and so on. How many times did Dopa and Hepa (Mykhailo Dobkin, governor of the Kharkiv Oblast', and Hennadiy Kernes,

mayor of Kharkiv – WK) try to gather those hired thugs and send them here to Kyiv, and they haven't been able to do it. What support can you talk about? This idea about a split in the country is a big lie. There is no split. Yanukovych, bless his heart, united the country.

All the time there's been this call made at the Maidan to the three opposition leaders to make a decision on a single candidate. Do you support this call?

It doesn't seem that relevant because you more often hear calls to make decisions with Maidan leaders. The leaders of the resistance which is going on. The importance of presidential elections for people has gone down to second or third place.

During presidential elections – early or regularly scheduled ones – what will be your strategy: will you support someone, or will you run on your own?

We don't rule out Right Sector nominating its own candidate for elections. But it's still too early to talk about this.

So you sincerely believe that a candidate from Right Sector has a chance at winning across the country?

If you took at reality, there is always a chance for it. Right Sector became an all-Ukrainian phenomenon in a few weeks. It's Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovs'k, Donetsk, the Crimea. On the other hand, presidential elections can bring quite a bit of attention to our ideas of revolutionary changes for the state.

Aren't you afraid that your electoral campaign could divide up the opposition's electorate and lead to you being blamed for causing a split?

Listen, let this process finish, and then we'll see what's going on and how things are going. Fairy tales about fragmenting one's forces, which they tell each other, is some kind of child's play. They all know that they're running as three separate candidates, thus breaking up forces from the very

beginning.

Either you sit down and make a real agreement and fulfill what you'd agreed to do, or each should play his own game. For us, at this stage, it's not that important to take part in presidential elections. We need peace.

The fact is that there are people who talk a lot and do little, while there are people who act and demonstrate with their sweat and blood that they can change things, that they can act, that they can achieve a result.

Right Sector is a platform for guys who have demonstrated their ability to change something, to sacrifice the gifts they have received to achieve something higher. Politicians in recent years have not demonstrated this. I don't see them having demonstrated this kind of sacrifice, the desire and the ability to sacrifice.

So who for you is the leader of the resistance?

There is no one for now. I made an announcement that I was ready to bear responsibility for all those things that happened. This doesn't mean that I have some presidential ambitions. I simply see that there needs to be

complete coordination and control over the situation. Let politicians settle those issues for themselves. If one of them is ready to do it, then let him do it, and we will sincerely support him. But I don't see anyone doing this.

RIGHT SECTOR DOESN'T FIGHT WITH FAMILIES

Are you aware of the fact that if you are defeated, or even if there is a compromise between the regime and the opposition, a jail cell might be waiting for you?

Yes, of course. I've been ready for it for the past 25 years. What can you do? That's life. I go there but for the grace of God. What will be, will be. If there will be a criminal case, then there will be a criminal case. I am ready to fight for Ukraine. Let them try to put me in jail. Finally, we've yet to see

who will imprison whom.

Have you been given a police summons?

No. I live here, what do I need a summons for? They don't deliver them to the Maidan, and guys don't let cops enter the fifth floor.

But something could happen before you're even arrested. You could face the fate of Ihor Lutsenko or Dmytro Bulatov...

I know in whose name I'm waging this struggle. Of course, I don't want that, I'm a living human being, and I have the instinct of self-preservation. But guys are protecting me, they go around with me, and they wear armored flak jackets.

Do you go outside the Maidan in general?

I'm rarely outside it. I won't tell you where I go.

What is happening with your family right now?

I last saw my family for Christmas. They're in Ukraine, but I've temporarily changed their residence. The fact is that all information about our addresses has been posted on the Internet, and about our families, so there is a certain danger.

But there's also the very same information on the Internet about Berkut forces, for instance. Can you give guarantees to all law enforcement and regime officials that nothing threatens their families?

I can guarantee that Right Sector in no way will touch any child, or any family, of any law enforcement personnel, from any structure. Right Sector doesn't fight women and children. We are not beasts from Berkut who beat up journalists and medical personnel. So you don't have to worry – no one will be taking any actions like those. I can vouch for Right Sector.

But you still set an ultimatum... you have this demand for the

9/26/22, 2:37 PM

Interview with Dmytro Yarosh, Leader of Right Sector - SRB Podcast

Fourth (of February): either you release everyone, or there will be... Can you say what this is about? Why exactly the Fourth?

The Fourth of February is the next session of parliament. We demand that the Supreme Rada produce a document announcing the unconditional and complete freeing and rehabilitation of people arrested. And this is no amnesty, because there were no crimes committed.

We also **demand** the regime end any use of force – this would be kidnappings, burning cars, and so on. I think that they will listen to us. I am 90 percent certain that they will listen to us.

Otherwise, we are on the edge of a bloody conflict. I don't rule out that people who are standing on the Maidan will conduct a very serious mobilization and go to the government offices district. And they will take it – and I am more than convinced of this – though it will be with blood, with great losses. Because we've been left with a pathological situation. Then all of them will be taken out: both the regime guards and Yanukovych. That's why it's better for them to reach an agreement with us.

Do you understand that even what you just said now can be used against you?

Yes, of course. It's a revolution. There are two sides of the barricades – it's a basic fact. Right now everything is being used either against us or against them.

Do you select in some way people who come to you? Do they go through some selection process?

Without a doubt. We are signing up volunteers all the time, especially during some active campaigns. Regarding criteria, you need to talk directly to the commanders. They work with people. I know exactly that they don't take in people who are under age. Because they run in packs at age 15-16.

Do you issue people weapons (that is, ones that are not firearms)?

They show up on their own with either some baseball bats or with some sticks. We don't equip them with them. As for the money that we get from people, we use that to buy all kinds of little shields, helmets, shields, a very big arsenal of all that stuff. They get all the necessary equipment, and then they have lessons with them.

If a person is in poor physical health, then he or she gets other work – in the kitchen, in the medical station, and so on. Our girls are great, simply great; they've done so much good already. They even took away the wounded during fighting, and they help us here all the time.

Regarding firearms, you called on people to bring them to the Maidan. Why have you done that?

When the MVS issued an order allowing use of firearms against people, I called on people who had legally registered firearms to join us, to create a group for supporting us with firearms in case they came to the Maidan and started shooting. I think that you can only return fire, because there are no other alternatives. But that's only if they open fire first.

Has this unit been created?

That's a secret, sorry.

Who has all the information that is now at Right Sector? There is a person who knows everything.

No one knows everything. The political leadership has the information.

How do you coordinate your actions? It's not a secret that all telephone conversations are listened in on, how do you do it?

Regarding messengers and go-betweens, all the guys have walkie-talkies, but they also monitor them, and we know that. I get the impression that they have listening devices installed in all the buildings around us.

Operational vehicles are in place and so on. By the way, I don't regard guys sitting in them as enemies or something like that. They're doing their job,

and they have to do it.

Moreover, I am more than convinced that in law enforcement structures, attitudes toward the regime, the opposition, and the Maidan are very, very ambiguous. Some of them hate us, but that’s a small percentage. Others are sympathetic toward us, because we also have been conducting certain negotiations with law enforcement personnel. Guys come to us and talk. The regime is falling apart. You just need to put enough pressure on it so that they take those political steps.

There are two barricades on Hrushevs’kyi Street. Do you talk at all with Berkut forces? Do you bring them warm tea or coffee? I know that there used to be such initiatives.

I don’t know if we bring them right now. Earlier, when they blocked us in at the Maidan itself, we gave them food. I was against this, not because these cops, these guys, are not friends. They’re also Ukrainians, they simply are on the other side of the barricades. They serve the enemy. But it’s not worth doing. The more they are driven crazy by not getting enough food and so on, the less chances there are that they will go on the offensive and

on the attack, and begin beating people like they’ve done several times. Thus, out of purely pragmatic reasons, I don’t think that we should bring them sandwiches or coffee.

◀ (https://srbpodcast.org/2014/02/07/puss) ▶(https://srbpodcast.org/2014/02/23/answ

(htt
ps:/
/w
ww.
face
boo
(htt
ps:/
/twi
tter.
ps:/
/w
ww.
inst
n.co
ps:/
/w
ww.
link
edi
n.co
ps:/
/itu
nes.
appl
e.co
m/u
s/p
odc
st/
(htt
ps://
sub
scri
beo
nan
droi
d.co
m/f
(htt
ps://
/op
en.s
poti
fy.c
om/
she
(htt
ps://
/w
ww.
ds.p
odc
st
(htt
ps://
/fee
ds.p
odc
st

000 com agi m/c ast/ eed clou s110 CI0U ast
fk.co /sea @am.in om sea s.po d.co W/r d.co mir
m/s /sea com pan ns- dca m/s Erf m/s ror.
ean nsr /the y/th russ dca m/s CLc ean com
srus ussi srb y/th ia- stm rbp dZ9 - /sea
siab abl og) pod e- blog irro odc xba guil n-s-
log/ og) cast srb- /id5 r.co ast) Lwr lory russ
) /) cast pod /id5 m/s m/s FcX /) ia)
)) cast) 979 ean HP
481 -s- C)
26? russ
ls=1 ia)
)

Annex 43

The Washington Post, In Violent Turn, Ukraine Fighting Kills at Least 25 (19 February 2014)

In violent turn, Ukraine fighting kills at least 25

By [Will Englund](#)

February 19, 2014

Deadly clashes between protesters and police in Kiev on Tuesday led to a fire-lit [nighttime assault](#) by Interior Ministry troops on the main protest encampment at Independence Square, in what may be a dramatic and irreversible turn in Ukraine's months-long political crisis.

The 28-nation European Union on Wednesday called a meeting of foreign ministers to decide on its response, including possible sanctions, the Associated Press reported. Sanctions could include travel bans targeting the Ukrainian leadership and asset freezes.

E.U. foreign policy chief Catherine Ashton's office said the special meeting of foreign ministers would weigh the bloc's options Thursday in Brussels, according to the AP.

After weeks of relative calm, trucks and tents burned, molotov cocktails smashed against police shields and banners illuminated by the flames whipped in the strong breeze. At least 25 people were [reported killed](#) and 240 injured in the latest flare-up of protests that began last fall after President Viktor Yanukovich rejected a trade deal with Europe and turned to Russia for financial help.

Police began to push toward the camp early Wednesday. But whether or not they clear the square, Ukraine is heading for an even deeper divide. The hostility that the opposition feels toward Yanukovich is intense and widespread, especially in the western part of the country.

Having turned to Russia for much-needed financial help, Yanukovich may finally have burned his bridges to the West with Tuesday's developments, leaving him in danger of being a weakened and unpopular supplicant to Moscow.

The eruption of violence came after nearly a month in which Yanukovich and opposition political leaders [warily maneuvered](#) over a new constitution. But early Tuesday afternoon, the parliament, or Verkhovna Rada, refused to take up the issue, and what had been a peaceful demonstration quickly turned into three simultaneous street battles.

The leaders of the protest denounced Yanukovich as the assault on the square, also known as the Maidan, began about 8 p.m. local time. They said he had never intended to reach a deal and had used the weeks of talks to prepare a huge police attack.

Yanukovych's spokeswoman, Hanna Herman, told Radio Liberty's Ukrainian service that there would be no further negotiations until the violence stops.

"Negotiations will only take place when the violent methods stop, when the opposition gets its armed people off the street and when calm comes back to the country," she said. "Then it will be necessary to sit at the negotiating table."

Lesya Orobets, an opposition member of parliament, said the protesters fell into a trap laid for them by Yanukovych. She said he had knowingly provoked the hard-line members of a right-wing group called Pravy Sektor, who have formed the most aggressive element of the opposition and who led the fighting when it erupted.

"This massacre has been carefully planned in advance and is intended to eventually destroy any hint of democracy in Ukraine," she wrote on Facebook.

The protests began Nov. 21 when Yanukovych backed away from a trade deal with the European Union, eventually turning to Russia for \$15 billion in support. He can now be assured of European hostility.

The United States condemned the explosion of street violence in Ukraine and said the government bears primary responsibility for restoring calm.

Vice President Biden telephoned Yanukovich to express what the White House called "grave concern" and urged the embattled leader to pull back government forces and immediately resume political discussions with opponents.

Biden "made clear that the United States condemns violence by any side, but that the government bears special responsibility to de-escalate the situation," a White House statement said.

Earlier, White House press secretary Jay Carney said the Obama administration is "appalled" by the violent crackdown on anti-government protesters in the Ukrainian capital.

Washington announced no specific new action, but the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, Geoffrey Pyatt, threatened both sides with sanctions.

"We believe Ukraine's crisis can still be solved via dialogue, but those on both sides who fuel violence will open themselves to sanctions," Pyatt said on Twitter, in both English and Russian.

In Russia, the head of the foreign relations committee of the parliament, Alexei Pushkov, tweeted that Western pressure on Ukraine had "opened the way for radicals."

The Interior Ministry brought water cannons and armored personnel carriers to the edges of the Maidan. The subway was shut down, and authorities said they were closing off road access to Kiev. In

months past, caravans of vehicles, especially from western Ukrainian cities, have often flocked to the capital at times of perceived threats. The country's leading independent television company, Channel 5, went off the air during the evening in much of Ukraine, according to reports.

Inside their own lines, demonstrators sang the Ukrainian national anthem.

"We will not fall for their provocation, but we won't retreat even one step from here, from this Maidan, and we don't have anywhere to retreat to," an opposition leader, Arseniy Yatsenyuk, told the crowd during the evening.

"We remain here; we are defending our Maidan, we are defending our Ukraine, and we are defending our future," Yatsenyuk said.

The Interior Ministry said that at least 13 civilians and seven police officers were killed. There were widely circulated reports of additional deaths.

Early in the evening, Interior Ministry troops and hired civilians — popularly known as "titushki" — could be seen on Web video streams moving down Hrushevsky Street, where violent clashes occurred in January. They stormed Ukraine House, an exhibition center on nearby European Square that had been taken by protesters in January.

Then they turned and moved toward the Maidan.

The fighting had begun in the streets around the parliament, which once had been in the firm control of the police.

Snipers were reported on rooftops. At one point they were confronted on a roof by protesters carrying steel rods, according to witnesses. The snipers withdrew.

Opposition forces stormed the headquarters of the ruling Party of Regions, though it was later retaken by government supporters who said they found the body of an office worker inside.

Several Interior troops were captured by demonstrators, according to reports, and taken to the Maidan as prisoners.

The shift toward violence was abrupt. In recent weeks, an amnesty had led to the release of nearly all those arrested over the winter in connection with the protests, and opposition forces had abandoned the city hall and partially pulled back from Hrushevsky Street.

Parliament, controlled by the Party of Regions, was to consider constitutional changes that would give Ukraine a governing system with a strong parliament and weak president.

But opposition political leaders showed very little trust in Yanukovych even before Tuesday, and their more militant followers have proved difficult to control.

Tuesday's violence led Vitali Klitschko, head of the opposition UDAR party, to declare that Yanukovych must agree to early elections for president and parliament. The next scheduled presidential election is in 2015.

Ashton, the top diplomat for the European Union, said in a statement: "I am deeply worried about the grave new escalation in Kiev and the reported victims. I condemn all use of violence, including against public or party buildings."

The opposition said more than 100 protesters had been injured by police.


"Soldiers, don't take blood onto your hands by protecting these gangsters in power," Yuri Lutsenko, once the interior minister and now a protest leader, said on the stage at the Maidan, according to the Kyiv Post. "If you set foot on the Maidan, this is your choice. Whoever passes this threshold determines their country's future."

He added: "You won't be a traitor if you join us. Show your true soul and hearts."

Anne Gearan contributed to this report.

 **Comments**

Will Englund

Will Englund, a former Moscow correspondent, covers energy. A winner of the Pulitzer Prize, he is the author of "March 1917: On the Brink of War and Revolution." Follow 

Annex 44

The World, Who Were the Maidan Snipers? (14 March 2014)



Agence France-Presse

Who were the Maidan snipers?

GlobalPost

March 14, 2014 · 4:42 PM EDT

By **Guest Writers**



A man suspected of being a sniper and member of the pro-government forces is forced to pay his respects on February 22, 2014 to the mourning place of a victim killed in the clashes in Kyiv.

Credit: BULENT KILIC

Before the current crisis in Crimea, the focal point of tensions in Ukraine was Kyiv's Independence Square. During the bloodiest days of clashes last month, dozens of protesters were shot and killed by sniper fire on the Maidan, as the square came to be known.

By the end of the week, close to a hundred people were dead.



Initial reports seemed to indicate all the sniper fire came from the security forces, but some are now questioning that narrative as Ukraine's interim government investigates who was behind the fatal shootings.

Oleksandr Yakymenko, the former head of Ukraine's Security Service, claimed this week [in an interview with TV channel Rossiya](#) that pro-Maidan (pro-Western) organizers were the ones behind the Feb. 20 shootings.

Yakymenko said the shots came from Kyiv's Philharmonic Hall. That particular building was overseen by the Fatherland Party's deputy Andriy Parubiy, known unofficially as the "commander of Maidan." After President Viktor Yanukovich fled Ukraine, Parubiy assumed the post of Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council for the interim Ukrainian government.

Yakymenko said snipers started shooting at local police forces but then directed their fire on the anti-government protesters fighting the police. After the shooting, some of the snipers moved on to Hotel Ukraine. He added that the Maiden fighters appeared "prepared," leaving the barricades at the first sniper shot.

Yakymenko said Ukrainian nationalist groups Praviy Udar and Svoboda requested his help in clearing out the snipers, but Parubiy wouldn't allow government forces into Maidan-controlled territory. Yakymenko went on to claim that among the snipers were foreign mercenaries. While not making a direct connection between the United States and the snipers, Yakymenko suggested that the US embassy was somehow using Poland to orchestrate the overthrow of (now ousted) Yanukovich.

Pro-Russian news networks were not the only ones that suggested pro-Maidan snipers may have taken part in the shootings.

"The majority of the gunfire seemed to be coming from police lines," [said BBC's Gabriel Gatehouse](#). "But not all of it." Gatehouse said he saw one of the shooters "wearing one of the protesters' green helmets," and shooting from an open window in Hotel Ukraine.

Gatehouse also spoke to British forensic experts on Feb. 24, who examined evidence from the sniper fire. They said the gunfire came primarily from the police. At least one sniper shot from the ground, while three shot from high



vantage points, said the investigators, whose faces were blurred. They all fired in the direction of Hotel Ukraine.

The first suggestion that the snipers might be pro-Maidan supporters came from a leaked phone conversation published by Russia Today — which is funded by the Kremlin — last week. The conversation, [originally posted on YouTube](#), took place on Feb. 25, between European Union Foreign Affairs Chief Catherine Ashton and Estonian Foreign Affairs Minister Urmas Paet.

Paet is heard saying that a medic on site during the shootings said she thought the snipers were shooting at both the police and the protesters. The medic, whom Paet later referred to as "clearly a person with authority," added there was growing understanding that the shooters were not acting on the orders of Yanukovych, but rather the opposition. The Guardian ran with the story cautiously, headlining it with the words "[bugged call reveals conspiracy theory](#)."

The Estonian Foreign Ministry [confirmed the authenticity of the call](#) but rejected the assertion that Paet "was giving an assessment of the opposition's involvement." (Ashton's people declined to respond to several media outlets, saying that they don't comment on leaked information.) According to Russia Today, the video was uploaded by members of Ukraine's Security Service who remain loyal to Yanukovych.

Russia's suggestion has been that the shooters were organized by the opposition to increase outrage against the government.

The Ukrainian authorities investigating the shootings, meanwhile, are looking more closely at Russia's involvement than at Yanukovych's government, [according to the Associated Press](#).

"I think it wasn't just a part of the old regime that (plotted the provocation), but it was also the work of Russian special forces who served and maintained the ideology of the (old) regime," Health Minister Oleh Musiy told the AP.

Interim Interior Minister Arsen Avakov, meanwhile, said the snipers were a "[third force](#)" that was "not Ukrainian."

Sign up for our daily newsletter



Annex 45

BBC News Ukraine, The Maidan Shooting: a Participant's Account (13 February 2015)

(translation)

Translation from Russian

BBC News Ukraine, *The Maidan Shooting: a Participant's Account* (13 February 2015), available at:

https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/ukraine_in_russian/2015/02/150213_ru_s_maidan_shooting

The Maidan Shooting: a Participant's Account

Gabriel Gatehouse
BBC

13 February 2015



Almost a year ago, a day of bloodshed on Kiev's central square marked the end of a long and cold winter of protests against President Viktor Yanukovich, who soon fled the country.

More than 50 protesters and three policemen were killed that day. How did the shooting start?

The protest organisers have denied having anything to do with it. But one person told the BBC a different story.

In the early hours of 20 February 2014, Kiev's Maidan stands divided - Berkut on one side, protesters on the other.

This has been going on for more than two months. But events are moving into a decisive phase. Before the end of the day, more than 50 people will be killed, most of them struck by security agencies' bullets right in the middle of the street.

The violence will hasten the fall of Viktor Yanukovich. Moscow will call the day of February 20 an "armed coup" and use the idea to justify its annexation of Crimea and support for separatists in eastern Ukraine.

The protest leaders, some of whom now hold positions in the government of the new Ukraine, insist that the security forces, who were acting on the instructions from the previous leaders, are fully responsible for the shootings. But a year later, some witnesses are beginning to "paint" a different picture.

What actually happened on the Maidan?

I didn't mean to kill

"I was shooting at the feet," says a man we will call Sergei. He tells me that he took up a position in the Kiev conservatory, which is in the south-west corner of Maidan.

"Of course, I could have hit somebody's arm or something. But I didn't shoot to kill," he adds.

Sergei says he was a regular protester on Maidan for more than a month and his shots at the police in the square and on the roof of the underground shopping centre forced them to retreat.

The shooting had already begun two days earlier, on February 18. On Wednesday, the 19th, it was calmer, but in the evening, Sergei says, he was set up with a man who offered him a choice of two guns: a 12-mm shotgun and a Saiga high-speed hunting rifle.

He chose the latter and hid it in the post office building across the street from the conservatory. Both of these houses were under the control of the protesters.

How the events of 20 February 2014 unfolded

Under an onslaught of protesters, the Interior Ministry units retreated from their positions near Maidan to Institutskaya Street (on the north side of Hotel Ukraine).

The protesters followed them and came under fire from the retreating special units and snipers from nearby buildings.

More than 50 people were killed, the highest number of casualties in the clashes between protesters and police on Maidan.

On the morning of 20 February, when the shooting started, Sergei, according to him, was taken to the conservatory, where he and another man were shooting at the security forces for about 20 minutes; this was before seven o'clock in the morning.

His account is partially corroborated by other witnesses. That same morning, Andrey Shevchenko, then an opposition deputy and an active participant in the protests, received a phone call from the commander of special forces on Maidan.

"He called and said: "Andrei, who is shooting at my guys?" He also specified that they were shooting from the conservatory," Mr Shevchenko said.

He contacted the protesters' chairman, Andrey Parubiy, who was described as the commandant of the Maidan.

"I sent a squad of my best men to search the conservatory and identify the firing positions there," Parubiy said.

Meanwhile, the deputy Andrey Shevchenko received several more phone calls, increasingly panic-stricken: "From time to time, an officer from the Interior Ministry called and said, 'I already have three wounded. I already have five wounded. One dead.'"

Finally, he said: "We are retreating, Andrei, I don't know what is going to happen next". I clearly felt that something bad was going to happen," the deputy said.

Andrey Parubiy, now First Deputy Chairman of the Verkhovnyaya Rada of Ukraine, said his men did not find any shooters at the conservatory.

But a photographer who visited the conservatory later that morning - after 8 o'clock - photographed people with guns there, although he did not see them shooting.

What happened on the Maidan: a photographer's account

Sergei's account differs from what Parubiy says.

"I was just reloading my gun," he told me. - They ran up to me, one pressed me to the ground with his leg and said: "They want to talk to you. It's okay, but don't do it again."

Sergei is sure that it was Andrey Parubiy's envoys who got him out of there, although he did not recognise him by sight. They took him out of the conservatory, drove him out of Kiev in a car and left him outside the city, from where he had to get home himself.

By then three members of security forces had already been fatally wounded and the mass shooting of protesters had begun.

The official investigation focused on what happened afterwards, after the special forces had withdrawn from Maidan. Video footage clearly shows them shooting at protesters as they retreated.



Photos taken by a photographer at the conservatory on the morning of February 20

Only three people were arrested, all of them members of the Berkut special unit. Of the three, only two, low-ranking officers, remain in custody. The stay in custody for Berkut commander Dmytry Sadovnyk was replaced with house arrest, after which he disappeared.

The three Berkut officers are accused of involvement in the killing of 39 people. But at least ten other protesters were killed and three members of the special forces died of their wounds.

It is almost certain that some of the victims were killed by snipers who likely fired from tall buildings near Maidan.

The attorneys for the victims and sources in the Prosecutor General's Office told the BBC that when it comes to investigating the deaths, which Berkut had nothing to do with, all their efforts are blocked by the courts.

"In Yanukovych's time it was a Bermuda triangle: the prosecutor's office, the police and the court," Andrey Shevchenko says. - Everyone knew about their cooperation. They covered for each other, and it was the basis of large-scale corruption all over the country. These ties are still intact," the interlocutors say.

Different versions of a conspiracy

Earlier this week, Ukraine's Prosecutor General Vitaliy Yarema, who was heavily criticised for the way he handled the investigation, was sacked.

Meanwhile, there are different conspiracy theories.

"I am convinced that snipers who came from Russia and were controlled from there were behind the February 20 shooting," Andrey Parubiy, a former Maidan commandant says.

"The shooters wanted to drown Maidan in blood," he adds.

This is the position held by many Ukrainians. In Russia, however, many believe the opposite: that Maidan was a Western project inspired by the CIA to move Ukraine out of Moscow's orbit. Neither side adds convincing evidence to their claims.

The vast majority of the Maidan protesters were peaceful, unarmed citizens who had endured months of bitter cold, demanding changes in the corrupt government. As far as is known, all those who fell on 20 February were unarmed.

Maidan leaders have always stressed that they did everything they could to ensure that there was no fire on the Maidan.

"We knew that our strength lay in not using force. To start shooting would have been weakness," Mr Shevchenko notes.

Andrey Parubiy admits that a small group of armed protesters could have infiltrated Maidan; in that case it would have been a spontaneous and disorganised response to the violence of the security forces in the previous days.

"I heard that after the February 18 shooting, some came to Maidan with hunting rifles. As I was told, these may have been relatives or parents of those who died on the 18th. So, I admit that

there could have been people with hunting rifles on the Maidan. When the snipers started killing our guys one by one, I can assume that the owners of hunting rifles opened fire," he said.

Sergei's version is different again. According to him, he was recruited as a would-be shooter in late January. It was done by a man he describes as a retired military officer. Sergei himself also used to be in the military.

"We started communicating and he took me under his wing. He saw something in me that he liked. Officers are good psychologists, they see what someone is capable of. He kept me close," Sergei said.

That former officer refused to let him join any militant groups that were active on the Maidan: "Your time will come yet," he said.

Or were they preparing him psychologically to take up arms?

"We didn't develop precise plans. But we talked about it among ourselves, and he was preparing me," the interlocutor replies.

The identity of that man remains uncertain, as well as whether he belonged to any of the known Maidan groups.

Many things are still unknown to us - for example, who first opened fire on February 20.

As for conspiracy theories, perhaps Sergei was manipulated and became a pawn in a larger game. He himself sees it differently. In his own words, he was a simple protester and took up arms in self-defence.

"I didn't want to shoot anyone, to kill anyone. But the situation demanded it. I don't feel like a hero. On the contrary, I don't sleep well and have misgivings. I try to control myself, but I get nervous all the time. I have nothing to be proud of. Shooting is easy. Living afterwards is difficult. But you have to defend your country," he says.

Annex 46

Reuters, Leaked Audio Reveals Embarrassing U.S. Exchange on Ukraine, EU (7 February 2014)

9/26/22, 3:11 PM

Leaked audio reveals embarrassing U.S. exchange on Ukraine, EU | Reuters

**REUTERS**

World

Business

Markets

Breakingviews

Video

More

**EMERGING MARKETS**

FEBRUARY 7, 2014 / 4:23 AM / UPDATED 9 YEARS AGO

Leaked audio reveals embarrassing U.S. exchange on Ukraine, EU

By Doina Chiacu, Arshad Mohammed



WASHINGTON (Reuters) - A conversation between a State Department official and the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine that was posted on YouTube revealed an embarrassing exchange on U.S. strategy for a political transition in that country, including a crude American swipe at the European Union.

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs Victoria Nuland (C) and U.S. Ambassador Geoffrey Pyatt walk in the opposition camp at Independence Square in Kiev in this December 10, 2013, file photo. REUTERS/Vasily Fedosenko/Files

U.S. accusations that Russia helped publicize the taped conversation also threatened Washington's already tense relationship with Moscow.

The audio clip, which was posted on Tuesday but gained wide circulation on Thursday, appears to show the official, Assistant Secretary of State Victoria Nuland, weighing in on the make-up of the next Ukrainian government.

Nuland is heard telling U.S. Ambassador Geoffrey Pyatt that she doesn't think Vitaly Klitschko, the boxer-turned-politician who is a main opposition leader, should be in a new government.

"So I don't think Klitsch (Klitschko) should go into the government," she said in the recording, which appeared to describe events that occurred in late January. "I don't think it's necessary. I don't think it's a good idea."

Separately on Thursday, a senior Kremlin aide accused the United States of arming Ukrainian "rebels" and warned Russia could intervene to maintain the security of its neighbor.

U.S. officials, while declining to confirm the recording's contents, did not dispute its authenticity.

"I did not say it was not authentic," State Department spokeswoman Jen Psaki said at a news briefing.

Psaki also criticized Russian officials' publicizing of the tape as "a new low in Russian tradecraft" and denied Washington was trying to meddle or engineer a particular outcome in Kiev.

"Absolutely not," she said. "It should be no surprise that U.S. officials talk about issues around the world. Of course we do. That's what diplomats do."

US-EU TENSIONS ON UKRAINE

The floating of the audio is an ironic turnabout of sorts for the United States, which snooped on the leaders of allied nations, according to classified documents made public by former National Security Agency contractor Edward Snowden.

The audio posted on YouTube, along with a second one that captures a reported conversation between senior EU diplomats, reveal apparent rifts between the United States and EU over how to handle Ukraine.

In the first audio, Nuland and Pyatt are heard discussing strategies to work with the three main opposition figures: Klitschko, Arseny Yatseniuk, former Ukrainian economy minister, and Oleh Tyahnybok, the far-right nationalist opposition leader.

Nuland referred to getting the United Nations involved in a political solution in Kiev.

“So that would be great, I think, to help glue this thing and have the U.N. help glue it and you know ... fuck the EU,” she said in the recording, which was accompanied by still pictures of people mentioned in the call.

Pyatt responded: “Exactly. And I think we’ve got to do something to make it stick together because you can be pretty sure that if it does start to gain altitude, the Russians will be working behind the scenes to try to torpedo it.”

Psaki said Nuland had apologized to her EU counterparts for the reported comments.

The date of the conversation was not specified but the events it describes appeared to have taken place in the last days of January.

The second recording, purporting to be a conversation between two EU officials, was posted on the same day from the same YouTube account, which has previously carried video showing

individuals in response to violence against anti-government protests.

“It’s very annoying that the Americans are going around criticizing the EU and saying we are too soft,” Schmid tells Jan Tombinski, the EU ambassador to Ukraine.

A spokeswoman for Ashton said the EU would not comment on a “leaked alleged” conversation.

The simultaneous release of the recordings appeared designed to both discredit the Western powers’ involvement in Ukraine and, possibly, to drive a wedge between Brussels and Washington.

‘PUPPETS OF MAIDAN’

Nuland met on Thursday with Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich to discuss a solution to anti-government protests that have swept the former Soviet republic since November. They discussed political reform and possible further negotiations between Yanukovich and opposition leaders, his website said.

Yanukovich later flew to Sochi, Russia, where the Winter Olympics are due to open on Friday evening. He was expected to meet there with Russian President Vladimir Putin.

Posted anonymously, the first audio clip was headlined “Puppets of Maidan” - clearly aiming to portray opposition leaders as stooges of the U.S. diplomats, who were discussing how the opposition might take up an offer from Yanukovich to form a government.

“Maidan,” the Ukrainian word for “square,” serves as the name of the whole protest movement that started in Kiev’s central Independence Square in November. Critics of Yanukovich have been occupying the square nonstop ever since.

NOW READING Leaked audio reveals embarrassing U.S. exchange on Ukraine, EU

Protests began when Yanukovich spurned an EU trade agreement last year in pursuit of closer ties with Russia. Protesters have since taken over public buildings and staged mass rallies, sometimes clashing violently with police, in the capital Kiev and other cities.

“I think (Yatseniuk) is the guy who’s got the economic experience, the governing experience. What he needs is (Klitschko) and (Tyahnybok) on the outside. He needs to be talking to them four times a week,” Nuland said in the recording.

Pyatt suggested Nuland contact Klitschko personally to play to his “top dog” sensibilities.

“I think you reaching out directly to him helps with the personality management among the three and it gives you also a chance to move fast on all this stuff and put us behind it before they all sit down and he explains why he doesn’t like it,” he said.

Additional reporting Steve Holland in Washington, Gabriela Baczynska and Alistair Macdonald in Ukraine; Writing by Doina Chiacu; Editing by Warren Strobel, Cynthia Osterman and Ken Wills

Our Standards: [The Thomson Reuters Trust Principles.](#)

[Apps](#) [Newsletters](#) [Advertise with Us](#) [Advertising Guidelines](#) [Cookies](#) [Terms of Use](#) [Privacy](#)
[Do Not Sell My Personal Information](#)



All quotes delayed a minimum of 15 minutes. See here for a complete list of exchanges and delays.

© 2022 Reuters. All Rights Reserved.

Annex 47

Russia Today, Kiev Snipers Shooting From Bldg Controlled by Maidan Forces – Ex-Ukraine
Security Chief (13 March 2014)

RT

QUESTION MORE

LIVE

13 Mar, 2014 02:25 / [Home](#) / [World News](#)

Kiev snipers shooting from bldg controlled by Maidan forces – Ex-Ukraine security chief



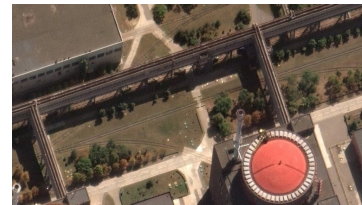
Reuters / Konstantin Chernichkin © Reuters

Former chief of Ukraine's Security Service has confirmed allegations that snipers who killed dozens of people during the violent unrest in Kiev operated from a building controlled by the opposition on Maidan square.

[Read full interview with Aleksandr Yakimenko](#)

Shots that killed both civilians and police officers were fired from the Philharmonic Hall building in Ukraine's capital, former head of the Security Service of Ukraine Aleksandr Yakimenko told Russia 1 channel. The building was under full control of the opposition and particularly the so-called Commandant of Maidan self-defense Andrey Parubiy who after the coup was appointed as the Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine, Yakimenko added.

Top stories



US threatens Russia with 'catastrophic consequences'

Putin names Russia's top priority in Donbass referendums

Dmitry Trenin: Russia and the US still have time to learn the lessons of the Cuban missile crisis and prevent a nuclear war

ANALYSIS

Roger Waters pens open letter to Putin

Donbass republic estimates timing of referendum results

Ex-Russian president weighs in on use of nukes against Ukraine

NASA completes

Furthermore the former security chief believes that Parubiy has been in contact with US Special Forces that could have coordinated the assault.

“Shots came from the Philharmonic Hall. Maidan Commandant Parubiy was responsible for this building. Snipers and people with automatic weapons were ‘working’ from this building on February 20. They supported the assault on the Interior Ministry forces on the ground who were already demoralized and have, in fact, fled,” Yakimenko said in an interview with Russian television.

The police officers were chased by a group of rioters armed with various weapons and at that point, Yakimenko says snipers fired at pursuers themselves.

“When the first wave of shootings ended, many have witnessed 20 people leaving the building,” former chief says, noting that they were well-equipped and were carrying military style bag for carrying sniper and assault rifles with optical sights. Not only the law enforcers, but people from the opposition’s Freedom, Right Sector, Fatherland, and Klitschko’s UDAR party have also seen this, Yakimenko claims.

The former security head also said that according to the intelligence those snipers could be foreigners, including mercenaries from former Yugoslavia as well former Special Forces employees from Ukraine’s Defense Ministry.

Yakimenko claims that Parubiy was part of a group that was heavily influenced by the people associated with the US secret services. *“These were the forces that carried out everything that they were told by their leadership – the United States,”* Yakimenko explained, claiming that Maidan leaders practically lived in the US embassy.



‘planetary defense’ test

Russian gas pipelines could have been sabotaged – Tagesspiegel

Subscribe to RT newsletter to get news highlights of the day right in your mailbox

E-mail

- We offer you the possibility to receive RT’s news highlights every Monday, Wednesday and Friday by email.



RT Features

Kiev snipers shooting from bldg controlled by Maidan forces – Ex-Uk...

<https://www.rt.com/news/ukraine-snipers-security-chief-438/>



According to Yakimenko, during the massacre the opposition leaders contacted him and asked him to deploy special force unit to scoop out the snipers from buildings in central Kiev, but Parubiy made sure that won't happen.

"The Right Sector and Freedom Party have requested me to use the Alpha group to cleanse these buildings, stripping them from snipers," Yakimenko said. According to him Ukrainian troops were ready to move in and eliminate the shooters.

"I was ready to do it, but in order to go inside Maidan I had to get the sanction from Parubiy. Otherwise the 'self-defense' would attack me in the back. Parubiy did not give such consent," Yakimenko said noting that the Maidan leader had full authority over the access to weapons on Maidan, and not a single gun including a sniper rifle could get in or out of the square.

Aleksandr Yakimenko's account supports previously voiced concerns over unknown snipers shooting both protesters and the police indiscriminately – who were the topic of the recently leaked phone [conversation](#) between EU's Catherine Ashton and Estonian Foreign Minister Urmas Paet.

In a leaked phone conversation that took place February 26 Ashton and Paet discussed rumors that snipers were hired by some of the opposition leaders.

"There is now stronger and stronger understanding that behind the snipers, it was not Yanukovich, but it was somebody from the new coalition," Paet said during the conversation. *"I think we do want to*



Hijab of contention: Death of a young woman has sparked mass protests in Iran. What's next? FEATURE











How Yemen's Cold War-era revolution set the stage for today's devastating Western-backed war FEATURE



Saints, dog dictatorship and supercops from St. Petersburg: 600 years of Russian comics FEATURE

Podcasts

[All podcasts](#)

-  Dishonoring peace? Adriel Kasonta, political analyst and risk consultant
0:00 28:53   
-  CrossTalk, HOME EDITION: Self-determination
0:00 26:22   

investigate. I mean, I didn't pick that up, that's interesting. Gosh," Ashton answered.

Almost 100 people were killed and another 900 injured during the violent standoff near Maidan Square in Kiev last month that forced president Yanukovich out of the country and installed a new government. Ukrainian self-proclaimed authorities maintain that the shooting was authorized by Yanukovich.

On Wednesday Moscow suggested setting up a [probe](#) to investigate the crimes perpetrated by extremist and armed elements of the opposition over the past three months. The proposal to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) also seeks to examine the legitimacy of the post-coup Ukrainian government.

EUROMAIDANNEWS

You can share this story on social media:

Trends: [Maidan turmoil](#), [Ukraine turmoil](#)



From Around the World

Annex 48

Global Research, Who was Maidan Snipers' Mastermind? (5 June 2014)







Italiano Deutsch Português srpski العربية 中
 Notre site en Français: mondialisation.
 Nuestro sitio en español: Globalizacio
 Asia-Pacific Resear

[US Nato War](#) [Economy](#) [Civil Rights](#) [Environment](#) [Poverty](#) [Media](#) [Justice](#) [9/11](#) [War Crimes](#) [Militarization](#) [History](#) [Science](#)

Who was Maidan Snipers' Mastermind?

By [Adam Larson](#)

Global Research, June 05, 2014
[Oriental Review](#) 29 May 2014

Region: Russia and FSU

Theme: Police State & Civil Rights, US NATO War Agenda



First published by Oriental Review and Global Research on May 30, 2014

The probe into the Maidan "snipers problem" – by the new Ukrainian government underwritten by it – continues. On May 13, the fascinating interim findings were partly revealed, at a press conference called by parliamentary investigation head Gennady Moskal. Bullet forensics exonerated the previously blamed Berkut security force. Something in the findings also placed the unidentified shooters somewhere – unspecified – among "the ranks of the protesters." It could even have been the EuroMaidan militants, he admitted, but MP Moskal thought infiltrators from the government's security service SBU made more sense.

He predicted decades of debate with no resolution, and a week later he announced that a number of key documents were destroyed, complicating the search. But whatever led the investigators to this apparently dead-end admission, it seemed like a break in the script that put the snipers in areas secured by the government of then-president Viktor Yanukovich. For those following the details, the May 13 revelation seemed like a bit of realism creeping in.

But then the current Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council – **Andriy Parubiy** – stepped forward, hinting at a divergent probe delving further into fantasy. His investigation blames Russia and Vladimir Putin for the snipers, even though it was Parubiy – not Putin – who was supposed to secure the "EuroMaidan" where, the evidence increasingly says, the problem snipers operated.

Sniper Commandant?



Andriy Parubiy

While he insists he's not a fascist, Andriy Parubiy co-founded the Nazi-inspired Social National party, now Svoboda, in the 1990s. Outwardly, he went mainstream early on, and joined Yulia Tymoshenko's Fatherland party, running security operations on the Maidan for the 2004 "Orange Revolution."

In 2013-14's more violent regime-change "protests," he was given the same responsibility. As Euromaidan Commandant and head of the Self-Defense Committee, he was in charge of security for areas where the mob's authority had overridden the government's.

We now know (partly from MP Moskal) that – on the pivotal day of February 20, which will remain the main focus of this report – sniper shots first hit police forces, and came from buildings Parubiy controlled. Ukraine's previous head of the Security Service (SBU) **Alexander Yakimenko** said so in March, after fleeing to Russia. When the Commandant proved unable to stop the sniping, which everyone claimed to be against, Yakimenko says he offered to send in a unit to help. He only needed a guarantee his men wouldn't be shot by Parubiy's, but he says that was denied. From all this, the SBU chief deduced **the snipers were under Parubiy's command and protection.**

In truth, this failure to stop the killing could be due to malice, or incompetence, or some mix. Whatever the case, the resulting bloodshed was all but necessary for the Kiev Cabal to finally take over. And considering his eminent competence, they made Parubiy security chief for all of Ukraine as soon as they could.

Sniper Investigator?

Reports from early March, before the Yakimenko accusations, spoke of a parliamentary investigation Parubiy himself was selected to lead. The apparent conflict of interest may, or may not, be why MP Moskal now seems to be in charge of that.

But in a [May 21 interview](#) for *Euractiv*, Parubiy speaks of a probe that sounds different, a probe blaming Russian Special forces – Spetsnaz – for penetrating his security cordon. Asked about the snipers, with the note "you must have first-hand information," he sidestepped his own direct knowledge and told *Euractiv*:

9/26/22, 3:26 PM

Who was Maidan Snipers' Mastermind? - Global ResearchGlobal Research - Centre for Research on Globalization

"Now that we are conducting investigations, we have found that 18 Spetsnaz, including snipers, were in Maidan. The investigation will reveal from which points they were shooting, but I can already say that they did everything they could to spill blood and provoke civil unrest."

...

"We have a working hypothesis which would be confirmed or rejected by the investigation, that in the most difficult days they shot equally – at Berkut and at the Maidan activists. Their aim was to instigate a more violent civic unrest ... that Russia could warm its hands at this fire."

...

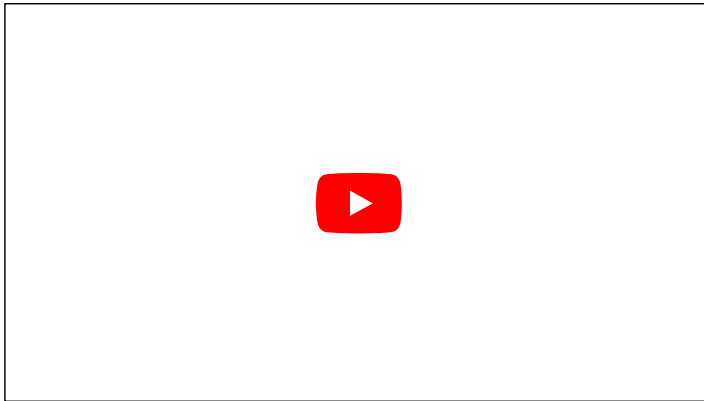
"We know that Russian snipers shot at both sides."

As Washington's Blog noted in March, "everyone agrees that the snipers were false flag terrorists sewing chaos and confusion. ... they only disagree about *who* the responsible party is." This is another example, and (as we'll see) the worst theory yet. And just look at who is trying to feed it to us.

Master Thug

From February 18-20, security forces and civilians were, as Parubiy says, killed somewhat "equally" by these snipers to create "violent civic unrest." But there was a telling pattern to how different parts of that were timed.

First, consider how ten unarmed policemen were shot dead the night of February 18th, forcing a decision to bring in armed security forces. That allowed later killings to be realistically blamed on them, as happened. (Were these the same provocateurs present a day and a half later, or a different shift?)



By the 20th, a force was assembled on the Maidan adequate to stomp the police out by noon and shoot the Berkut out of their nearest posts by 12:45. They even blocked the train bringing in the Army support, and readied to march up to the central government's buildings and stomp whomever they wished. This force was under Parubiy's leadership no later than his announcement early on the 21st that "all the leaders of the hundreds are declaring their consent to coordinated action, including the hundreds of the Right Sector ... We're in control of Kiev. We have seized control of the government quarter."

It was only at that shift in power that Parubiy "Spetsnaz snipers" unleashed their main killing spree. On video and within bare minutes, they picked off at least 30 unarmed civilians sent in behind the Hotel Ukraine, to top off "Heaven's Hundred." That is, **this un-ambiguous, unforgivable "Yanukovych crime"** was delivered as soon as the natural punishment for it had been placed.

Commandant Parubiy, who oversaw the distribution and timing of much of that violence, couldn't deny its pattern helped them, as he said to *Euractiv*, "oust Yanukovich." That prompted the question:

Q: So you recognize that you ousted Yanukovich?

A: Yes. He ran away.

Q: But he ran away because he was afraid for his life?

A: Yes of course. After so many deaths and such national tension, he understood that if he didn't run away, the personal consequences could be very bad.

Under this plausible threat, the president fled. An 1:36 pm announcement from the Maidan ordered members of Parliament to meet at 3:00 to vote him out for good. They were given "a guarantee that the Parliament would not be stormed during the session." The "hundreds" just snatched that option, but promised not to use it – unless maybe they were provoked by a wrong vote. In the end most of Parliament was willing to show up on the 22nd instead, and those agreed *unanimously* to impeach Yanukovych – and not be stomped. After all, Parubiy's Maidan machine still controlled Kiev.

Confirming Yakimenko's Charges

When he spoke on May 13, investigation head Gennady Moskal did not specify any sniper perches, just implied that they were behind the lines Parubiy was in charge of. By noon on the 20th, this had expanded to include at least the Maidan at large, the Trade Unions Hall (Maidan HQ), the Conservatory, and Hotel Ukraine. The October Palace and unknown other buildings fell into his hands just after noon.

9/26/22, 3:26 PM

Who was Maidan Snipers' Mastermind? - Global Research Global Research - Centre for Research on Globalization



Former SBU chief Yakimenko said in March the first shots “came from the Philharmonic Hall,” probably meaning the (musical) Conservatory. After that, “many have witnessed 20 people leaving the building” with their sniper gear in bags. These “split into two groups – 10 men each.” One of these “took a position at the Ukraine hotel,” right next-door, and “the Security Service lost track” of the other sniper team.

Parubiy must know by now where the snipers were, but he doesn’t want to tell us yet. The probe “will reveal from which points they were shooting,” he promises.

Yakimenko said “no weapons could be brought to Maidan without Parubiy’s permission. Hand guns, rifles, scopes – he had to agree to all of that.”

In one report, Parubiy gave a rough count of those armed with handguns – about 100. But he said “those people are not ours, they are unorganized,” just like the snipers. “This is kind of a problem.” This when he also said “we created a headquarters in the Maidan and we will not tolerate any action without coordinating with it.”

As mentioned above, Yakimenko says he offered to help Parubiy flush out the gunmen, but was rebuffed. If true, that suggests either a criminal denial of his incompetence, or the commandant’s active approval of the killing.

The SBU chief has a 20-man sniper team in Parubiy’s turf. The man who would know might refer to the same group when he speaks of “18 Spetsnaz, including snipers.” Maybe 20 was a visual estimate, and the “Russians” split up into groups of nine?

One might expect Parubiy to be embarrassed that his own secured buildings were so infiltrated, but he puts the villains “in Maidan.” The original claims of February had the snipers in or on government-held buildings further southeast. Why can’t he just say that now? Why openly claim such a humiliating security breach unless the alternative is even worse?

Parubiy even claims he failed to stop the snipers on the way back out. After sneaking in and unleashing this mayhem, they walked away from the Maidan undetected, and “I think they escaped from Ukraine,” he told *Euractiv*.

But it was reported at the time that **two snipers were caught by his teams, one at least in the Hotel Ukraine**. At mid-day on the 20th, an official tweet said, “members of Maidan Self-Defense captured one of the snipers. He is currently in Maidan headquarters.” But a different “Maidan commandant” – Stepan Kubiv – said he was just there and didn’t hear any such thing. A message of the 21st said a “sniper was caught on the 10th floor of the Hotel Ukraina ... Personality to be identified,” but it never was. A later one heard that “Maidan activists caught two snipers” total, but the source said nothing about their fate or identities.

If they were caught red-handed, why doesn’t Parubiy mention these snipers now? Did they even exist, outside these vague reports? Were they real, but managed to escape? Or did Parubiy order them released? The balance of reasons suggests the killers were under his command and protection, as Yakimenko said, and as the evidence always suggested.

Clearly Commandant Parubiy, of the February “Failures,” is not the best one to be speaking about the Maidan snipers. Expect the May interview to be his last word on that bloodshed.

Postscript: “Ensuring Peace and Safety”

In more promising areas, Andriy Parubiy remains the go-to guy. As the head of Ukraine’s National Security and Defense Council, he’s now tasked with the brutal and confusing “anti-terrorist” operation in eastern Ukraine, and apparently in Odessa. This he wages with a “National Guard” that grew out of his murky Maidan machine, against those Ukrainians who dare to vote against the Kiev Cabal, pushing Ukraine deeper into civil war territory with violence he always blames on “Russian terrorists.”

Helping overturn two popular votes for Yanukovich, ensuring a third overthrow will never be needed, plus his new “security” work, has earned Parubiy friends in the “Democratic” West. He spoke to *Euractiv* while in Brussels, he said, “to participate in a session of the Ukraine-NATO working group” regarding the Russian “hybrid war” against Ukraine. As he explained it:

“When we speak about fighting terrorists, the best way is to find their centre of coordination, of financing. In this case, this centre is one person, it is Putin. That’s why I say – we have no crisis in Slavyansk, in Donetsk, in Luhansk. We have a crisis in Putin’s head. ... if Putin succeeds in Ukraine, nobody can tell where his tanks will be tomorrow. ... To stop Putin is not only Ukraine’s major goal. It should be the goal of the entire civilized world.”

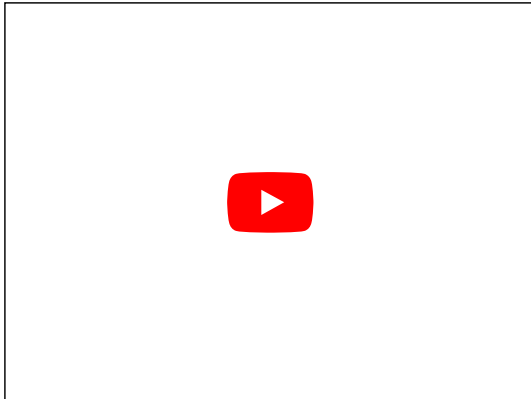
In Parubiy’s dangerously unhinged thinking, even the massacre at the Trade Unions building in Odessa on May 2 “was a classic provocation in which pro-Russian groups had to seize the administration buildings in the same way it happened in Donetsk and Luhansk.” But this time, the anti-Putsch activists were clearly chased in, and followed in, by an ultra-nationalist lynch mob. He also contradicts himself by claiming the building was already “a kind of headquarters for the separatists,” where “the substance that provoked the blaze” was brought in by them “a long time ago.”

That’s why, he says, “when Molotov cocktails were thrown from the fourth floor at the participants of the Ukrainian rally, the substance inflamed” and an “explosion happened.”

9/26/22, 3:26 PM

Who was Maidan Snipers' Mastermind? - Global Research Global Research - Centre for Research on Globalization

Of course, on-site video and photos prove this was terrorism, and it seems the mob torched the building largely to hide their brutal murder of perhaps 272 citizens. That Parubiy was there to help coordinate it, after attending a top-level April 24 meeting to plan the Odessa "counter-terrorist" operation, makes it seem like **state-sponsored terrorism**. A former deputy head of the Odessa police, now fled to Donetsk, **blames Parubiy** for personally organizing the massacre. He was seen there on April 29th, **delivering bulletproof vests** to one Mykola Volkov – a criminal deputized as a "sotnik" (the term used for commanders of "hundreds" on the Maidan). Volkov was **later seen shooting a pistol** at the Trade Unions building, wearing a bulletproof vest, and phoning in a false story – possibly to Parubiy himself.



With Ukrainians all united but Moscow's agents everywhere, the "security" chief told *Euractiv*, they needed an "overhaul" of "the entire security and defense sector," and maybe civil society too, including "criminal groups" and "ethnic groups."

The NATO allies had just heard the same and understood, promising "extensive support to the Ukrainian delegation" – including this **false-flagging fascist thug** – considering **their "crucial role in ensuring peace and safety in Europe and the world."** Further, they "expressed readiness" to help in "reform" of the Parubiy's defense and security sectors.

Events in Odessa, Maruipol, and elsewhere might have convinced the Cabal's double-speaking Western allies that civil society "overhauls" are best left to Parubiy and his "Ukrainian rally" types.

The original source of this article is *Oriental Review*
Copyright © Adam Larson, *Oriental Review*, 2014

[Comment on Global Research Articles on our Facebook page](#)

[Become a Member of Global Research](#)

Related Articles from our Archives

The Kiev Sniper Probe: Coup Leaders Behind February 20 Maidan Sniper Killings of Civilians and Police
18 May 2014

Ukraine Sniper Attacks Were a "False Flag" Operation. Who is the Culprit?
9 March 2014

False Flag? The Kiev Maidan Snipers, They Fired On Both Police and Protesters
1 March 2015



Articles by:

Adam Larson

Disclaimer: The contents of this article are of sole responsibility of the author(s). The Centre for Research on Globalization will not be responsible for any inaccurate or incorrect statement in this article. The Centre of Research on Globalization grants permission to cross-post Global Research articles on community internet sites as long the source and copyright are acknowledged together with a hyperlink to the original Global Research article. For publication of Global Research articles in print or other forms including commercial internet sites, contact: publications@globalresearch.ca
www.globalresearch.ca contains copyrighted material the use of which has not always been specifically authorized by the copyright owner. We are making such material available to our readers under the provisions of "fair use" in an effort to advance a better understanding of political, economic and social issues. The material on this site is distributed without profit to those who have expressed a prior interest in receiving it for research and educational purposes. If you wish to use copyrighted material for purposes other than "fair use" you must request permission from the copyright owner.

For media inquiries: publications@globalresearch.ca

Global Research News
I-BOOKS SERIES
Countries Index
Most Popular
Links
Contact
Membership
Online Store

Themes

US NATO War Agenda
Global Economy
Crimes against Humanity
Militarization and WMD
Law and Justice
Police State & Civil Rights
History
9/11 & 'War on Terrorism'
Media Disinformation

Militarization and WMD
Oil and Energy
Police State & Civil Rights
Religion
Poverty & Social Inequality
Science and Medicine
United Nations
US NATO War Agenda
Women's Rights

Geographic Regions

Annex 49

The New York Times, U.S. Points to Russia as Diplomats' Private Call Is Posted on Web (6 February 2014)

9/26/22, 3:49 PM

U.S. Points to Russia as Diplomats' Private Call Is Posted on Web - The New York Times

The New York Times<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/07/world/europe/us-points-to-russia-as-diplomats-private-call-is-posted-on-web.html>

U.S. Points to Russia as Diplomats' Private Call Is Posted on Web

By Peter Baker

Feb. 6, 2014



Viktor F. Yanukovich, president of Ukraine, and Victoria Nuland, the assistant secretary of state for European affairs, met in Kiev on Thursday.

Pool photo by Mykhailo Markiv

WASHINGTON — After months of taking grief for snooping on foreign leaders, the Obama administration found itself on the other side on Thursday after a private telephone call between two American diplomats appeared on the Internet in a breach that the White House tied to Russia.

In the recording, an assistant secretary of state and the ambassador to Ukraine are heard talking about the political crisis in Kiev, their views of how it might be resolved, their assessments of the various opposition leaders and their frustrations with their European counterparts. At one point, the assistant secretary uses an expletive in a reference to the European Union.

The conversation opened a window into the American handling of the crisis and could easily inflame passions in Kiev, Brussels and Moscow, where the role of the United States has been controversial. The White House on Thursday suggested that Russia, which has jockeyed with the United States and Europe for influence in Ukraine, played some role in the interception or dissemination of the conversation.

“The video was first noted and tweeted out by the Russian government,” Jay Carney, the White House press secretary, told reporters. “I think it says something about Russia’s role.”

Asked if he was accusing Russia of recording the conversation, Mr. Carney said: “I’m not. I’m just noting that they tweeted it out.”

In a later briefing, Jen Psaki, the State Department spokeswoman, said she had no information about who posted the recording but criticized Moscow for promoting it. “Certainly we think this is a new low in Russian tradecraft,” she said.

Another administration official privately confirmed the authenticity of the tape, which was posted anonymously on YouTube on Tuesday under a Russian headline, “Puppets of Maidan,” referring to the square occupied by protesters, and reported on Thursday by the Kyiv Post.



A link to the secret recording was sent out in a Twitter message earlier Thursday by the account of Dmitry Loskutov, an aide to Russia's deputy prime minister. "Sort of controversial judgment from Assistant Secretary of State Victoria Nuland speaking about the EU," the message said, clearly trying to drive a wedge between the United States and Europe.

Obama administration officials took that as confirmation of their suspicion that the conversation was intercepted or at least disseminated by Russia's government, which has sheltered Edward J. Snowden, the National Security Agency contractor who exposed American eavesdropping of foreign leaders like Angela Merkel of Germany.

While the revelation prompted the White House to cancel surveillance of friendly foreign leaders like Ms. Merkel, administration officials defended themselves by noting that many governments spy on American officials as well. American diplomats have long assumed that their telephone calls were tapped by Moscow, but rarely if ever have the Russians made recordings public.

The administration official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, said the fact that this one was made public was a sign of desperation by the Russians, who in this view are trying to stop the Americans from brokering a settlement of the standoff between President Viktor F. Yanukovich and the Ukrainian opposition. It came to light even as Ms. Nuland was in Kiev on Thursday talking with both Mr. Yanukovich and opposition leaders.

Mr. Loskutov, responding to messages from a reporter on Twitter, rejected the American assertion that he was first to disseminate the recording. "Disseminating started earlier," he wrote in English, adding that his Twitter post was being "used to hang the blame" on Russia. Asked if Russia had any role, he said: "How would I know? I was just monitoring 'the Internets' while my boss was off to a meeting with the Chinese leader."

In the recorded call, Ms. Nuland and the ambassador, Geoffrey Pyatt, were talking about an offer made on Jan. 25 by Mr. Yanukovich to bring two opposition leaders, Arseniy P. Yatsenyuk and Vitali Klitschko, into the government as prime minister and deputy prime minister, respectively. The two Americans described Mr. Yatsenyuk, a former economics minister, in favorable terms, but viewed Mr. Klitschko, a former world heavyweight boxing champion now serving in Parliament, more warily.

"The Klitschko piece is obviously the complicated electron here," Mr. Pyatt said.

Ms. Nuland suggested that Mr. Klitschko should not go into the government. "I don't think it's necessary," she said. "I don't think it's a good idea."

Mr. Pyatt concurred. "In terms of him not going into the government, just let him sort of stay out and do his political homework and stuff," the ambassador said. "I'm just thinking in terms of sort of the process moving ahead; we want to keep the moderate democrats together."

Ms. Nuland described Mr. Yatsenyuk as "the guy who's got the economic experience, the governing experience," and said Mr. Klitschko's working for him was "just not going to work." Mr. Pyatt called Mr. Klitschko the "top dog" among the opposition leaders and suggested that Ms. Nuland call him directly.

9/26/22, 3:49 PM

U.S. Points to Russia as Diplomats' Private Call Is Posted on Web - The New York Times

Ms. Nuland seemed frustrated that European leaders had not put enough pressure on Mr. Yanukovich to respond to protesters upset with his decision not to sign a trade agreement with the European Union. She told Mr. Pyatt that Ban Ki-moon, the United Nations secretary general, was preparing to send an envoy to Ukraine, which would “help glue this thing and to have the U.N. glue it.”

“And you know,” she said, and then used an expletive to say what could be done to “the E.U.”

“Exactly,” Mr. Pyatt said. He expressed concern that “the Russians will be working behind the scenes to try to torpedo it,” and agreed that there would be value in an “international personality” traveling to Kiev to “midwife this thing.”

Ms. Nuland said that she could get Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. to call Mr. Yanukovich for “an atta boy” encouraging moves to work with the opposition, and that “Biden’s willing.”

Ultimately, Mr. Yatsenyuk and Mr. Klitschko declined to join the government later on Jan. 25. Mr. Biden called Mr. Yanukovich three days later, the day Prime Minister Mykola Azarov stepped down. Protests continue.

Ms. Nuland was in Kiev on Thursday trying to broker a deal to de-escalate the confrontation by assuring amnesty for protesters, moving demonstrations back from public buildings and restarting negotiations. Over a longer term, the Obama administration is trying to persuade Mr. Yanukovich to make constitutional and electoral changes that would allow for opposition participation in government and eventually lead to economic assistance from the International Monetary Fund.

Ms. Nuland met with opposition leaders on Thursday and spent four hours with Mr. Yanukovich, who later released a statement saying that he was ready to return to negotiations with the opposition and would accelerate the release of jailed protesters. “It is only through dialogue and compromise that we can overcome the political crisis,” Mr. Yanukovich said.

After the intercepted telephone conversation became widely reported on Thursday, Ms. Nuland spoke with European Union officials to smooth over any ruffled feathers. Reached by telephone in Kiev, Ms. Nuland referred questions to the State Department, but seemed more amused than angry. “It’s all part of the job,” she said. Mr. Pyatt posted a picture on Twitter of the two of them laughing as they read the Russian official’s tweet on an iPad. “Enjoying Dima’s tweet here in Kyiv,” Mr. Pyatt wrote, referring to Mr. Loskutov.

Annex 50

The Guardian, Agreement on the Settlement of Crisis in Ukraine - Full Text (21 February 2014)



Ukraine

Agreement on the Settlement of Crisis in Ukraine - full text

The full text of the deal signed by Ukraine's opposition leaders and President Viktor Yanukovich, released by Germany's foreign ministry

Fri 21 Feb 2014 15.17 GMT

Concerned with the tragic loss of life in [Ukraine](#), seeking an immediate end of bloodshed and determined to pave the way for a political resolution of the crisis, We, the signing parties, have agreed upon the following:

1. Within 48 hours of the signing of this agreement, a special law will be adopted, signed and promulgated, which will restore the Constitution of 2004 including amendments passed until now. Signatories declare their intention to create a coalition and form a national unity government within 10 days thereafter.
2. Constitutional reform, balancing the powers of the President, the government and parliament, will start immediately and be completed in September 2014.
3. Presidential elections will be held as soon as the new Constitution is adopted but no later than December 2014. New electoral laws will be passed and a new

Central Election Commission will be formed on the basis of proportionality and in accordance with the OSCE & Venice commission rules.

4. Investigation into recent acts of violence will be conducted under joint monitoring from the authorities, the opposition and the Council of Europe.

5. The authorities will not impose a state of emergency. The authorities and the opposition will refrain from the use of violence. The Parliament will adopt the 3rd amnesty, covering the same range of illegal actions as the 17th February 2014 law.

Both parties will undertake serious efforts for the normalisation of life in the cities and villages by withdrawing from administrative and public buildings and unblocking streets, city parks and squares.

Illegal weapons should be handed over to the Ministry of Interior bodies within 24 hours of the special law, referred to in point 1 hereof, coming into force. After the aforementioned period, all cases of illegal carrying and storage of weapons will fall under the law of Ukraine. The forces of authorities and of the opposition will step back from confrontational posture. The Government will use law enforcement forces exclusively for the physical protection of public buildings.

6. The Foreign Ministers of France, Germany, Poland and the Special Representative of the President of the Russian Federation call for an immediate end to all violence and confrontation.

Kyiv, 21 February 2014

Signatories

Viktor Yanukovych, president of Ukraine

For the Opposition

Vitaliy Klichko, UDAR

Oleh Tyahnibok, Svoboda

Arsenij Yatseniuk, Batkivshchyna

Witnessed by

For the EU

Radoslaw Sikorski, Polish foreign minister

Frank-Walter Steinmeier, German foreign minister

Laurent Fabius, French foreign minister

For the Russian Federation

Vladimir Lukin, Russian special envoy

Related stories



Ukraine crisis: deadly clashes shatter truce - Thursday 20 February

🕒 21 Feb 2014

💬 2,919



Ukraine crisis: US and EU move to impose sanctions

🕒 20 Feb 2014

💬 1,534



Ukraine conflict: the regime will finish what started

🕒 20 Feb 2014

More from Headlines



Live / UK government declines to comment as pound plunges to record low against dollar

17m ago



Live / Russia-Ukraine war: Russian conscripts being sent straight to front, Ukraine says; no Kremlin call yet on closing borders

37m ago



Live / Italy election: right Brothers of Italy course to win most votes; leader of centre-left Democratic Party to be down

17m ago

Most viewed

Annex 51

Time, Kerry: We Stand With Ukraine's People (1 February 2014)



14 DAY SALE SAVE 50% OFF 1 YEAR.
FROM \$1.99 A MONTH. SUBSCRIBE

Kerry: We Stand With Ukraine's People



From Left: Vitali Klitschko, the head of the Ukrainian UDAR (Punch) party, Ukrainian businessman and politician Petro Poroshenko, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and Ukrainian opposition leader Arseniy Yatsenyuk prior to a meeting during the Munich Security Conference at the Bayerischer Hof Hotel in Munich, on Feb. 1, 2014.

Brendan Smialowski / AFP / Getty Images

BY **SAM FRIZELL**

FEBRUARY 1, 2014 2:23 PM EST

Secretary of State John Kerry met with Ukrainian government officials and opposition leaders Saturday, voicing the United States' support for the opposition's goals even as protests raged in Kiev and across the country.

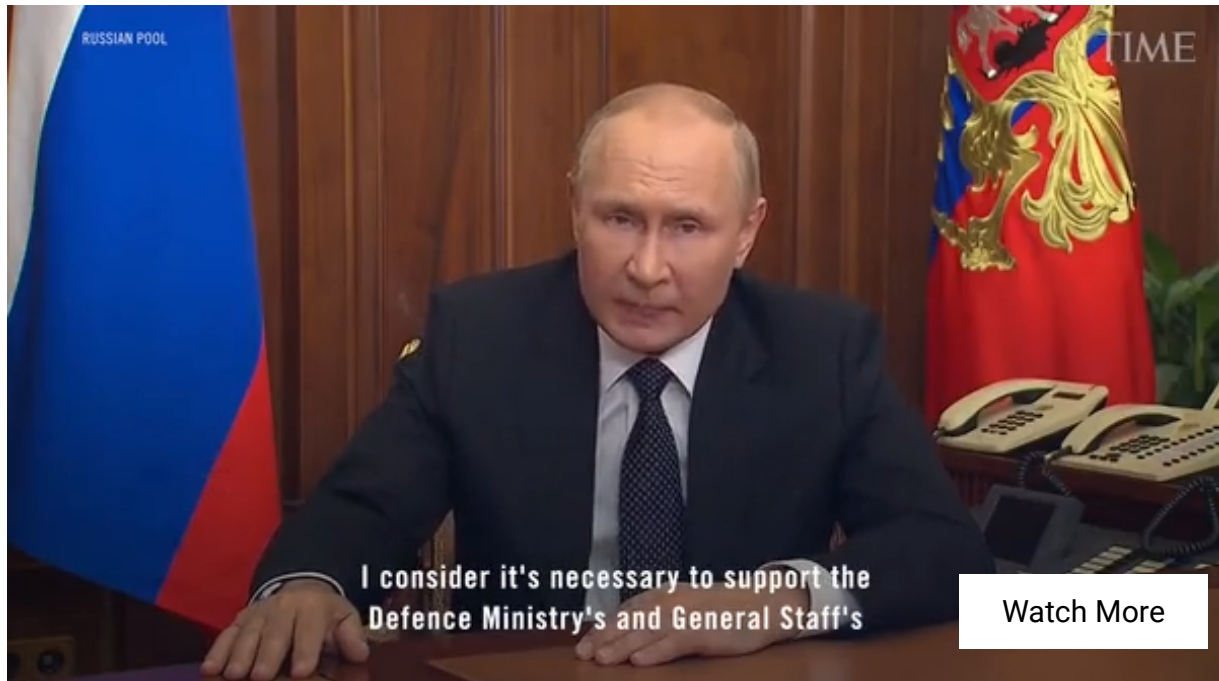


14 DAY SALE

SAVE 50% OFF 1 YEAR.
FROM \$1.99 A MONTH.

SUBSCRIBE

that they have the backing of the United States.



The United States supports the “democratic, European aspirations” of Ukrainians, Kerry said, according to a senior State Department official, and endorses the opposition leaders’ efforts “to defend democracy and choice for the people of Ukraine.”

In his speech to the Munich conference, Kerry said the U.S. and European Union “stand with the people of Ukraine,” reports CNN.

Kerry’s comments come as the turmoil in Ukraine reaches its peak, with violent demonstrations consuming large parts of the capital and the legal status of anti-government demonstrations bitterly disputed by both sides. After several days of hedging, President Yanukovich signed two conciliatory bills Friday, one that provides general amnesty for protestors and another that rolls back recent restriction on the right to assembly.

(PHOTOS: Kiev’s Battlefield: Protests Ignite Fiery Clashes in Ukraine)



He voiced concern about human rights issues in Ukraine, saying the government should release prisoners, reform political structures to protect democratic checks and balances, and “form a technical government that can address Ukraine’s economic problems and meet the European aspirations of its people,” said the official.

Four protestors have died in the demonstrations, and hundreds arrested. There have been recent reports of kidnappings and torture by the administration, and protestors have reported a series of disappearances.

Demonstrations began in Kiev when President Yanukovich reneged on a trade agreement that would have brought the country closer to the E.U., in favor of an agreement that strengthened ties with Russia and included a much-needed \$15 billion loan. With Ukraine’s future uncertain, Russia has halted its disbursements at \$3 billion, though it is now seeking to reassert its authority in Kiev.

–with reporting by Zeke J Miller

CONTACT US AT LETTERS@TIME.COM.

Annex 52

Agence Europe, EU Recognises Legitimacy of New Government (1 March 2014)

[login](#)[login](#)

Europe Daily Bulletin No. 11029

1 March 2014

[> Contents \(/en/bulletin/sommaire/11029\)](#) [> Publication in full \(/en/bulletin/detail/11029\)](#) [> By article](#)

[< \(/en/bulletin/article/11029/2\)](#) [3 / 39](#) [> \(/en/bulletin/article/11029/4\)](#)

EXTERNAL ACTION / (ae) ukraine

EU recognises legitimacy of new government

Brussels, 28/02/2014 (Agence Europe) - On 28 February, the European Commission recognised the legitimacy of the new government in Ukraine. “*We recognise the legitimacy of the government*” said European Commission spokesperson Olivier Bailly, stating that the government has been recognised by the constitutional majority of the Ukrainian parliament, the Rada, which the EU recognises as “*the legitimate body in Ukraine*”. The government is the body to which the EU talks, Bailly...

Please log in

[Subscribe \(/en/subscription-demand.html\)](#)

[← Previous article 2/39 \(/en/bulletin/article/11029/2\)](#)

(AE) SOCIAL AFFAIRS: Eurozone unemployment stable at 12% [\(/en/bulletin/article/11029/2\)](#)

Next article 4/39 [→ \(/en/bulletin/article/11029/4\)](#)

(AE) US: Warnings of growing hostility on TTIP [\(/en/bulletin/article/11029/4\)](#)

Contents

SOCIAL AFFAIRS

(AE) SOCIAL AFFAIRS: Successful talks on worker secondment [\(/en/bulletin/article/11029/1\)](#)

(AE) SOCIAL AFFAIRS: Eurozone unemployment stable at 12% [\(/en/bulletin/article/11029/2\)](#)

EXTERNAL ACTION

Annex 53

BBC News, Ukraine crisis: Transcript of Leaked Nuland-Pyatt Call (7 February 2014)

[Menu](#)[World](#) | [Africa](#) | [Asia](#) | [Australia](#) | [Europe](#) | [Latin America](#) | [Middle East](#) | [US & Canada](#)

Ukraine crisis: Transcript of leaked Nuland-Pyatt call

🕒 7 February 2014



| Victoria Nuland and Geoffrey Pyatt together toured the opposition camp in Kiev in December

An apparently bugged phone conversation in which a senior US diplomat disparages the EU over the Ukraine crisis has been posted online. The alleged conversation between Assistant Secretary of State Victoria Nuland and the US Ambassador to Ukraine, Geoffrey Pyatt, appeared on YouTube on Thursday. It is not clearly when the alleged conversation took place.

Here is a transcript, with analysis by BBC diplomatic correspondent Jonathan Marcus:

Warning: This transcript contains swearing.

Voice thought to be Nuland's: What do you think?

- **Jonathan Marcus:** At the outset it should be clear that this is a fragment of what may well be a larger phone conversation. But the US has not denied

its veracity and has been quick to point a finger at the Russian authorities for being behind its interception and leak.

Voice thought to be Pyatt's: I think we're in play. The Klitschko [Vitaly Klitschko, one of three main opposition leaders] piece is obviously the complicated electron here. Especially the announcement of him as deputy prime minister and you've seen some of my notes on the troubles in the marriage right now so we're trying to get a read really fast on where he is on this stuff. But I think your argument to him, which you'll need to make, I think that's the next phone call you want to set up, is exactly the one you made to Yats [Arseniy Yatseniuk, another opposition leader]. And I'm glad you sort of put him on the spot on where he fits in this scenario. And I'm very glad that he said what he said in response.

- **Jonathan Marcus:** The US says that it is working with all sides in the crisis to reach a peaceful solution, noting that "ultimately it is up to the Ukrainian people to decide their future". However this transcript suggests that the US has very clear ideas about what the outcome should be and is striving to achieve these goals. Russian spokesmen have insisted that the US is meddling in Ukraine's affairs - no more than Moscow, the cynic might say - but Washington clearly has its own game-plan. The clear purpose in leaking this conversation is to embarrass Washington and for audiences susceptible to Moscow's message to portray the US as interfering in Ukraine's domestic affairs.

Nuland: Good. I don't think Klitsch should go into the government. I don't think it's necessary, I don't think it's a good idea.



9/22/22, 3:44 PM

Ukraine crisis: Transcript of leaked Nuland-Pyatt call - BBC News



Anti-government protesters have been camped out in Kiev since November

Pyatt: Yeah. I guess... in terms of him not going into the government, just let him stay out and do his political homework and stuff. I'm just thinking in terms of sort of the process moving ahead we want to keep the moderate democrats together. The problem is going to be Tyahnybok [Oleh Tyahnybok, the other opposition leader] and his guys and I'm sure that's part of what [President Viktor] Yanukovich is calculating on all this.

Nuland: [Breaks in] I think Yats is the guy who's got the economic experience, the governing experience. He's the... what he needs is Klitsch and Tyahnybok on the outside. He needs to be talking to them four times a week, you know. I just think Klitsch going in... he's going to be at that level working for Yatseniuk, it's just not going to work.

Pyatt: Yeah, no, I think that's right. OK. Good. Do you want us to set up a call with him as the next step?

Nuland: My understanding from that call - but you tell me - was that the big three were going into their own meeting and that Yats was going to offer in that context a... three-plus-one conversation or three-plus-two with you. Is that not how you understood it?

Pyatt: No. I think... I mean that's what he proposed but I think, just knowing the dynamic that's been with them where Klitschko has been the top dog, he's going to take a while to show up for whatever meeting they've got and he's probably talking to his guys at this point, so I think you reaching out directly to him helps with the personality management among the three and it gives you also a chance to move fast on all this stuff and put us behind it before they all sit down and he explains why he doesn't like it.

Nuland: OK, good. I'm happy. Why don't you reach out to him and see if he wants to talk before or after.

Pyatt: OK, will do. Thanks.

Nuland: OK... one more wrinkle for you Geoff. [A click can be heard] I can't remember if I told you this, or if I only told Washington this, that when I talked to Jeff Feltman [United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs] this morning, he had a new name for the UN guy Robert Serry did I write you that this morning?

- **Jonathan Marcus:** An intriguing insight into the foreign policy process with work going on at a number of levels: Various officials attempting to marshal the Ukrainian opposition; efforts to get the UN to play an active role in bolstering a deal; and (as you can see below) the big guns waiting in the wings - US Vice-President Joe Biden clearly being lined up to give private words of encouragement at the appropriate moment.

Pyatt: Yeah I saw that.

Nuland: OK. He's now gotten both Serry and [UN Secretary General] Ban Ki-moon to agree that Serry could come in Monday or Tuesday. So that would be great, I think, to help glue this thing and to have the UN help glue it and, you know, Fuck the EU.

- **Jonathan Marcus:** Not for the first time in an international crisis, the US expresses frustration at the EU's efforts. Washington and Brussels have not been completely in step during the Ukraine crisis. The EU is divided and to some extent hesitant about picking a fight with Moscow. It certainly cannot win a short-term battle for Ukraine's affections with Moscow - it just does not have the cash inducements available. The EU has sought to play a longer game; banking on its attraction over time. But the US clearly is determined to take a much more activist role.

Pyatt: No, exactly. And I think we've got to do something to make it stick together because you can be pretty sure that if it does start to gain altitude, that the Russians will be working behind the scenes to try to torpedo it. And again the fact that this is out there right now, I'm still trying to figure out in my mind why Yanukovich (garbled) that. In the meantime there's a Party of Regions faction meeting going on right now and I'm sure there's a lively argument going on in that group at this point. But anyway we could land jelly side up on this one if we move fast. So let me work on Klitschko and if you can just keep... we want to try to get somebody with an international personality to come out here and help to midwife this thing. The other issue is some kind of outreach to Yanukovich but we probably regroup on that tomorrow as we see how things start to fall into place.

Nuland: So on that piece Geoff, when I wrote the note [US vice-president's national security adviser Jake] Sullivan's come back to me VFR [direct to me], saying you need [US Vice-President Joe] Biden and I said probably tomorrow for an atta-boy and to get the deets [details] to stick. So Biden's willing.

Pyatt: OK. Great. Thanks.

- **Jonathan Marcus:** Overall this is a damaging episode between Washington and Moscow. Nobody really emerges with any credit. The US is clearly much more involved in trying to broker a deal in Ukraine than it publicly lets on. There is some embarrassment too for the Americans given the case

9/22/22, 3:44 PM

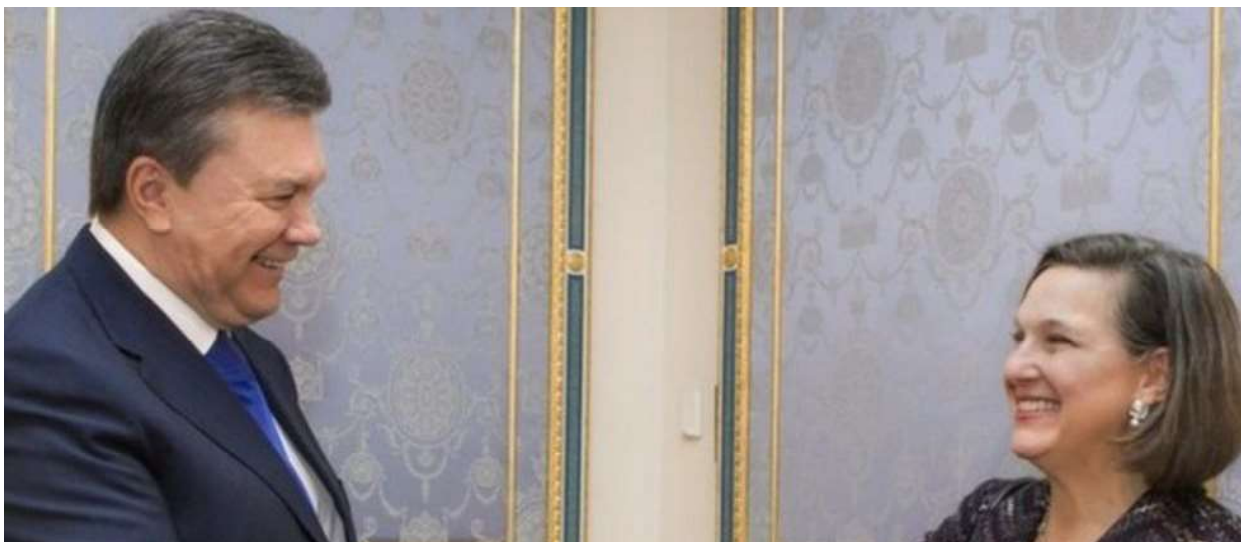
Ukraine crisis: Transcript of leaked Nuland-Pyatt call - BBC News

lets on. There is some embarrassment too for the Americans given the ease with which their communications were hacked. But is the interception and leaking of communications really the way Russia wants to conduct its foreign policy? Goodness - after Wikileaks, Edward Snowden and the like could the Russian government be joining the radical apostles of open government? I doubt it. Though given some of the comments from Vladimir Putin's adviser on Ukraine Sergei Glazyev - for example his

interview with the Kommersant-Ukraine newspaper the other day - you don't need your own listening station to be clear about Russia's intentions. Russia he said "must interfere in Ukraine" and the authorities there should use force against the demonstrators.



Ms Nuland and Mr Pyatt (centre) met Ukrainian opposition leaders Vitaly Klitschko (L) and Arseny Yatsenyuk (R) on Thursday





| She also met President Yanukovich

Related Internet Links

[Kommersant interview \(in Russian\)](#)

The BBC is not responsible for the content of external sites.

Top Stories

LIVE [Russia begins drafting new troops to fight in Ukraine](#)

[Hundreds held after Russia call-up sparks protests](#)

17 hours ago

► [How a woman became a symbol of defiance in Iran](#)

17 hours ago

Features



[Iranian morality officer: Why we tell women what to wear](#)



[What does Russia's troop call-up mean for Ukraine?](#)



Annex 54

CNN, PRES OBAMA on Fareed Zakaria GPS (1 February 2015)

(excerpt)



Press Room



Russia

February 1st, 2015

PRES OBAMA on Fareed Zakaria GPS

CNN's FAREED ZAKARIA GPS features a wide-ranging interview with President Barack Obama in New Delhi as the President concluded his state visit to India. Topics included the impact of the death of Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah on the fragile Middle Eastern region, Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu's upcoming speech to Congress on President Obama's Iran policy, the need for drone use regulations, China's apparent distress over the burgeoning Obama-Modi friendship, Russia's failing economy and its success in de-stabilizing Ukraine, and the legacy of his administration. Videos and a full transcript of the interview are below.

VIDEOS

[President Obama on the need for regulations regarding the use of drones](#)

[President Obama on the passing of King Abdullah](#)

[President Obama on U.S.-Israeli relationship](#)

[President Obama on Russia](#)

And you know, sometimes, we've been successful in getting a response from China on those issues, sometimes less so. But I care deeply about China's success, and you know, I want to make sure that we continue to maintain a constructive relationship.

There's no doubt that there are aspects of India that make us closer to India. Specifically it's a democracy, and reflects the values and aspirations as well as some of the warts of our own country, in a way that China could not. And so I think there's an affinity there that I feel personally and I think the American people feel as well.

[COMMERCIAL BREAK]

ZAKARIA: Next month will mark a year since Russia annexed Crimea. And despite ever-tightening sanctions, and an ever-worsening Russian economy, Moscow continues to send arms, supplies and, by some accounts, troops into Eastern Ukraine.

I asked President Obama how he thought this situation would ever get resolved.

//////////

ZAKARIA: Would it be fair to say that with regard to Russia, your policy has been pretty effective in imposing real costs on the Russian economy, but it has not deterred Vladimir Putin from creating instability in Ukraine. Conflict seems to have even escalated in the last few weeks.

OBAMA: I think that's entirely fair. And I think that is a testament to the bad decisions that Mr. Putin is making on behalf of his country. You know, you think about where we've been in terms of U.S.-Russian relations; when I came into office, we talked about reset, and I established, I think, an effective working relationship with Mr. Medvedev.

And as a consequence, Russia's economy was growing, they had the opportunity to begin diversifying their economy, their relations across Europe and around the world were sound, they joined the WTO with assistance from us. And since Mr. Putin made this decision around Crimea and Ukraine — not because of some grand strategy, but essentially because he was caught off-balance by the protests in the Maidan and Yanukovich then fleeing after we had brokered a deal to transition power in Ukraine — since that time, this improvisation that he's been doing has gotten — has gotten him deeper and deeper into a situation that is a violation of international law, that violates the integrity, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine, has isolated Russia diplomatically, has made Europe wary of doing business with Russia, has allowed the imposition of sanctions that are crippling Russia's economy at a time when their oil revenues are dropping.

There's no formula in which this ends up being good for Russia.

Annex 55

Interfax, Congress of Deputies from South-Eastern Regions of Ukraine and Crimea Begins in
Kharkov. Yanukovich Is Not There Yet (22 February 2014)

(translation)

Translation from Russian

Interfax, Congress of Deputies from South-Eastern Regions of Ukraine and Crimea Begins in Kharkov. Yanukovich Is Not There Yet (22 February 2014), available at: <https://www.interfax.ru/world/360368>

Congress of Deputies from south-eastern regions of Ukraine and Crimea begins in Kharkov. Yanukovich is not there yet.

Moscow. 22 February. INTERFAX.RU - A congress of deputies of all levels from the southeastern regions of Ukraine and Crimea has started in Kharkov.

According to Interfax-Ukraine news agency correspondent, delegates to the congress gave a standing ovation to and greeted with whistling Mikhail Dobkin, the head of Kharkov regional administration.

The head of the region ignored the question from the press about whether he knew where Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich was, who, according to some reports, was planning to attend the congress and had arrived in Kharkov for this purpose.

As the correspondent of Interfax-Ukraine news agency reports, the congress is also attended by the heads of Kharkov, Sevastopol and Donetsk administrations and the heads of Donetsk, Lugansk and Dnepropetrovsk regional administrations and regional councils.

The deputies of Verkhovna Rada Oleg Tsaryov and Vadym Kolesnichenko are on the presidium.

Annex 56

RIA, Congress of Deputies of the South-Eastern Regions of Ukraine opened in Kharkov (22
February 2014)

(translation)

Translation from Russian

RIA, *Congress of Deputies of the South-Eastern Regions of Ukraine opened in Kharkov* (22 February 2022), available at: <https://ria.ru/20140222/996411276.html>

14:36 22.02.2014 (updated: 14:45 22.02.2014)

Congress of Deputies of the South-Eastern Regions of Ukraine opened in Kharkov



As Kharkov Region Governor Mikhail Dobkin said when opening the congress, about 3,500 deputies from Ukraine's southeastern regions, the Crimea Republic and Sevastopol have gathered for the meeting.

KHARKOV, 22 February - RIA Novosti. The congress of deputies and representatives of different levels of power of Ukraine's southeast regions started on Saturday at the Palace of Sports in Kharkov.

As Kharkov Region Governor Mikhail Dobkin said when opening the congress, about 3,500 deputies from Ukraine's southeastern regions, the Crimea Republic, and Sevastopol have gathered for the meeting.

The meeting is also attended by the heads of the foreign affairs committees of the Federation Council and the State Duma of Russia Mikhail Margelov and Alexey Pushkov.

"On the instructions from the Federation Council Speaker Valentina Matviyenko, Margelov went to Kharkov to attend the congress of deputies from southeastern regions of Ukraine," the senator's press service said.

In addition to Pushkov and Margelov, the Russian side is represented by the governors of Belgorod, Rostov, Voronezh and Bryansk regions of Russia.

Earlier, the Regions Party said that the Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich had also arrived in Kharkov. He intends to sign the laws adopted by the Verkhovna Rada the day before. Yanukovich plans to meet voters and speak on television.

Earlier, the Ukrainian head of state initiated early presidential elections and the process of setting up a coalition government and the adoption of a law on a return to the year 2004 constitution.

Annex 57

Channel One Russia, Congress of South-Eastern Regions of Ukraine and Crimea Took Place in
Kharkov (22 February 2014)

(translation)

Translation from Russian

Channel One Russia, *Congress of South-Eastern Regions of Ukraine and Crimea Took Place in Kharkov* (22 February 2014), available at: <https://www.1tv.ru/news/2014-02-22/52503-v-harkove-proshyol-s-ezd-yugo-vostochnyh-oblastey-ukrainy-i-kryma>

22 February 2014, 18:05

Congress of South-Eastern Regions of Ukraine and Crimea Took Place in Kharkov

The events in Ukraine are moving swiftly. Loud political statements have been heard in Kharkov, where a congress of all south-eastern regions and the Crimea has been held. The delegates, claiming that an armed seizure of power supported by foreign countries is taking place in Ukraine, have decided to take the responsibility for ensuring constitutional order in their territories.

In the meantime, in Kiev, the Verkhovna Rada is predictably bringing back a decade-old Constitution, which restricts the presidential rights, and is adopting a package of other documents. Meanwhile, a number of deputies claim that a verbal resignation letter has already been received from Viktor Yanukovich. And now a written one is allegedly expected. At the same time, Yanukovich's adviser Anna Herman says, as reported by news agencies, that Yanukovich is not going to resign and that he considers the developments in the country to be a coup d'état.

Ukraine seems to have two capitals today. While the Rada in Kiev, struggling to reach a quorum and not embarrassed by the absence of the largest parliamentary faction, is rapidly churning out laws, a congress of deputies from the southeast of Ukraine and the Crimea is meeting in Kharkov. They are questioning the legitimacy of the Rada's decisions adopted in recent days and see the events that happen in the country as a coup d'état.

"The opposition has not complied with the terms of the February 21 agreement on resolving the situation. Seizures and killings continue. The Verkhovna Rada operates under conditions of terror and the threat of weapons use. We, the local self-government bodies, assume responsibility for ensuring the constitutional order," Vadim Kolesnichenko, deputy from the Party of Regions, said.

Ukraine is running a close second to what all political forces without exception recently vowed not to allow.

"Maidan has already proclaimed a march to the east by so-called peaceful people with bats and Molotov cocktails. Either the country will be drenched in blood or it will finally break apart into several entities, feuding, if not fighting among themselves," journalist Vladimir Skachko says.

The Kharkov congress calls on the police to observe the law and on the military to stay in their bases and guard the arsenals from being looted by militants from western Ukraine. The population is advised to organise themselves and assist law enforcers. At the same time, many people understand that civilians cannot resist an armed mob. And the calls are the strongest.

"I have come to my native land, I have nowhere to flee from here. We all know that they are armed in Kiev. I appeal to the deputies of local councils, we elected you, please create in each region people's self-government squads. Arm us with whatever you can, arm us," the leader of the Oplot NGO, Yevgeny Zhilin, said.

The sad experience in Kiev has shown whom we have to deal with. The day before, Berkut and the internal troops left the city. They left in compliance with the Rada's decision. The Rada, whose session was almost entirely boycotted by the Party of Regions faction, and where the opposition suddenly felt like a parliamentary majority. Speaker Vladimir Rybak tendered his resignation for health reasons, and the parliament was headed by Batkivshchina deputy Alexander Turchynov.

The regional deputies who remained in Kiev are now resigning. Many are in physical danger in the literal sense of the word. The regional deputy Vitaly Grushevsky, while on his way out of the Rada, was surrounded and beaten by a crowd. This is how the self-appointed "people's squads" who were recruited on the Maidan and who, with the departure of Berkut, have flooded into the government quarter are protecting order. Cases of looting and robberies have increased.

The President left Kiev. His residences, both in the capital and at the Mezhyhirya estate, are being toured by the guards themselves, as if the legitimately elected President no longer existed.

The actions, or rather inaction, of the head of state at a critical moment of confrontation with the Maidan extremists who got out of control is one of the topics of discussion.

"He, as President, did not do the most important thing - he did not protect himself, his associates or the citizens of Ukraine. I think he is amazingly indecisive in acute situations and is unable to predict the actions of his opponents one or two steps ahead," political scientist Vladimir Zharikhin, Deputy Director of the Institute of CIS Countries, says.

"With his hesitations and doubts and his love of gain, he has brought the matter to a deadlock, he has lost trust not only in western Ukraine, where he has never been popular, but also in the east and south," Konstantin Zatulin, Director of the Institute of CIS Countries says.

Others say that it was not only the opposition's aggression and Yanukovich's inaction that brought the situation to a deadlock, but also Western interference. This view was expressed, for instance, by Sergei Mikheyev, Director General of the Center for Political Climate, who told RIA Novosti that "Yanukovich was inactive for quite a long time precisely because the European Union had convinced him that nothing could be done. So they also have the blood of the people who died on Maidan on their hands".

"We said before that flirting with the West would lead to a catastrophe for Yanukovich, which is what happened", Oleg Slyusarenko, leader of the "Russian Movement of Crimea", says.

In the morning, no one knew where the President was. There were rumours that Yanukovich either left or did not leave for Kharkov. It was not until midday that it was officially announced: the President is in Kharkov after all and he promised to sign the law passed by the Rada, which provides for the return to the year 2004 Constitution, but he is not coming to the congress of the deputies from south-eastern regions.

In Kiev, the Rada continues to engage in speedy law-making, in particular, a draft law to decriminalise the propaganda of fascism and Nazism has been introduced.

Grigory Yemelyanov

Annex 58

Time, Right-Wing Thugs Are Hijacking Ukraine's Liberal Uprising, (28 January 2014)



UKRAINE

Right-Wing Thugs Are Hijacking Ukraine's Liberal Uprising

The liberal, pro-European Union protests that first rocked Kiev have taken a darker turn, with right-wing vigilante groups rising to prominence amid violence and police crackdowns

By Simon Shuster / Kiev | Jan. 28, 2014

Tweet Share Save Read Later

Not long before midnight on Sunday, a few dozen men in ski masks and camouflage surrounded the headquarters of the Ministry of Justice in the center of Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, and smashed out the first floor windows with baseball bats. They made short work of the bars over the windows, prying them out of the walls with their clubs, and climbed inside. It was the third federal ministry the group had seized in a week.



Darko Vojinovic / AP

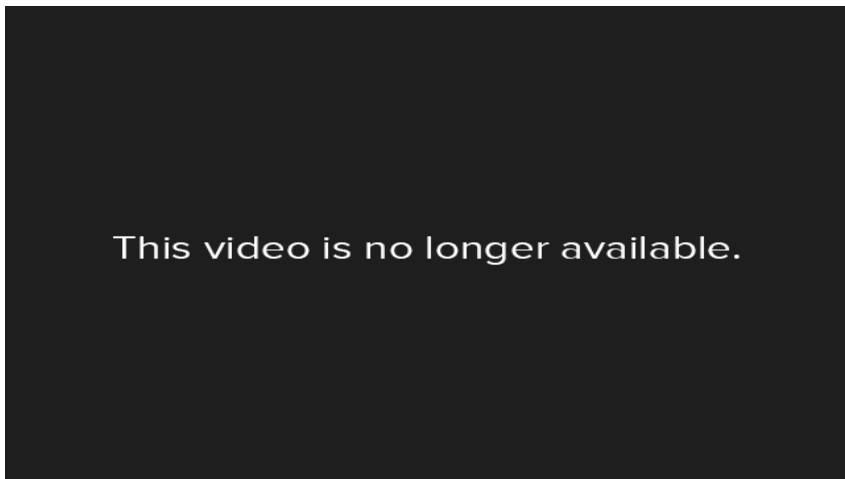
A Ukrainian protester guards a barricade in Kiev, Ukraine, on Jan. 27, 2014

Calling themselves members of Spilna Sprava, or Common Cause, the group has emerged as one of about a dozen obscure organizations competing for distinction, if not outright leadership, in the uprising against President Viktor Yanukovich. These groups range from right-wing radicals and soccer hooligans to military veterans and mobs of stick-wielding goons. And to the gall of more-established opposition figures, like the world boxing champion Vitali Klitschko, they have become the revolution's most commanding presence. Anyone with a stake in resolving Ukraine's political crisis — including the diplomats watching fretfully from the E.U. and U.S. — will likely have to reckon with the role of these groups. But they are becoming increasingly hard to control.

Two months ago, few people in Ukraine had ever heard of Common Cause. In the vibrant patchwork of activists that make up the country's civil society, they were a minor presence, best known for picketing against corruption, monitoring elections and rallying for human-rights and democratic change. In late November, when President Yanukovich turned away from an integration deal with the E.U., mass demonstrations broke out against him in Kiev's Independence Square, and the activists of Common Cause joined the crowds to call for closer ties with Europe.

But the government's attempts to clear the streets over the past two weeks have marked a dark turn for this uprising. Several protesters have been killed in clashes with police, and the revolt has become increasingly violent, erratic and unpredictable. The radicalization of Common Cause is so far the starkest example in this shift.

(MORE: Ukraine's Opposition Leaders Shun President's Peace Deal)



Its leader, Oleksandr Danylyuk, a clean-cut and eloquent lawyer, responded to the crackdown with a brazen strategy: seize as many government buildings as possible. "We are out to paralyze the work of this corrupt dictatorship," he told me outside the captured ministry building just after midnight on Sunday. It was his third <https://world.time.com/2014/01/28/ukraine-kiev-protests-thugs/>

Most Popular

FROM WORLD

- 1 Hungry Planet: What The World Eats
- 2 How Did Gaddafi Die? A Year Later, Unanswered Questions and Bad Blood
- 3 The Nanjing Massacre: Scenes from a Hideous Slaughter 75 Years Ago
- 4 Exiled in Hong Kong: Famous Company for Edw Snowden
- 5 Nelson Mandela TIME Covers Throughout the Ye

FROM TIME.COM

CONNECT WITH TIME

Follow @TIME 19.4M followers

Email Print

Share

Follow @TIMEWorld



day, Common Cause briefly seized the Energy Ministry, which oversees some of the most vital transport routes for Russian natural gas to Europe, but abandoned it after just a few hours.

The following night, the Justice Ministry became Danylyuk's most symbolic trophy. Not only did it contain legal documents and sensitive case files going back years, but the woman in charge of it, Justice Minister Elena Lukash, is one of the most hated members of the cabinet. "We need justice in Ukraine, and we need peace in Ukraine," Danylyuk said near the entryway. "And right now, unfortunately, our President is a threat for justice and for peace. That's why there is only one way to stop the violence in Ukraine and to stop this very dangerous situation for Europe." And what is that? "The immediate and unconditional capitulation of the state."

That demand doesn't leave much room for negotiations, at least not the kind that Klitschko has been trying to hash out for days. Along with two of his fellow opposition leaders, the retired boxer has had the unenviable job of restraining the more radical wings of the revolution while also trying not to seem like a sellout or a softy. At the same time, he has been in marathon talks with the government, talks predicated on the idea that he can speak on behalf of the revolution and implement any peace accord he manages to reach with the state. But on Sunday night, Klitschko was unable to stop Common Cause from taking command of the Ministry of Justice.

When he arrived after midnight, a few ministry workers were still barricaded in their offices inside the building, whose entrance was guarded by a row of masked men brandishing clubs and bats. Flanked by two bodyguards, Klitschko took in the scene with a pained expression, and after refusing to speak to the press, he uttered only one phrase — "What have you done?" — to the activists of Common Cause before walking briskly back to his Range Rover. "Clown!" one of the activists shouted after him. "Stop posing for the cameras and start building the barricades!"

(MORE: Can Vitali Klitschko, Ukraine's Revolutionary Heavyweight, Be Its Next President?)

Among the revolutionary bands in Kiev, such slurs against Klitschko and his fellow politicians have become the norm. That includes more-militant groups like the Afgantsy, an informal network of veterans from the Soviet war in Afghanistan, who have emerged as one of the most authoritative in the uprising. Before dawn on Saturday, they helped seize another government building in Kiev, the Ukrainian House, a massive convention hall where a large detachment of government troops had been stationed. The storming of that building involved the use of Molotov cocktails and fireworks hurled inside. But thankfully, no lives were lost, as Klitschko managed to negotiate the surrender of the troops blockaded inside.

"The younger guys wanted to flood the floor with gasoline and burn [the troops] alive," says one of the Afgantsy who participated in the siege, Oleksiy Tsiško. But after a standoff lasting hours, the protesters created a corridor to let the officers leave in peace. The building was then turned into another revolutionary bastion, complete with a canteen, sleeping rooms and a club house for the Afgantsy on the second floor. Sitting in the makeshift cafeteria in the basement, Tsiško told me that the Afgantsy are readying a lethal arsenal in case the uprising turns into a civil war. "The battle is already underway," he says. "And if [police] fire so much as one live round into one of our guys, we have enough to respond in kind. Believe me, it won't just be a couple of hundred who lay down dead when its over."

It was impossible to tell how much of this was braggadocio. Tough talk and extravagant threats are part of the banter in Kiev these days. But the seizure of the Ministry of Justice on Sunday showed that such boasts among the fringe groups of the uprising are not always empty. "Common Cause just up and decided to do this, without asking anyone," says Igor Yankiv, a member of the federal parliament for the right-wing party Svoboda (Freedom), whose activists have also been on the front lines of the revolution. "It's a dangerous precedent. Next we'll have marauders going around. We can't let it come to that," he told me.

So, on Monday afternoon, Yankiv arrived at the Ministry of Justice with a group of other revolutionary lawmakers to help convince Common Cause to stand down. After a few hours they agreed. The band of toughs who had been guarding the entrance all night was then replaced with another one — the right-wing youth group of the Svoboda party, also dressed in ski masks and fatigues, also brandishing bats and knives. By lunch time, they invited a ministry official to enter the building and survey the damage — a middle-aged woman rushed past the guards with a look of abject terror. But her presence didn't make it much more apparent who exactly was in charge.

MORE: Violence in Ukraine: Can Russia or the West Make It Stop?

Kiev's Battlefield: Protests Ignite Fieri Clashes in Ukraine





Brendan Hoffman / Getty Images

Men carry a casket containing the body of Mikhail Zhiznevsky, 25, an anti-government protester who was killed in clashes with police, outside Mikhailovsky Cathedral after a memorial service there in his honor on Jan. 26, 2014 in Kiev.

1 of 39

Sponsored Stories

Recommended by



Man Who Made \$95 million in 2008 Reveals New Prediction

Visionary Profit



Dubai Hotels Might Actually Surprise You

Dubai Hotels | Search Ads



Buying Dubai Investment Properties Might be Easier Than You Think

Dubai Properties | Search Ads



Cars Almost Being Given Away: See Prices

SUV Deals| search ads



Find the right probiotic for you with this quiz!

Ombre



Houses for Sale in Dubai Might Be Cheaper Than You Think

Houses in Dubai | Search Ads

© 2022 TIME USA, LLC. All rights reserved.

Annex 59

Time, Exclusive: Leader of Far-Right Ukrainian Militant Group Talks Revolution with Time (4
February 2014)

9/26/22, 4:35 PM

Ukraine: Far-Right Leader Dmitry Yarosh Ready for Armed Struggle | Time



14 DAY SALE

SAVE 50% OFF 1 YEAR.
FROM \$1.99 A MONTH.

X
SUBSCRIBE

Exclusive: Leader of Far-Right Ukrainian Militant Group Talks Revolution With TIME



Dmitry Yarosh, the leader of Pravy Sektor, a coalition of ultra-nationalist groups in Ukraine, stands with some of his fighters at the scene of the worst clashes last month between the group's fighters and police in Kiev. Maxim Dondyuk

BY **SIMON SHUSTER**

FEBRUARY 4, 2014 5:06 PM EST

Take the smell of an army barracks, add a bit of char and gasoline, and you'd have a rough idea of the air on the fifth floor of the House of Trade Unions, the headquarters of the revolution in Ukraine. When protesters first occupied the building in December, their leaders divvied up its floors among the political parties and activists involved in the revolt. Since then, the only



radicals that grew out of the uprising. They had good reason to avoid publicity. After their violent clashes with police last month, their members could face years in prison if the ruling government survives the revolt.

But on Sunday night, their leader Dmitro Yarosh agreed to give his first interview to a foreign media outlet. It was not so much an act of vanity as a political coming-out. He has clearly grown tired of being the movement's anonymous enforcer. In recent days, as a negotiated end to the crisis has started coming into view, the need for a military wing of the revolution has diminished. And so has the trust in its upper ranks. The mainstream opposition leaders, like the former world boxing champion Vitali Klitschko, have faced growing pressure to distance themselves from Pravy Sektor, which the U.S. State Department has condemned for "inflaming conditions on the streets." Increasingly marginalized, the group has grown much more assertive and, in some ways, has started going rogue.

For the Oath Keepers and
Proud Boys, Jan. 6 Was
Just the Start

POSTED 2 MONTHS AGO

Watch More

(MORE: Far-Right Groups Try to Hijack Ukraine's Revolution)

In his interview with TIME, Yarosh, whose militant brand of nationalism rejects all foreign influence over Ukrainian affairs, revealed for the first time that Pravy Sektor has amassed a lethal arsenal of weapons. He declined to say



government — and to carry on the revolution if negotiations with that government break down.

But so far, those negotiations have been making significant strides toward resolving the crisis. On Tuesday, the parliament began debating a sweeping reform of the constitution, while allies of President Viktor Yanukovich suggested for the first time that he is ready to consider early elections. Both moves would mark a major breakthrough. But Yarosh, watching from the sidelines, has begun to doubt whether the negotiators have the interests of his men at heart. “This whole peaceful song and dance, the standing around, the negotiations, none of it has brought real change.” Dozens of his men, he says, remain behind bars after their street battles against police two weeks ago.

With that in mind, Yarosh and another militant faction began a parallel set of negotiations over the weekend. On Monday, they claimed to be in direct talks with Ukraine’s police forces to secure the release of jailed protesters, including members of Pravy Sektor. Mainstream opposition leaders said they had not authorized any such talks. At the same time, Yarosh has demanded a seat at the negotiating table with the President. Once again, he was flatly denied. His ideology, it seems, is just too toxic to let him in the room.

But neither can Klitschko and his fellow politicians easily sever their ties with Pravy Sektor. The group serves some of the uprising’s most essential functions. Its fighters control the barricades around the protest camp in the center of Ukraine’s capital, and when riot police have tried to tear it down, they have been on the front lines beating them back with clubs, rocks, Molotov cocktails and even a few catapults, in the mold of siege engines of the Middle Ages. Around the country, its fighters have helped seize government headquarters in more than a dozen cities. “Pravy Sektor has proved its loyalty to the ideals of freedom,” Yarosh says. “Now we needed to present this movement as a source of leadership.”

In any kind of fair election, that would be nearly impossible. Pravy Sektor’s ideology borders on fascism, and it enjoys support only from Ukraine’s most hard-line nationalists, a group too small to secure them a place in parliament.



talkie on the table in front of him, while a sentry in a black ski mask and bulletproof vest stands by the door. “We are soldiers of the national revolution.” His entire adult life has been spent waiting for such a revolution to “steer the country in a new direction, one that would make it truly strong, not dependent on either the West or the East.”

(MORE: How Russia Is Fighting to Regain Control Over Ukraine)

Through all his years in the nationalist movement, Yarosh, a 42-year-old father of three, says he has never had any form of occupation apart from his activism. The son of two factory workers, he was born and raised in a provincial town in eastern Ukraine, and became involved in the nationalist underground in the late 1980s, just as the Soviet Union was disintegrating. Nearly all of the satellite states of the USSR, from the Baltics to Central Asia, were then pushing to break away from Moscow’s control, and in 1988, Yarosh joined one of the more radical groups fighting for an independent Ukraine.

The following autumn, months after the Soviet Union pulled its troops out of Afghanistan, Yarosh was drafted into the Red Army, a common form of punishment for political activists at the time. He was stationed briefly in Belarus before being transferred to Siberia, where he served as a guard at strategic missile sites. The Soviet doctrines of unity between Russia and Ukraine did little to soften his views. “If anything, the army made me more convinced that my path is correct,” he says. When Ukraine declared independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, Yarosh went on hunger strike to demand a transfer to the newly established Ukrainian army. His commanding officers ignored him.

In 1994, a few years after he was discharged and returned to Ukraine, he joined a right-wing organization called Trizub (Trident), and slowly climbed its ranks before assuming leadership in 2005. Along with several other far-right groups, Trizub formed the core of Pravy Sektor when the current uprising broke out in Ukraine two months ago. Its main adversary has always been Russia, although it also has little patience for Western influence on Ukraine. “For all the years of Ukraine’s independence, Russia has pursued a systematic, targeted policy of



another one of its former satellites, Georgia. “If they stick their faces here like they did in Georgia in 2008, they’ll get it in the teeth.”

So far, his jabs at the leaders of the opposition in Ukraine have not been quite as pointed. He has accused them of vanity and ineffectiveness, but he has also observed the truce they called a week and a half ago to allow their negotiations to proceed. “Not a single Molotov cocktail has gone flying since then,” he says proudly. “A truce is a truce. They want to negotiate, let them negotiate.” But as Yarosh realizes, he and his men have staked a great deal on the outcome of these talks.

If the ruling government holds on to power, Pravy Sektor could be forced to take the blame for the violence that left dozens of police officers in the hospital two weeks ago. “All those criminal charges are already waiting in the prosecutor’s office,” he says. On the other hand, if the opposition forms a new government, they are not likely to carve out a place for Yarosh and his men in the halls of power. So it is no surprise that he has begun to show some political initiative.

For the past two decades, he has been waiting and preparing for the start of the “national revolution,” and now that he finds himself at the head of its armed division, he does not seem ready to let it pass peacefully away, at least not on anyone else’s terms. “People have gotten in touch with us from around the country, saying, ‘Guys, don’t let us down. Take us to victory, to independence, if the other leaders are incapable of that,’” Yarosh says. “So if the time has come for an active struggle, I am ready to carry it to the end. I am not afraid of that responsibility. I see no reason to hide my face.”

CONTACT US AT LETTERS@TIME.COM.

Annex 60

The Conversation, Far-Right Party Jeopardises Ukraine's Path to Democracy (7 March 2014)

9/26/22, 4:35 PM

Far-right party jeopardises Ukraine's path to democracy

THE CONVERSATION

Academic rigour, journalistic flair



Ukrainian far-right protesters commemorate the creation of the Ukrainian division of the SS in Lviv in 2011. EPA/Markiiian Lyseiko

Far-right party jeopardises Ukraine's path to democracy

Published: March 7, 2014 6.05am GMT

Sofia Vasilopoulou

Lecturer, Department of Politics, University of York

Following days of protest and the ousting of President Viktor Yanukovich, Ukraine's new interim government was announced on 26 February 2014. This is not an ordinary government. Politicians linked to the extreme right-wing Svoboda party have taken up important posts, including deputy prime minister, the heads of the agriculture and environmental ministries, and a chief law officer.

This is partly the result of the fact that Svoboda leader Oleh Tyahnybok was a key figure in the Euromaidan protests, but it also reflects the party's electoral strength. Svoboda is one of Ukraine's five major parties. It experienced a dramatic boost in the 2012 Parliamentary elections, capitalising on a strong protest vote against corruption to enter parliament for the first time: it received 10% of the vote, translating into 37 seats.

The party was founded in the early 1990s under the name "Social-National Party of Ukraine", clearly alluding to the ideology of National Socialism. Under Tyahnybok's leadership in the mid-2000s, the party changed its name to All-Ukrainian Union "Svoboda" in an attempt to distance itself from overt references to Nazism and appear less extreme.

But despite this modernisation effort, the party remains staunchly anti-communist. It presents itself as the only defender of Ukrainian identity, religion and culture. For Svoboda, membership of the Ukrainian nation is ethnically defined on the basis of language, blood and creed. As such, party membership is restricted to ethnic Ukrainians, and eligibility is denied to both atheists and former communists. Its electoral program (entitled Program for the Protection of Ukrainians) argues that the main purpose of the party is to “build a powerful Ukrainian State based on the principles of social and national justice” – which can be read as an implicit acceptance of National Socialism.

Svoboda has an anti-Semitic and anti-Russian agenda, using references to a “Muscovite-Jewish mafia” to tie together two perceived enemies of the nation. The party was the key organiser of a recent rally on 1 January 2014 in honour of the 105th birthday of Ukrainian nationalist Stepan Bandera, a controversial figure in Ukrainian history.

In 2010, Bandera was posthumously honoured by President Viktor Yushchenko as a “Hero of Ukraine” for being the leader of Ukraine’s liberation movement. However, Bandera had an ambivalent relationship with Nazi Germany. He is dismissed by some as a Nazi collaborator, working against the Russians and the Jews of the Soviet Union. Demonstrators associated with the party shouted “Glory to Ukraine!” and “Death to the enemies!”, and were dressed in the uniform of a Ukrainian division of the German army in World War II.

Svoboda and the new Ukraine

Svoboda’s involvement in the recent protests has been characterised by radical anti-Moscow rhetoric, which is fuelling anti-Russian sentiment among the Ukrainian population. Party members are clearly ready to defend the motherland. On 4 March 2014, Tiahnybok stated:

We stress that no one should speculate on the underlying constitutional principles: language, nationality, the unitary state. I urge all to be ready to defend Ukraine. In the case of a real military intervention, we should battle the enemy and win. Not a piece of the Ukrainian land should be surrendered to the invaders!

Parliament’s recent decision to remove the official status of the Russian language following Svoboda’s intervention may be interpreted as an act of discrimination against Ukraine’s Russian-speaking citizens, estimated at around a quarter of the population. This has instigated a backlash from Ukraine’s Russophones, further dividing the country. Pro-Russia groups are increasingly active in various provinces of eastern Ukraine, calling for “local resistance” against the government in Kiev and seeking independence from a country they feel they no longer belong to.

It remains unclear what Svoboda’s status will be after the presidential elections in May 2014. The party’s agenda, completely out of line with the principles of procedural democracy, is clearly antithetical to a united Ukraine; its participation in the interim government may have serious consequences for the country’s relations with its neighbours, the international resolution of the crisis, and the domestic handling of the crisis.

9/26/22, 4:35 PM

Far-right party jeopardises Ukraine's path to democracy

Externally, government decisions instigated by Svoboda may legitimise Russia's own aggressive policy, and may make direct talks between Russia and the interim government less likely. Internally, Svoboda's policy may contribute to the rise of protest and violent acts against those considered as ethnically non-Ukrainian, as well as backlash from Ukraine's Russian-speaking population. This in turn could lead to the division of the country.

In short, Svoboda's central participation in such a crucial and sensitive phase of government should worry anyone concerned about Ukraine's path to democracy.

