



Plenary sitting

B9-0201/2022

5.4.2022

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

to wind up the debate on the statements by the European Council, the Council and the Commission

pursuant to Rule 132(2) of the Rules of Procedure

on the conclusions of the European Council meeting of 24-25 March 2022, including the latest developments of the war against Ukraine and the EU sanctions against Russia and their implementation (2022/2560(RSP))

Mick Wallace

on behalf of The Left Group

European Parliament resolution on the conclusions of the European Council meeting of 24-25 March 2022, including the latest developments of the war against Ukraine and the EU sanctions against Russia and their implementation (2022/2560(RSP))

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the Charter of the United Nations,
 - having regard to the Helsinki Final Act, the Charter of Paris for a New Europe and the Budapest Memorandum on Security Assurances,
 - having regard to the reports of the Office of the UN High Commissioner on Human Rights on the human rights situation in Ukraine,
 - having regard to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and Additional Protocol I thereto of 1977,
 - having regard to the UN General Assembly resolution of 24 March 2022 on the humanitarian consequences of the aggression against Ukraine,
 - having regard to UN Human Rights Council Resolution 27/21 of 26 September 2014 on human rights and unilateral coercive measures, and Correndigum 1 thereto,
 - having regard to the conclusions of the European Council meeting of 24-25 March 2022,
 - having regard to the conclusions of the Justice and Home Affairs Council of 3-4 March 2022,
 - having regard to Rule 132(2) of its Rules of Procedure,
- A. whereas the attack of the Russian Federation on Ukraine is of a scale that the international community has not seen in Europe in decades; whereas the war has been characterised by the broad use of explosive weapons with wide area effects in populated areas, including shelling from heavy artillery, multiple launch rocket systems, and missile and air strikes; whereas the Russian Federation has increased the readiness of its nuclear forces; whereas the hostilities have resulted in 3 455 civilian casualties and have left hundreds of residential buildings, hospitals, schools, kindergartens and other civilian buildings damaged or destroyed; whereas since the beginning of the war, and as of 31 March 2022 according to UN sources, over 4 102 876 million refugees have fled Ukraine; whereas women and children make up 90 % of all refugees fleeing Ukraine; whereas neighbouring countries are coping with a huge influx of refugees fleeing Ukraine, with over 2.3 million going to Poland, over 623 000 million to Romania, over 390 000 to Moldova, close to 375 000 to Hungary, and over 545 000 to other countries; whereas women and children are at increased risk of violence, abuse and exploitation and there is an increased risk for young women and children of going missing and

falling victim to trafficking;

- B. whereas ceasefire agreements have been violated and negotiations between Russia and Ukraine have not resulted in a halt of hostilities;
- C. whereas since the liberation of the Ukrainian town of Bucha, hundreds of corpses of civilians have been discovered; whereas the call by the UN Secretary-General António Guterres for an independent investigation into the killing of civilians in Bucha and for those responsible to be brought to justice has been echoed all over the world;
- D. whereas in February and March 2022, the Council approved a total of a total of EUR 1 billion in funding under the European Peace Facility to support the Ukrainian armed forces with military equipment, including lethal weapons; whereas EU Member States and NATO member countries have provided unprecedented military assistance to Ukraine; whereas NATO has deployed elements of the NATO Response Force and placed 40 000 troops in Eastern Europe, along with significant air and naval assets; whereas NATO member countries have significantly increased their military budget;
- E. whereas the UN Commission on Human Rights has established an independent international Commission of Inquiry which will have a mandate that includes investigating all alleged violations and abuses of human rights and related crimes, and making recommendations on accountability measures;
- F. whereas people all over Europe are deeply concerned by the war, which has the potential to result in a war between nuclear power states; whereas peace initiatives are emerging all over Europe, including in Russia, in protest against citizens becoming hostages of bellicose policies;
- G. whereas the Council has adopted a series of severe sanctions against Russia and Belarus, including targeted individual sanctions, economic and financial sanctions and trade restrictions, and continues to prepare further sanctions in close coordination with international partners;
- H. whereas Russia exhibits the highest wealth inequality in Europe, with the wealthiest 10 % of Russian residents owning about 74 % of total wealth; whereas a large part of the wealth of Russian millionaires is held in off-shore tax havens; whereas the sanctions imposed on Russia are likely to disproportionately affect savers, wage-earners and pensioners in Russia and cause lower standards of living and economic hardship for the general Russian population;
- I. whereas Human Rights Council Resolution 27/21 and on human rights and unilateral coercive measures stresses that unilateral coercive measures and legislation are contrary to international law, international humanitarian law, the UN Charter and the norms and principles governing peaceful relations among states, and highlights that in the long-term, these measures may result in social problems and raise humanitarian concerns in the states targeted;
- J. whereas people in Europe continue to exercise extraordinary solidarity with the Ukrainian people; whereas they provide accommodation, food, administrative assistance and friendship, often without getting state support; whereas despite EU and

Member States decisions on support for refugees, many challenges remain;

- K. whereas the war, the sanctions on Russia and the counter sanctions have severe impacts not only for Russia, but also for the security of energy supply in Europe and global food security as well as on global supply chains;
 - L. whereas the war in Ukraine has started shaking the European economy, resulting in a worsening of the social situation of people in Europe; whereas while precarious and vulnerable situations existed before the war due to in-work-poverty, housing prices, rising energy prices, inflation and the COVID-19 pandemic, more people will now be affected in a more serious way by the energy crisis, the ongoing inflation, food prices and the housing shortage; whereas some companies will need to fully or partly reduce production because of the energy crisis and disruptions to supply chains; whereas these companies need to be supported by short-term schemes, similar to those established during the pandemic;
 - M. whereas according to the International Energy Agency, current market conditions could lead to excess profits of up to EUR 200 billion for energy companies in the EU; whereas a tax on the windfall profits of these companies could be redistributed to electricity consumers to partially offset higher energy bills; whereas measures to tax windfall profits of some energy companies have already been adopted in Italy and Romania in 2022;
 - N. whereas Ukraine cannot afford its debt repayments any longer as its economy has been destabilised as a result of the war; whereas loans were issued under International Monetary Fund (IMF) conditions of social spending cuts; whereas the loan repayments have forced the Ukrainian Government to reduce spending on vital needs and apply austerity measures to foundational economy sectors; whereas some Ukrainian citizens have launched a petition asking for debt cancellation, pointing to the chaotic borrowing and antisocial debt conditionality imposed by the IMF, the World Bank and the EU that resulted in total oligarchisation of Ukraine;
1. Reiterates, in the strongest possible terms, its condemnation of the attack on Ukraine's territorial integrity and sovereignty caused by the Russian Federation's invasion of Ukraine; condemns this invasion as a war of aggression which constitutes a serious violation of international law, in particular the UN Charter, and for which there is no justification; condemns the involvement of Belarus in this aggression;
 2. Is shocked at the alleged Russian atrocities in Bucha and the siege and destruction of Mariupol, Kyiv and other Ukrainian cities by the Russian military; expresses its dismay at reports of attacks on civilian facilities such as residences, schools and hospitals, and of civilian casualties, including women, older persons, persons with disabilities and children; insists on an independent investigation that leads to effective accountability; expresses its deepest solidarity with the people of Ukraine;
 3. Demands that Russia immediately stop all hostilities, bombardments and attacks on civilians and withdraw all of its military and paramilitary forces from Ukraine;
 4. Condemns the violations of ceasefire agreements and calls on Russia and Ukraine to immediately agree on a comprehensive ceasefire for the whole country as an urgently

needed step towards ending the war; calls for the EU to actively support and engage in diplomatic efforts to promote negotiations and dialogue to achieve an immediate ceasefire and a political solution to the conflict;

5. Welcomes the start of a negotiation process between Russia and Ukraine; calls for the process to be based not on military success, but on a true effort to find solutions for the existing problems and the need to reconstruct Ukraine; calls for the EU to focus its efforts on supporting the negotiation process and backing the UN Secretary-General's calls for mediation, and to refrain from any action which could further complicate these negotiations;
6. Is concerned at the escalation of the arms race in Europe; reminds Russia, the EU and its Member States, and NATO and its member countries that there is no military solution to their conflicts;
7. Urges Russia, in the strongest terms, to turn back from the path of violence and aggression it has chosen and to return to the path of dialogue and negotiation; urges NATO and its member countries not to escalate the conflict by starting a new arms race and to design their response to the Russian invasion of Ukraine in a way that leaves ways out of the confrontation between Russia and NATO; reiterates that there is no justification for Russia's war against Ukraine; calls for an analysis of the reasons which led to it;
8. Stresses that the only way to establish sustainable peace in Europe after the end of the war is a negotiation process; reiterates that the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), as a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, remains the organisation of first resort for the peaceful settlement of disputes in the region and an essential instrument for early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict reconciliation;
9. Urges the OSCE participating states to establish, by common agreement, the modalities for a conference to peacefully settle territorial disputes between its participating states, and to establish a system of collective security in Europe through the conclusion of a comprehensive European treaty on collective security for this purpose;
10. Calls for the cancellation of Ukrainian debt in order to facilitate the reconstruction of the strategic and infrastructure enterprises destroyed as a result of the war; supports calls for an international conference to be organised in due time to raise funding under the Ukraine Solidarity Trust Fund; stresses the need to prioritise the reconstruction of those facilities needed to ensure the safe return of Ukrainians who wish to return; calls for the speedy reintegration of Ukraine into European and global supply chains, in particular in the areas of energy and food supply;
11. Supports the work by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) towards a seven-pillar framework between Ukraine and Russia to ensure the nuclear security of Ukraine; stresses the importance of preserving the integrity of infrastructures and ensuring easy access to nuclear sites for the IAEA mission;
12. Rejects the EU's new military strategy (the Strategic Compass), which uses power politics, geostrategic spheres of influence and violent conflicts/war as political means,

instead of diplomatic conflict resolution, which builds on diplomacy, disarmament and arms control measures;

13. Rejects the European Defence Fund, the Permanent Structured Cooperation and European military mobility, which are all designed to strengthen the European military capacity, to transform the EU into a defence union and to strengthen the military-industrial complex;
14. Denounces the unprecedented increase of the military budgets of EU Member States; stresses that Germany will become the country with the third-largest military budget after the USA and China;
15. Demands that all parties allow safe and unfettered passage to destinations outside of Ukraine for refugees and facilitate the rapid, safe and unhindered access to humanitarian assistance for those in need in Ukraine, protect civilians, including humanitarian personnel and persons in vulnerable situations, such as women, older persons, persons with disabilities, indigenous people, migrants and children, and respect human rights;
16. Calls on all parties to ensure dignified treatment of captured combatants on all sides, in full respect of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War; stresses that violations on both sides have been reported by Human Rights Watch and other non-governmental organisations; notes the declaration on the Ukrainian side, by Olexiy Arestovych, acknowledging that abuse of prisoners of war could constitute a war crime and will be punished;
17. Welcomes the triggering of the Temporary Protection Directive¹ (TPD) to address the current situation of people fleeing Ukraine; calls on the Member States to ensure an inclusive approach in the implementation of the TPD, ensuring all people fleeing Ukraine have access to protection in the EU; further calls on the Member States to ensure that international students who were in Ukraine are able to complete their degrees in EU Member States;
18. Calls on the Commission and the Member States to use the lessons learned from the response to this war, including the implementation of the TPD, to rethink the European Pact on Migration and Asylum as well as EU migration policies as a whole;
19. Stresses the need to ensure that nobody fleeing Ukraine is being prevented from fleeing, including victims of reproductive exploitation, and that all persons fleeing can benefit from protection, including international students, transwomen and Ukrainian conscientious objectors, and are able to move onwards within the EU; condemns the detention of international students fleeing Ukraine; regrets that Ukrainian men of a prescribed age are prohibited by the Ukrainian authorities from fleeing the war; calls on the Ukrainian authorities to reconsider their policy of forced conscription of men between the ages of 18 and 60 with no military experience;
20. Calls on the Member States to make sure that there are safe and legal paths for

¹ Council Directive 2001/55/EC of 20 July 2001 on minimum standards for giving temporary protection in the event of a mass influx of displaced persons and on measures promoting a balance of efforts between Member States in receiving such persons and bearing the consequences thereof, OJ L 212, 7.8.2001, p. 12.

Ukrainian migrants to reach the EU, and that they are protected from violence, abuse, exploitation and trafficking throughout the journey; calls on the Member States to filter and monitor all individuals and families hosting Ukrainian migrants, notably women and children, and to above all keep them safe from trafficking and forced prostitution; calls for the EU and the Member States to step up their efforts to deter traffickers and pimps who exploit the vulnerable situation of women and children to abuse them and force them into prostitution;

21. Calls on the Member States to coordinate more to ensure the social inclusion of persons fleeing Ukraine as well as other refugees; stresses the need to pay particular attention to the specific needs of vulnerable groups fleeing Ukraine, such as stateless Roma and LGBTIQ persons;
22. Stresses that all Member States must treat all people fleeing Russia's attack on Ukraine in a fair and humane manner, regardless of their nationality or ethnicity, and grant them asylum if needed; highlights that all refugees fleeing conflicts deserve equal treatment from Member States regardless of the country they are fleeing;
23. Calls on the EU to cease its role in funding the construction and operation of migrant detention facilities inside Ukraine; recalls that these detention facilities are sites of multiple human rights violations, where it is commonplace that those who have been subjected to pushbacks and summary returns from EU Member States have their asylum applications ignored and are placed indefinitely in EU-funded detention facilities by the Ukrainian authorities; highlights, with particular concern, the case of the detainees at the Zhuravychi Migrant Accommodation Centre, where at least 35 Afghans, Bangladeshis, Cameroonians, Indians, Pakistanis and Sudanese are being held unable to flee the war; calls for the immediate release of all such detainees and for the Ukrainian authorities to ensure their safe passage to the EU;
24. Supports the anti-war movements in Russia and in Belarus protesting Putin's invasion of Ukraine; demands that the Member States protect and grant asylum to Russians and Belarusians persecuted for speaking out against or protesting the war, as well as Russian and Belarusian deserters and conscientious objectors; demands that EU protection and asylum also be extended to Ukrainian deserters and conscientious objectors;
25. Welcomes and supports the mobilisation of the broad European peace movement; expresses concern at the tendency to attack voices which raise critical questions about related EU policies; calls on the Member States to ensure that voices for peace and reconciliation are not silenced;
26. Insists that sanctions imposed on Russia must be carefully targeted to disincentive and complicate prolonging the military aggression towards Ukraine and on those responsible for the Russian aggression against Ukraine, those responsible for war crimes, and oligarchs and tax dodgers, but rejects sanctions which are imposed on the basis of a logic of common responsibility of Russian people; stresses the need to impose and maintain targeted sanctions and freeze the EU assets of officials of Putin's Government and oligarchs close to the regime, including family members; notes, with concern, that as a result of the extreme scope of the sanctions regime, many ordinary Russians and Russian dissidents who have fled Russia for the EU cannot access their

funds or process payments;

27. Recalls, in the light of the Paradise Papers, that most of the oligarchs' assets are hidden in European tax havens; deplores that this lack of tax transparency prevents the EU from imposing targeted sanctions on oligarchs' assets and thus putting real pressure on them, which would pressure Putin in return; calls for the EU to intensify its actions against European tax havens;
28. Recalls that independent journalists estimated that Russian oligarchs' assets hidden in tax havens represent at least USD 17.5 billion; calls for the EU to swiftly increase financial transparency, to close all loopholes aimed at hiding beneficial ownerships within the framework of the negotiations on the anti-money laundering and countering the financing of terrorism legislative package and to ensure that any money stored by Russian oligarchs in the Union is confiscated; calls, in this context, for any financial institutions in non-EU countries that are engaged in or enable money laundering to be blacklisted;
29. Calls for the creation of a global financial registry (GFR) that would include information on wealth, real estate, financial assets and final owner of assets; demands the full cooperation of European tax havens in setting up the GFR;
30. Calls for the EU to consider sanctions based on the GFR that would target Russian individuals holding more than EUR 10 million in real estate and financial assets (0.02 % of the Russian adult population), as a considerable part of their real estate and financial assets are located in the EU;
31. Notes the unilateral coercive measures adopted by the EU and other countries and their detrimental effects on the entire Russian population; is concerned by their impact on the full enjoyment of human rights set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in particular the rights of everyone to a standard of living adequate for their health and wellbeing, including food, medical care, housing and necessary social services; rejects sanctions which are imposed on the basis of a logic of common responsibility of Russian people; reiterates that sanctions should aim at inducing compliance of the target state with a breached international obligation, but may not cross the line into coercion, which would be considered prohibited intervention in the domestic affairs of the target state; reiterates that – as established by UN resolutions – such sanctions will be unlawful and will engage the responsibility of the state(s) taking them;
32. Notes the discussions on an immediate ban on European imports of Russian oil, gas and coal and on an expulsion of all Russian and Belarusian financial institutions from SWIFT; calls on the Commission and the Member States to inform the European public about the socioeconomic effects of such measures on EU citizens and the EU economy and how the EU and its Member States would mitigate those effects; insists that such a decision cannot be taken by governments alone, but should be subject to the approval of the national parliaments;
33. Calls for the EU and its Member States to do more to mitigate the effects of the war in Ukraine on the socioeconomic situation in the Member States; stresses that the Member States have been facing significant challenges, such as stagnant labour productivity, growing inequality and the climate emergency, since before the beginning of the war in

Ukraine;

34. Emphasises that the EU cannot remain dependent on global supply chains that have already proven to be fragile during the pandemic; notes that the EU needs to develop an investment-led and innovation-led strategy, based on strategic spending, to tackle these issues; notes that education and research are key drivers of productivity; believes that EU competition rules should facilitate and enhance the ability of Member States to take the risk of creating new markets focusing on such long-term societal issues;
35. Is highly concerned about the inflationary pressures paired with subdued economic growth due to the supply shock caused by the war on Ukraine; stresses the vulnerability of the financial sector and the asset price bubbles on the housing and stock markets that have emerged since beginning of the COVID-19 crisis; is highly concerned that these bubbles will burst as a consequence of the economic fallout of the Ukraine crisis, impacting vulnerable households in particular; takes note of the resolution decisions of the Single Resolution Board regarding Sberbank Europe AG and deeply regrets that a number of banks remain too big and too interconnected to fail more than 10 years after the financial crisis;
36. Calls on the Commission to prepare and present an emergency plan based on Regulation (EU) 2017/1938 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2017 concerning measures to safeguard the security of gas supply² in the event that Russia cuts off its gas supply to Europe;
37. Takes note of the temporary crisis framework adopted by the Commission to support the EU economy in the context of Russia's invasion of Ukraine; underlines that not all Member States will be able to provide the same level of State aid to firms, creating the risk of increased socioeconomic disparities between countries and regions; calls, therefore, for the stability and growth pact to be repealed and replaced by a new sustainable development and employment pact in order to allow for urgently needed public investment;
38. Calls on the Commission, the Member States and the European Central Bank to take comprehensive, non-standard measures, including changes to the mandate of the European Central Bank, to alleviate the burden, in particular for vulnerable households and micro-enterprises; calls on the Commission and the Member States to keep the general escape clause of the stability and growth pact activated until a fundamental reform of the economic governance framework has been adopted which enables Member States to fund urgently needed public investments in order to rapidly implement the Paris Agreement and the UN Sustainable Development Goals;
39. Highlights that many people in Europe were already in precarious and vulnerable situations before the war in Ukraine and warns that war- and sanctions-related inflation, in particular rising food and energy prices, will make the situation unbearable for those people; calls on the Member States to provide affected persons with adequate financial support against energy poverty (gas, oil and electricity), food shortages and rising housing prices; calls on the Member States to finance such measures through an

² OJ L 280, 28.10.2017, p. 1.

ambitious taxation of energy companies' windfall profits;

40. Points out that commodity prices, especially food prices, are rising as a result of the Russian invasion of Ukraine; demands that the policy response give special attention and support to low- and middle-income households in the EU and ensure that the achievement of the UN Sustainable Development Goals is not endangered globally;
41. Demands that all actions taken to reduce dependency on Russian fossil fuels be aligned with the goal of limiting global warming below 1.5 °C in relation to pre-industrial levels, while avoiding creating a lock-in to existing or novel fossil fuel infrastructure; urges that all action taken must respect the 'do no significant harm' principle and the minimum safeguards as set out respectively in Articles 17 and 18 of Regulation (EU) 2020/852 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 June 2020 on the establishment of a framework to facilitate sustainable investment³, while reflecting the principles enshrined in the European Pillar of Social Rights; stresses the need for the EU to immediately engage in massive green investment in renewable energy and energy efficiency in order to secure energy independence and address the climate crisis;
42. Welcomes the actions proposed by the International Energy Agency in their publication of 18 March 2022 entitled 'A 10-Point Plan to Cut Oil Use'; highlights that the proposed measures would decrease oil use in the short-term, while creating structural changes lowering oil demand in the medium- and long-term;
43. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, the Council, the Commission, the governments and parliaments of the Member States, the United Nations, the Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the President, Government and Parliament of Ukraine, the President, Government and Parliament of the Russian Federation and the President, Government and Parliament of Belarus.

³ OJ L 198, 22.6.2020, p. 13.