

**Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Secretary-General, NATO**  
**John Kerry, Secretary of State, United States of America**  
**Chuck Hagel, Secretary of Defense, United States of America**  
**Ministers of Defence, EU member states**  
**Ministers of Foreign Affairs, EU member states**  
**Catherine Ashton, Vice-President, European Commission,**  
**and High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, European Council**  
**Arseniy Yatsenyuk, Prime Minister, Ukraine**  
**Iurie Leancă, Prime Minister, Republic of Moldova**  
**Irakli Garibashvili, Prime Minister, Georgia**

24 April 2014

**Policy Memorandum on NATO security policy concerning Russian military intervention in Ukraine -  
Eastern Partnership Civil Society Forum**

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**Diplomatic measures and sanctions must be accompanied by strategic deterrence  
to protect NATO members and to support independence of NATO neighbours**

**Priority steps should include strategic plans to address swiftly worst-case scenarios of escalation of the Russian aggression against Ukraine, and a clear commitment by NATO to support the democratic development of Ukraine, and to prevent military conflict in Europe (NATO members and NATO's neighbours). NATO should prioritise support for democracy, human rights, human security, and the rule of law in the region, and engage with the governments of Ukraine, Republic of Moldova and Georgia with a view to agreement on new security pacts between NATO and Eastern Partner countries in order to safeguard fundamental freedoms, democracy, stability, and the rule of law.**

**Dear Secretary-General, Dear Secretary of State, Dear Secretary of Defense, Dear Ministers, Dear Commissioner, Dear Prime Ministers,**

As representatives of civil society, we are deeply concerned about the current aggression against Ukraine by the Russian Federation, and its implications for the quality of life and human rights for citizens and families in Ukraine and neighbouring countries – for ordinary people of all nationalities, religion, and ethnic identity in the Eastern Partner countries, including frozen conflict areas.

The Steering Committee of the Eastern Partnership Civil Society Forum calls upon NATO and NATO members to respond with maximum speed and urgency to the security threat now facing mainland Europe through the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. The diplomatic efforts of the US and EU are welcomed, as are the sanctions introduced and planned against Russian economic interests, but it is clear that the government of the Russian Federation does not respect the rules of international law, in particular territorial integrity and internationally recognised borders and international treaties (including the Budapest Memorandum on Security Assurances, pledging to respect Ukraine territorial integrity, which was signed by Russia, Ukraine, the USA, and United Kingdom in 1994), and that immediate action needs to be taken to deter further military incursions by Russia into Ukraine or other post-Soviet countries.

**NATO'S SECURITY REQUIRES STABLE NEIGHBOURS WITH RECOGNISED BORDERS**

We welcome the announcement on 16 April 2014 that NATO “will have more planes in the air, more ships in the water, and more readiness on the land” in eastern Europe<sup>1</sup>, and the efforts at the Geneva talks on 17 April 2014, and we urge heightened security steps to be taken with immediate effect to ensure the security of NATO members and the stability and territorial integrity of NATO's neighbours, including Georgia and Moldova, as well as Ukraine.

The current unrest in south and east Ukraine has a direct bearing on the future security and territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova. On 17 April 2014, Russian President Vladimir Putin asserted the right to intervene militarily in southern and eastern Ukraine, and secured support for such measures in the upper house of the Russian Duma. His use of the term “New Russia”, emphasizing the need to “ensure the rights and interests of the Russian southeast”, parallels the Russian position taken towards Crimea. This “New Russia” region, which refers to the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Novorossiia region, stretches to the border of Ukraine with Moldova, including the Transnistria region, where the persistent Russian military presence continues to challenge the territorial integrity of Moldova.

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<sup>1</sup> Statement by NATO Secretary-General Anders Fogh Rasmussen. 16 April 2014

### **TIME FOR STRATEGIC DETERRENCE, NO SPACE FOR MORE SURPRISES**

**NATO must now be prepared for the possibility of invasion and annexation by Russia of strategic locations in south and east Ukraine, including Odessa, and also Transnistria in Moldova.** Even if intelligence reports and political calculations lead to the conclusion that this threat will probably not be realised, the unrest by armed groups in these regions clearly opens the way for the repeat of the Crimea scenario in other parts of southern and eastern Ukraine.

NATO must take the necessary steps to ensure that it is not taken by surprise in this situation, given the implications of the collapse of Ukraine as a sovereign state and its partial occupation by Russian forces. Such a situation would represent the greatest threat since the Second World War to peace, democracy and the rule of law in Europe, and would deal a severe blow to the credibility of NATO, the EU, and the US as guardians against tyranny in Europe.

The statements of President Putin on 17 April demonstrate that the tipping point has passed. The Russian President has set out his intentions to expand the territory of Russia at the expense of the territorial integrity of Ukraine. The likelihood that he will stop will increase markedly when the deterrent forces amassed are such that he knows that his invasion will be prevented.

The top priority now should be to demonstrate to Russia that NATO will deter all aggression, support Ukraine in defence of its territorial integrity in line with the Budapest Memorandum, and that further military aggression from the side of the Russian Federation will not be tolerated. It is essential for NATO to work with Ukraine and other Eastern Partner countries to put in place a strategic plan to convince the leadership of Russia that NATO is serious is to increase troop presences and military bases for NATO forces in NATO members to the west of Ukraine, in the Baltics, Black Sea and Mediterranean, and to have in place deterrent air forces to deter any further Russian troop movements into Ukraine.

Even with NATO's superior quality and number of forces, the further Russian forces move into Ukraine, the harder it will be to dislodge them. Moreover, any tactical calculation that southern and eastern Ukraine should be conceded to Russia will send shockwaves of instability across NATO's eastern neighbourhood.

### **IMMEDIATE DIPLOMATIC AND STRATEGIC STEPS**

We call upon NATO and NATO members to engage with the governments of Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia by following up immediately with the following steps:

- Respond to the calls of the Ukraine government by providing immediate, intensive support to the Ukrainian defence and security services to deter invasion of southern and eastern Ukraine by Russian troops.
- Assert NATO control over air and sea routes from the north and south of the current crisis area, namely Baltics and Mediterranean, including agreement with the government of Ukraine to support the defence of Ukraine, for instance through air cover.
- Build up the capacity and rapid-response capabilities of NATO forces in Europe.
- Engage with the governments of Ukraine, Republic of Moldova and Georgia to reach security agreements with a view to sending NATO security missions, provision of logistical and intelligence support to the governments of these three countries, plans for NATO military support upon the infringement of their territorial integrity, and/or other security agreements reached through mutual agreement.
- Sign new Security Agreements with Eastern Partner governments guaranteeing the security of their territory and borders where the Partner country governments request such agreements and closer co-operation with NATO, and launching joint training exercises and joint military operations on their territory.
- Prioritise full-time monitoring of Russian military movements on the border of Ukraine, and in relation to Transnistria, South Ossetia and Abkhazia, backed up by NATO plans for instant deterrent response to prevent and pre-empt any escalation or increased Russian military presence in these areas. With the agreement of the governments of Ukraine and Moldova, this might include preparations for a no-fly zone to deter aggression or escalation.
- Put in place a fully developed strategic plan to implement the above with immediate effect, increasing budget and military personnel commitments from NATO's European members.
- Continue and strengthen engagement in the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) mission through providing monitors from NATO member countries to monitor developments in eastern and southern Ukraine, including human rights, presence of foreign military and security services, and criminal acts, and insist that Russia does not impede access to the region.
- Initiate broad and inclusive discussion of the security component of the EU Eastern Partnership process, providing for differentiated approach for each partner country depending on its specific conditions and challenges.

Yours faithfully,

**Steering Committee, Civil Society Forum of the Eastern Partnership**