



**PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD 1 MARCA 2022 R.**

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## PEŁNE SPRAWOZDANIE Z OBRAD 1 MARCA 2022 R.

**PRESIDENZA: ROBERTA METSOLA**

*President*

### 1. Wznowienie sesji

**President.** – I declare resumed the session of the European Parliament adjourned on Thursday, 17 February 2022.

### 2. Otwarcie posiedzenia

*(The sitting opened at 12.00)*

### 3. Zatwierdzenie protokołów poprzednich posiedzeń

**President.** – The minutes and the texts adopted of the sittings of 14, 15, 16 and 17 February 2022 are available.

Are there any comments?

I see that there are not.

The minutes are approved.

### 4. Skład komisji i delegacji

**President.** – The ID and ECR Groups have notified the President of decisions relating to appointments and changes within committees and delegations. These decisions will be set out in the minutes of today's sitting and shall take effect on the date of this announcement.

### 5. Działania podjęte w związku ze stanowiskami i rezolucjami Parlamentu: patrz protokół

### 6. Porządek obrad

**President.** – The final draft agenda as drawn up pursuant to Rule 157 by the Conference of Presidents at its meeting of 24 February 2022 has been distributed. Following consultations with the political groups, I wish to put to the House the following proposal for changes to the final draft agenda:

Today, the debate on Russian aggression against Ukraine will be held in the format of European Council, Council and Commission statements and will be extended until 15.30 this afternoon.

The announcement of the results of the first voting session will be held at 15.00. The second voting session will start at 15.30 and end at 16.15. Finally, the announcement of the results of the second voting session will be held at 17.15.

I see that there are no objections, and therefore I declare that this change has been approved and the agenda is therefore deemed adopted and the order of business is thus established.

## 7. Pierwsza część głosowania

**President.** – I will now move to today's first voting session. We will vote on the files as indicated on the agenda. The voting session will be open from 12.00 until 12.45.

The same voting method will be used as during the last part-sessions. All votes will be held by roll call. Explanations of vote may be submitted in writing. Explanations of vote containing up to a maximum of 400 words will be accepted.

I declare the voting session open. You have until 12.45 to vote.

The debate with the European Council, Council and Commission statements on Russian aggression against Ukraine will start at 12.30, and the results of the votes will be announced at 15.00.

I encourage you to stay in the room and also call your colleagues to join us here. We will, as you know, not only have a very strong presence of Ukrainian citizens and their representatives in our gallery, but also interventions by President Zelensky and the Speaker of the Parliament of Ukraine, of the Verkhovna Rada, Ruslan Stefanchuk.

I look forward to seeing you at 12.30.

*(The sitting was suspended at 12.03)*

## 8. Wznowienie posiedzenia

*(The sitting resumed at 12.33)*

## 9. Napaść Rosji na Ukrainę (debata)

*(Russian aggression against Ukraine: debate on European Council, Council and Commission statements [2022/2564(RSP)])*

**President.** – Good afternoon.

We are here today in the dark shadow cast by Putin's war. A war we did not provoke. A war we did not start. An outrageous invasion of a sovereign, independent state.

On behalf of the European Parliament, I condemn the Russian military aggression against Ukraine in the strongest possible terms and express my solidarity with all those suffering and all those killed.

*(Loud and sustained applause)*

The message from Europe is clear: we will stand up. We will not look away when those fighting in the streets for our values face down Putin's massive war machine. We will support the International Criminal Court's jurisdiction and investigation of war crimes in Ukraine. We will hold him accountable, just as we will hold Lukashenko.

We are facing an existential threat to the Europe we know, the Europe so many have given so much for.

And this is why, on this important day, I am pleased to announce that President Zelenskyy will address us shortly, followed by Speaker Ruslan Stefanchuk, the Chair of the Rada of Ukraine.

And allow me also to extend a special welcome to the Ambassador of Ukraine and the Ukrainian people present in plenary today.

*(Loud and sustained applause)*

Mr President, thank you for showing the world what it means to stand up. Thank you for reminding us about the dangers of complacency.

Everyday acts of extraordinary heroism by Ukrainians inspire us all. Defence forces and citizens making the ultimate sacrifice to delay a column of tanks. Senior citizens standing up to face down Russian troops with nothing but pride and sunflowers as their weapon. Brave women forced to give birth in metro stations next to their Kalashnikovs.

They showed the world that our way of life is worth defending. It is worth a cost. All those who remember living under occupation will attest to that. All those standing up in Belarus. All those looking to us in Moldova, in Georgia.

It is worth it. For us, for the next generation, for all those in Ukraine and around the world who believe in Europe and in our way. And for all those who want to be free.

Our European response was on display over the last very painful days. This must be our 'Whatever it Takes' moment.

Neighbouring states have accepted hundreds of thousands of fleeing Ukrainians. Europeans sheltered Ukrainians in their homes. We have implemented a series of unprecedented, massive sanctions. We have gone further and will provide much-needed weapons to Ukraine. We have declared that Russian aircraft and oligarchs' private jets are no longer welcome in our open skies. We have moved for Russia to be disconnected from the SWIFT system.

*(Applause)*

We have banned Kremlin propaganda tools. European citizens, organisations, businesses, sports have taken a clear and forceful stand, underlining that they will not deal with or welcome an aggressor.

And Europe stands ready to go further still. We recognise Ukraine's European perspective and as our resolution clearly states, we welcome, Mr President, Ukraine's application for candidate status, and we will work towards that goal.

*(Loud applause)*

Because we will and we must face the future together.

Mr President, we stand with you in your fight for survival, in this dark moment in our history. When you look to this European Parliament you will always find an ally, a space to address Europe and the world, and always, always a friend.

This European Parliament has a long, proud history of being a thorn in the side of autocrats, and in this spirit I will seek a ban on any representative of the Kremlin from entering European Parliament premises.

*(Loud applause)*

Because aggressors and warmongers have no place in the House of democracy.

Dear President, dear Members, let me finish by setting out four important principles for our future.

First of all, Europe can no longer remain reliant on Kremlin gas.

*(Applause)*

We need to redouble our efforts to diversify our energy systems towards a Europe that is no longer at the behest of autocrats. This will put our energy security on a stronger footing.

Secondly, Europe can no longer welcome Kremlin cash and pretend that there are no strings attached. Putin's oligarchs and those who bankroll him should no longer be able to use their purchasing power to hide behind a veneer of respectability in our cities, in our communities or in our sports clubs.

Their super yachts should find no harbour in our Europe.

*(Loud applause)*

And we can no longer sell passports to Putin's friends, allowing them to circumvent our security. No more.

Thirdly, investment in our defence must match our rhetoric. Europe must move to have a real security and defence Union.

*(Applause)*

We have shown last week that it is possible and desirable, and more than anything, it is necessary.

And fourthly, we must fight the Kremlin's disinformation campaign. I call on social media and tech conglomerates to take their responsibility seriously and to understand that there is no being neutral between the fire and the fire brigade.

President Michel, President Von der Leyen, High Representative Borrell, thank you for ensuring European unity and commitment in facing this threat. I know that all of us, all the Members of this House, will take the united message of Europe back to our constituencies.

President Zelenskyy, thank you. We are together now. We will be together in the future because we are with Ukraine.

*(The House accorded the President a standing ovation)*

**Volodymyr Zelenskyy**, *President of Ukraine*. – *(The following is a transcription of the interpretation of the original speech from Ukrainian into English)* Madam President, you know, over the last couple of days I have not known how to greet anybody properly, because I can't say 'good' morning, 'good' afternoon or 'good' evening. This is absolutely true, because for some people every day is definitely not 'good'. For some people, this day is their last.

I speak today now about my citizens – the citizens of Ukraine – who are manning the walls and defending freedom and paying the ultimate price. I'm very pleased with what I've seen here – this unifying mood. I'm happy that we have brought together all the countries of the European Union today, but I did not know at what cost. This is a tragedy for me, for every Ukrainian and for every state – thousands of people killed, two revolutions, one war and five days of full-scale invasion by the Russian Federation.

I'm not reading from a sheet of paper, because the paper phase in the life of my country has ended. Now we are dealing with reality. Those people who died – this is real life. I believe that today we are giving our lives for values, for rights, for freedom, for the desire to be equal, just like you are – just like every human is. We are losing our best, our strongest and our most valuable people.

Ukrainians are incredible. We often love to say that we will prevail over everyone, and I'm very happy that you are not only talking about it, but you can also see it. I am convinced that we will indeed prevail over everyone. There is an expression, 'Ukraine chooses Europe'. That's what we have been striving for, and that's where we are have been and are still headed. I would very much like to hear you say to us that Europe now chooses Ukraine.

I have a few moments to talk with you now since there is a lull in missile strikes and bombardments. This morning was a very tragic one for us. Two cruise missiles hit Kharkiv, a city located close to the border with the Russian Federation. There were always many Russians there, and the people have always been friendly and had warm relations. There are over 20 universities there. It's the city that has the highest number of universities in our country. The youth there is bright and smart. They have always gathered and continue to gather there to celebrate all the festivals in the largest square in our country, Freedom Square, which is also the largest square in Europe. Yes, it is truly called Freedom Square. Can you imagine that, this morning, two cruise missiles hit Freedom Square? Dozens were killed. This is the price of freedom.

We're fighting for our land and for our freedom. Despite the fact that all large cities of our country are now blocked off, nobody is going to come in and interfere with our freedom and our country. Believe you me – every square in every city of our country from today on, no matter what it's called, is going to be called Freedom Square. Nobody is going to break us. We are strong. We are Ukrainians.

We have a desire to see our children live. I believe this to be a fair one. Yesterday, 16 children were killed. President Putin will say yet again that it's some kind of operation and that they are hitting military infrastructure where our children happen to be. What kind of military factories are they working at? Are they riding around in tanks or launching cruise missiles? You killed 16 people just yesterday!

Our nation is extremely motivated. We are fighting for our rights, for our freedoms and for our lives. Now we're fighting for our survival, and this is our highest motivation, but we're also fighting to be equal members of Europe. Today, I believe that we are all showing the world exactly what we're made of. The European Union will be much stronger with us – that's for sure. Without you, Ukraine will be alone.

We have proven our strength. We have proven that, at the very least, we are exactly the same as you are. So prove that you are with us. Prove that you will not abandon us. Prove that you are indeed Europeans, and then life will prevail over death and light will prevail over darkness. Glory to Ukraine!

*(The House accorded the President a standing ovation)*

**President.** – Thank you very much for your strong message, President, for your bravery and for your conviction.

I will now give the floor now to the Speaker of the Ukraine Parliament, Ruslan Stefanchuk, for his intervention.

**Ruslan Stefanchuk**, *Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.* – *(The following is a transcription of the interpretation of the original speech from Ukrainian into English)* First of all, I would like to thank you for giving me the opportunity to address the European Parliament. I would also like to say, look behind me. You see the same shots that the whole world sees today.

Eight years ago, the Ukrainian people categorically said no to Russian aggression, to their attempt to change their eternal path home – to the united European Union and to the very successful process of unification that it has demonstrated over all these years.

Instead, our rights to develop and to be a democratic state that chooses its own path has been completely laid waste by a country that doesn't respect international law or international principles, that disdains territorial integrity and sovereignty. You see the results of that today very clearly in the number of people killed and wounded.

You are aware that the aggressor carried out a full-scale attack on Kharkiv. Today other cities are under constant attack. I believe that this is a crossroads in the history of Europe. Europe is now fighting against an aggressor, and it is very important how the united European community responds to this challenge of savagery and barbarism.

Dear Members, I know you will be looking at a whole range of serious economic sanctions that you will adopt against the aggressor. I would like you to understand that today Ukraine is defending the border of the civilised world. If, God forbid, Ukraine falls, nobody knows where the Russian aggressor will stop.

When I was in my official suit and we were working in the *Verkhovna Rada*, we were adopting very important reformist laws, but just today I had to go down to the basement four times, because enemy planes are flying over my one-and-a-half thousand year old city, dropping bombs and firing missiles. They are doing everything to break the Ukrainian spirit, but this will not happen.

Think for a moment about what will happen to Europe if the terrible Russian Empire is restored. Would the European Union be able to protect this space of freedom, which it has created over the last dozens of years? What will happen in Eastern European countries now when Russian tanks approach their borders? To what other regions will the Kremlin look after it has conquered Ukraine?

I would like to call upon you to think strategically, to support the unity of the European Union, to support Ukraine, to make it a strategic partner and – most importantly – to act. Don't be silent. Gather all your efforts and show that Europe today is more unified than ever before, because the threat today is greater than ever.

The best support for the people of Ukraine in their darkest hours would be the immediate recognition of our membership of the European Union. Membership of the European Union – even before these events that started on 24 February — was supported by the majority of Ukrainians. Our mandate is to have a relationship with you, with the European Union, because the Ukrainian people have made their choice. I am calling upon all the Member States and the leadership of the European Union to support candidate status for Ukraine, which is now supported by the whole of Ukraine.

You know that Volodymyr Zelenskyy has already signed a letter with our application for membership, pursuant to Article 49 of the Treaty on European Union.

Dear friends, this motion for a resolution of the European Parliament contains a whole range of sanctions that you plan to impose on the aggressor. I would call on you to support them. Let us together refute Winston Churchill's famous saying that 'we live in an era of big events and small people'. I know for sure that Ukraine is a great country of great people, and they have proved this over the past six days.

Let us be worthy of those people who are dying right now for the European Union, for the future of our European home. Let us understand that there cannot be peace in Europe without Ukraine. Europe cannot be whole without Ukraine. Glory to Ukraine!

Thank you for your attention.

*(The House accorded the Speaker a standing ovation)*

**President.** – Mr Speaker, thank you for your words, for your courage and for your commitment to peace and parliamentary democracy.

I give the floor now to the President of the European Council, Charles Michel, for his statement.

**Charles Michel, président du Conseil européen.** – Madame la Présidente du Parlement européen, Madame la Présidente de la Commission européenne, Monsieur le Haut Représentant, Mesdames et Messieurs les Parlementaires, très cher Président ukrainien, cher Volodymyr Zelensky, très cher Président du Parlement ukrainien, les mots que vous avez exprimés transcendent nos âmes et nos cœurs et nous font mesurer la gravité et le sérieux du moment, la gravité et le sérieux de l'enjeu, la gravité et le sérieux des décisions que nous allons devoir prendre ensemble parce que, à nouveau, le sang et la guerre sont sur le sol européen.

Five days ago, Vladimir Putin launched a brutal, massive invasion of Ukraine, an unjustified and unprovoked war based on despicable lies. He did it only for one reason – because you, dear Volodymyr Zelenskyy, you, dear people of Ukraine in Maidan, you made the choice of freedom, democracy and rule of law.

Dear colleagues, it's not only Ukraine that's under attack. International law, the rules-based international order, democracy and human dignity are also under attack. This is geopolitical terrorism, pure and simple.

We must support Ukraine, and you are – we are – supporting Ukraine. We must protect peace. We must protect democracy and international law. Ladies and gentlemen, our transatlantic alliance is strong, united, perfectly coordinated and we are also working closely with the members of the G7 and with the United Nations. More and more countries are engaging in an anti-war coalition, along with people from around the world with one common message: Russia, Stop the war. Go home. Let's talk!



We are putting maximum pressure on Russia and its leaders. We are stepping up to support Ukraine and the Ukrainian people. I salute, with all of you, President Zelenskyy and the brave people of Ukraine for their courage and composure. It's also our duty to rise to this historic moment.

Ladies and gentlemen, we promised together that we would react quickly, that the consequences for Russia would be massive and severe, and our actions have matched our words. We have responded with massive and unprecedented sanctions. We have imposed sanctions on political and military leaders, on oligarchs, on Vladimir Putin, on Sergey Lavrov. We are also taking powerful measures to severely restrict the use of the foreign currency reserve of the Russian central bank. We are excluding key Russian banks from the Swift system, and we are also imposing severe sanctions on key sectors of Russia's economy.

Cependant, Mesdames et Messieurs, nous devons être honnêtes et francs les uns par rapport aux autres: ces sanctions signifieront aussi un coût pour nous-mêmes et nous devons l'assumer, parce que ce qui est en jeu, ce sont nos valeurs, nos convictions et notre avenir commun.

Chers collègues, bien sûr, soutenir l'Ukraine, c'est mobiliser des moyens financiers; nous le faisons, nous allons continuer à le faire et nous appelons à une conférence internationale des donateurs. C'est être engagés spécialement avec nos États membres aux frontières directes, qui vont être confrontés – et le sont déjà – à des personnes qui fuient la guerre et cherchent un refuge, un havre de sécurité. Ce sera l'honneur et la dignité de l'Europe de montrer notre solidarité vis-à-vis des Ukrainiens et vis-à-vis de l'ensemble de ceux qui sont mobilisés pour assumer cette responsabilité.

Bien entendu, la solidarité va aussi se manifester à travers des moyens militaires défensifs, qui sont et qui vont être livrés. C'est ainsi que ce samedi matin, en parfaite coordination avec le haut représentant, nous avons décidé d'activer la facilité européenne pour la paix, avec l'approbation des États membres, pour soutenir ces moyens militaires défensifs qui sont nécessaires aux efforts de résistance du peuple ukrainien.

Mesdames et Messieurs, il y a quelques instants, le président Zelensky nous a regardés dans les yeux, il nous a ouvert son cœur et a évoqué cette annonce, qui nous est maintenant adressée de manière officielle: la demande de reconnaissance par l'Union européenne du statut de candidat de l'Ukraine. Il va nous appartenir à nous, Européens, d'être aussi à la hauteur du moment. Bien sûr, nous savons que c'est un sujet difficile, parce qu'il touche à l'élargissement, et nous savons qu'il y a au sein de l'Union européenne des opinions différentes, qui peuvent parfois être nuancées sur ce sujet-là. Il appartiendra à la Commission européenne d'émettre un avis, à partir duquel le Conseil n'échappera pas à ses responsabilités. Le Conseil devra analyser sérieusement la demande symbolique, politique, forte et, je crois, légitime qui a été exprimée. Il conviendra alors de donner l'orientation et de faire le choix justes, avec sang-froid et détermination face à cette requête qui est exprimée aujourd'hui les yeux dans les yeux et avec une émotion qui nous touche chacune et chacun.

Mesdames et Messieurs, je voudrais clôturer ces quelques mots en vous indiquant que lorsque cette guerre a été déclenchée, Vladimir Poutine a certainement imaginé qu'il briserait l'unité européenne et il s'est trompé. Probablement, il a pensé qu'il ferait face à l'inaction, à la passivité et à la recherche des excuses pour ne pas décider et il s'est trompé. Lorsqu'il a lancé cette action, probablement, il a imaginé qu'en quelques instants, il prendrait la maîtrise de l'Ukraine et il s'est trompé, parce que le peuple ukrainien, avec bravoure et courage, résiste. Probablement, il a imaginé qu'en portant cette attaque, il porterait aussi un coup sévère, peut-être même fatal, à ce que nous incarnons: la démocratie, la liberté et l'état de droit. Faisons en sorte que là aussi, il se trompe.

En étant devant vous aujourd'hui, je pense à ces mots du général de Gaulle – et je veux le citer – qui disait en 1961: «Tout recul a pour effet de surexciter l'agresseur, de la pousser à redoubler sa pression, et finalement facilite son assaut. Au total, les puissances occidentales n'ont pas de meilleur moyen de servir la paix du monde que de rester droites et fermes.»

Droit et ferme, c'est exactement la posture du président Volodymyr Zelensky. C'est aussi la posture qu'il nous appartient d'adopter. Être droites et fermes et voir dans le visage, dans les yeux et dans la voix de Volodymyr Zelensky, la voix, le visage et la lumière de la liberté, de l'espoir, de la sécurité, de la stabilité et des valeurs européennes.

**Josep Borrell Fontelles**, *vice-président de la Commission / haut représentant de l'Union pour les affaires étrangères et la politique de sécurité, au nom du Conseil.* – Madame la Présidente du Parlement européen, Monsieur le Président du Conseil européen, Madame la Présidente de la Commission européenne, Monsieur le Président Zelensky, Monsieur le Président du Parlement ukrainien,

Dear Members of the European Parliament, I will try to share with you my thoughts on the meaning of the tragic events that we are living and the provisional lessons that we can draw from them, especially for the Common Security and Defence Policy, which I had the honour to try to develop and which remains an intergovernmental policy – a policy which is yet in the hands of the Member States, but cannot be implemented efficiently without strong cooperation with the Commission's competences.

I think this is the moment in which the geopolitical Europe is being born.

C'est l'acte de naissance de l'Europe géopolitique, le moment où nous prenons conscience des défis auxquels nous faisons face, le moment pendant lequel l'Europe doit faire face à ses responsabilités, le moment où nous prenons conscience que, pour la première fois depuis la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, un pays envahit un autre et ce pays a l'arme nucléaire, ce qui augmente sa capacité d'intimidation. Cela me rend malade de penser à l'analogie historique entre ces événements et le début de la Seconde Guerre mondiale.

But it is really the return of tragedy which Europe is being confronted with today. The return of tragedy, far from frightening us, should galvanise us. First because it belies the idea that the European project had lost its momentum because the horizon of war has faded, when unfortunately not. This reminds us that evil, tragedy and war never fade away. This is about the relationship with war, with the use of force, with violence, that we have been debating here for years to find out if Europe can counter. This is why in recent years we have talked more about defence issues, studying the past, and we have begun to set up joint military programmes. It is why the European Parliament itself has voted to set up the European Defence Fund and the Member States have created the European Peace Facility that we are now mobilising in order to provide arms to Ukraine.

The European Council, in the next weeks, will adopt the Strategic Compass and, with the invasion of Ukraine by Russia, we must amplify our reflection, adjust our means and anticipate our responses because one of the lessons that we have to learn from the invasion of Ukraine is that, more than ever, Europe must think strategically about itself, its environment and the world. This is no longer a luxury, it is a necessity. Europe must amplify its reflection on security issues and the European Parliament has had an important role to play in this regard.

We need to think about the instrument of coercion, retaliation and counterattack in the face of reckless adversaries, because all we need to understand is that to make peace, we need to be two – but to make war it is enough to be one. This is exactly what Mr Putin is telling us, and that's why we have to increase our deterrence capacity a lot. We need to increase our deterrence capacity in order to prevent war.

*(Applause)*

It's clear that our deterrence has not been strong enough to stop Mr Putin's aggression. But since this aggression has started, we have reacted in the last few days in a way that Mr Putin didn't expect. We are showing him that we will never sacrifice our freedom and the freedom of others on the altar of our well-being and prosperity. Being President of this Parliament in 2007, I had the opportunity to tell Mr Putin this eye-to-eye, on the aftermath of the killing of the journalist, Anna Politkovskaya. I told him we are not going to change human rights for your gas, and this is the moment to repeat and to act on that.

*(Applause)*

We will not share in that and we will not abandon the defence of our human rights and freedoms just because we are more or less dependent on Russia, and we have to start working quickly – as the Commission has proposed – in order to cancel this dependency.

Last Saturday, after having held another Foreign Affairs Council and attending the debate in the European Union Council, I was talking with you, President Michel, and you said to me: «Are we doing everything we can? Is there something more that we can do? Is that enough?» I was so, so powerless. You told me: «Think, do, act. We have to push Member States to adopt a decision on Swift and to take Russia out of the financial system» and «think about how we can arm Ukraine – not country by country, one after another, in an uncoordinated manner». You encouraged me to talk with the Member States again, and in a few hours we agreed on using the European Peace Facility in order to bring financial support and coordinate Member States on arming the Ukrainian army and people. In less than 24 hours another taboo had fallen.

(Applause)

The President of the Commission, immediately showing strong leadership, started working together to get an agreement with our international partners in order to make it possible to switch off Russia from the financial system. And you know what? Now, half of the reserves of the Central Bank of Russia are completely out of their control. They are frozen. Can you imagine? This is a coercion capacity. Three days ago it was impossible, and now it's possible, and they are starting to feel the consequences in terms of inflation and the fall of their currency.

Yes, we have capacities. We have mobilised these capacities and we have to continue doing so. On putting together the capacities of the Member States and the European Union, I want to remind you that the European Peace Facility is not part of the budget that you voted on; it is another budget, an intergovernmental fund managed by the Member States because we claimed that we in the European Union were a peaceful force and we cannot provide arms to anyone else. Yes, we can. Yes, we have done this.

In the next budget, think about it. When you vote on the next budget, use your budgetary capacity. You have the budgetary capacity of this institution to put down the ways and means to face the next crisis and the next Russian aggression.

Nous sommes en train de travailler au niveau international pour bâtir une coalition pour condamner la Russie au sein des Nations unies. Elle n'a pas eu un seul vote en sa faveur: tout le monde a voté contre, si l'on excepte quelques abstentions très significatives.

Ha habido países tradicionalmente aliados de Rusia que no han votado a su favor: se han abstenido. Ahora hay que construir una coalición internacional para que, en la próxima Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas sea el mundo entero el que condene al agresor; nadie puede mirar de lado. Cuando un potente agresor agrede sin justificación alguna a un vecino mucho más débil, nadie puede invocar la resolución pacífica de los conflictos. Nadie puede poner en pie de igualdad al agredido y al agresor. Nos acordaremos de aquellos que en este momento solemne no estén a nuestro lado.

(Aplausos)

Sí, hemos utilizado nuestra capacidad coercitiva, la capacidad de imponer, no necesariamente utilizando las armas. Cuando digo que Europa tiene que ser un *hard power* la gente piensa únicamente en el poder militar; no, el *hard power* se ejerce de otras muchas maneras. La capacidad de condicionar, la capacidad de imponer a otro otra conducta no se ejerce solamente con las armas; se ejerce, como ha propuesto la Comisión de una manera extraordinariamente eficaz – gracias, señora presidenta– y, como usted, que ha impulsado los debates del Consejo Europeo –gracias, señor presidente– tomando medidas como estas, que parecen de papel, que, desde luego, no movilizan misiles, pero tienen un efecto trascendental sobre la solvencia de un país e impiden que Rusia vaya a gastar el dinero que pagamos por su gas en alimentar la guerra.

Esto es, creo, señoras y señores diputados, la lección más importante que tenemos que extraer de estas trágicas circunstancias: no podemos seguir confiando en que apelar al Estado de Derecho y desarrollar relaciones comerciales va a convertir al mundo en un lugar pacífico donde todo el mundo evolucionará hacia la democracia representativa. Las fuerzas del mal, las fuerzas que pugnan por seguir utilizando la violencia física como una forma de resolver los conflictos, siguen vivas. Y, frente a ellas, tenemos que demostrar una capacidad de acción mucho más poderosa, mucho más consistente y mucho más unida que la que hemos sido capaces de demostrar hasta ahora.

Hemos hecho mucho y hemos, sin duda, asombrado al mundo y sorprendido a Putin con una capacidad de reacción rápida y unida. Hay que seguir por este camino, y este acto, este momento parlamentario en que ustedes, con sus aplausos, quieren dar ánimos a las instituciones europeas para seguir por el camino que hemos emprendido, puede ser el momento en que los europeos entiendan que el mundo en el que viven es un mundo peligroso y, para hacerle frente, hace falta que refuercen su Unión. La pandemia abrió la puerta a acciones innovadoras. La pandemia nos ha impulsado por el camino de unirnos más para hacer frente a los virus. Este momento trágico debe impulsarnos a unirnos más para hacer frente a aquellas acciones humanas que amenazan también la vida, la seguridad y la prosperidad de todos.

(Aplausos)

**Ursula von der Leyen**, *President of the Commission*. – Madam President of the European Parliament, Mr President of the Council, High Representative, Mr President of the Ukraine, dear Volodymyr, Mr Speaker of the Ukrainian Parliament, my honourable Members, war has returned to Europe. Almost 30 years after the Balkan Wars, and over half a century after Soviet troops marched into Prague and Budapest, civil defence sirens again went off in the heart of a European capital. Thousands of people fleeing from bombs camped in underground stations – holding hands, crying silently, trying to cheer each other up. Cars lined up towards Ukrainian Western borders, and when many of them ran out of fuel, people picked up their children and their backpacks and marched for tens of kilometres towards our Union. They sought refuge inside our borders, because their country was not safe any longer. Because inside Ukraine, a gruesome death count has begun. Men, women, children are dying, once again, because a foreign leader, President Putin, decided that their country, Ukraine, has no right to exist. And we will never, ever let that happen and never, ever accept that.

(Applause)

Honourable Members, this is a moment of truth for Europe. Let me quote the editorial of one Ukrainian newspaper, the *Kyiv Independent*, published just hours before the invasion began: ‘This is not just about Ukraine. It is a clash of two worlds, two polar sets of values.’ They are so right. This is a clash between the rule of law and the rule of the gun; between democracies and autocracies; between a rules-based order and a world of naked aggression. How we respond today to what Russia is doing will determine the future of the international system. The destiny of Ukraine is at stake, but our own fate also lies in the balance. We must show the power that lies in our democracies, we must show the power of people that choose their independent paths, freely and democratically. This is our show of force.

Today, a Union of almost half a billion people has mobilised for Ukraine. The people of Europe are demonstrating in front of Russian embassies all across our Union. Many of them have opened their homes to Ukrainians – fleeing from Putin’s bombs. And let me thank especially Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Hungary for welcoming these women, men and children. Europe will be there for them, not only in the first days, but also in the weeks and months to come. That must be our promise all together.

(Applause)

This is why we are proposing to activate the temporary protection mechanism to provide them with a secure status and access to schools, medical care and work. They deserve it. We need to do that now. And we know this is only the beginning. More Ukrainians will need our protection and solidarity. We are and we will be there for them.

Our Union is showing a unity of purpose that makes me proud. At the speed of light, the European Union has adopted three waves of heavy sanctions against Russia’s financial system, its high-tech industries and its corrupt elite. This is the largest sanctions package in our Union’s history. We do not take these measures lightly, but we feel we had to act. These sanctions will take a heavy toll on the Russian economy and on the Kremlin. We are disconnecting key Russian banks from the SWIFT network. We also banned the transactions of Russia’s central bank, the single most important financial institution in Russia, and this paralyses billions in foreign reserves, turning off the tap on Russia’s and Putin’s war. We have to end this financing of his war.

(Applause)

Second, we target important sectors of the Russian economy. We are making it impossible for Russia to upgrade its oil refineries; to repair and modernise its air fleet; and to access many important technologies it needs to build a prosperous future. We have closed our skies to Russian aircraft, including the private jets of oligarchs. And make no mistake: we will freeze their other assets as well – be it yachts or fancy cars or luxury properties – we will freeze that altogether.

Thirdly, in another unprecedented step, we are suspending the licences of the Kremlin's propaganda machine. The state-owned Russia Today and Sputnik, and all of their subsidiaries, will no longer be able to spread their lies to justify Putin's war and to divide our Union. These are unprecedented actions by the European Union and our partners in response to an unprecedented aggression by Russia.

Each one of these steps has been closely coordinated with our partners and allies, the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada and Norway, but also, for example, Japan, South Korea and Australia. All of these days you see that more than 30 countries – representing well over half of the world's economy – have also announced sanctions and export controls on Russia. If Putin was seeking to divide the European Union, to weaken NATO, and to break the international community, he has achieved exactly the opposite. We are more united than ever and we will stand up in this war, that is clear that we will overcome and we will prevail. We are united and we stay united.

*(Applause)*

Honourable Members, I am well aware that these sanctions will come at a cost for our economy too. I know this, and I want to speak honestly to the people of Europe. We have endured two years of pandemic. And we all wished that we could focus on our economic and social recovery. But I believe the people of Europe understand very well that we must stand up against this cruel aggression. Yes, protecting our liberty comes at a price. But this is a defining moment. And this is the cost we are willing to pay, because freedom is priceless, honourable Members. This is our principle: freedom is priceless.

Our investments today will make us more independent tomorrow. I am thinking first and foremost about our energy security. We simply cannot rely so much on a supplier that explicitly threatens us. This is why we reached out to other global suppliers. And they responded. Norway is stepping up. In January, we had a record supply of LNG gas. We are building new LNG terminals and working on interconnectors. But in the long run, it is our switch to renewables and hydrogen that will make us truly independent. We have to accelerate the green transition. Because every kilowatt-hour of electricity Europe generates from solar, wind, hydropower or biomass reduces our dependency on Russian gas and other energy sources. This is a strategic investment. And, my honourable Members, this is a strategic investment because on top, less dependency on Russian gas and other fossil fuel sources also means less money for the Kremlin's war chest. This is also a truth.

We are resolute, Europe can rise to the challenge. The same is true on defence. European security and defence has evolved more in the last six days than in the last two decades. Most Member States have promised deliveries of military equipment to Ukraine. Germany announced that it will meet the 2% goal of NATO as soon as possible. And our Union, for the first time ever, is using the European budget to purchase and deliver military equipment to a country that is under attack. EUR 500 million from the European Peace Facility, to support Ukraine's defence. As a first batch, we will now also match this by at least EUR 500 million from the EU budget to deal with the humanitarian consequences of this tragic war, both in the country and for the refugees.

Honourable Members, this is a watershed moment for our Union. We cannot take our security and the protection of people for granted. We have to stand up for it. We have to invest in it. We have to carry our fair share of the responsibility.

This crisis is changing Europe. But Russia has also reached a crossroads. The actions of the Kremlin are severely damaging the long-term interests of Russia and its people. More and more Russians understand this as well. They are marching for peace and freedom. And how does the Kremlin respond to this? By arresting thousands of them. But ultimately, the longing for peace and freedom cannot be silenced. There is another Russia besides Putin's tanks. And we extend our hand of friendship to this other Russia. Be assured, they have our support.

*(Applause)*

Honourable Members, in these days, independent Ukraine is facing its darkest hour. At the same time, the Ukrainian people are holding up the torch of freedom for all of us. They are showing immense courage. They are defending their lives. But they are also fighting for universal values and they are willing to die for them. President Zelenskyy and the Ukrainian people are a true inspiration. And when we last spoke, he told me again about his people's dream to join our Union.

Today, the European Union and Ukraine are already closer than ever before. There is still a long path ahead. We have to end this war. And we should talk about the next steps. But I am sure: nobody in this hemicycle can doubt that a people that stands up so bravely for our European values belongs in our European family.

And therefore, honourable Members, I say long live Europe. And long live a free and independent Ukraine.

*My z vamy. Slava Ukraini.*

*(Loud and sustained applause)*

**Manfred Weber**, im Namen der PPE-Fraktion. – Frau Präsidentin! Der 24. Februar ist eine tiefe Zäsur in Europa und in der Welt. Krieg ist zurück in Europa. Und jedes Wort, jede Rede, die man hält, wirkt klein angesichts der Leistungen, die die Ukrainer und Ukrainerinnen jetzt vollbringen. Und deswegen steht zunächst die Bewunderung im Mittelpunkt – für die Ukrainerinnen und Ukrainer, ihren Präsidenten Selenskyj an der Spitze, für ihre Standhaftigkeit, für ihre Freiheitliebe, für ihren Mut, für ihre Entschlossenheit. Sie sind die heutigen Helden unseres *European way of life*.

Der 24. Februar ist ein Freiheitstag für Europa: von Dublin bis Athen, von Lissabon bis nach Riga das gleiche Gefühl – einerseits der Schock, das Entsetzen über die Brutalität des russischen Angriffs und andererseits die Bewunderung und die Solidarität mit den Menschen in der Ukraine. Sie kämpfen für uns, für unsere Werte.

Diese Tage, dieser „Kiew-Moment“ des 24. Februars machen uns alle zu Europäern. Dieser „Kiew-Moment“ zwingt uns jetzt auch zu klaren Antworten. Wenn Präsident Selenskyj uns fragt: „Sind wir willkommen? Dürfen wir Mitglied der Europäischen Union werden? Gehören wir dazu?“, dann sage ich im Namen der größten Partei Europas: „Ja, ihr seid willkommen! Ja, ihr gehört zur Europäischen Union. Ihr seid unsere Freunde.“

*(Beifall)*

Der „Kiew-Moment“ zwingt uns auch, die Alternativen aufzuzeigen. Putin ist der brutale Aggressor. Er steht für das Gegenteil von dem, wovon wir überzeugt sind, nämlich für Nationalismus, für Autokratie, das Ablehnen aller Rechtsstaatlichkeit, das dumpfe Denken in imperialen Einflusszonen. Sein Denken ist das glatte Gegenteil von uns, einem Europa, das Grenzen überwinden will, Nationalismus besiegen will, Respekt gegenüber jedem und jeder zeigt, die Verteidigung des Rechtsstaats, der Demokratie und der Freiheit im Blick hat.

Der „Kiew-Moment“ bedeutet aber auch, dass wir ehrlich zu uns selbst sind, nämlich deutlich machen, dass wir jetzt handeln müssen. Mit den Sanktionen wurde ein beispielloses Paket geschnürt. Ich möchte allen Beteiligten herzlich für die Arbeit der letzten Stunden und Tage danken.

Wir als größte Fraktion unterstützen diese Maßnahmen, aber eines ist auch klar: Noch vor wenigen Tagen, vor einer Woche, war davon nicht so stark die Rede. Einzelne haben sogar abgelehnt, über *Nord Stream 2* als Sanktionsmöglichkeit zu sprechen. Wir waren nicht entschieden genug in der Vorbereitung der Schritte, die Putin jetzt gewählt hat. Das heißt für uns heute: Wir müssen handlungsfähiger werden, unsere Naivität ablegen und endlich die Einstimmigkeit in der Außenpolitik abschaffen.

*(Beifall)*

Der „Kiew-Moment“ bedeutet auch eine starke NATO, aber auch, einen starken europäischen Pfeiler aufzubauen. Die EVP hat letzte Woche NATO-Truppen in Litauen besucht. Ich habe dort einen niederländischen Kommandeur gefragt: „Was ist Ihr größter Wunsch an die Politik?“ Und seine Antwort war: „Wir verbringen 50 % unserer Zeit damit, die technischen Standards bei Funkgeräten, Technik, bei der Munition zu koordinieren. Schafft endlich gemeinsame europäische Strukturen!“ Das war die Bitte der Soldaten, die im Moment die Freiheit Europas verteidigen.

Der „Kiew-Moment“ bedeutet: Europa muss jetzt auch groß denken. Deswegen, bitte ich, müssen wir die Konferenz zur Zukunft Europas neu denken. Der Bürgerdialog ist abgeschlossen. Wir haben die Rückmeldungen. Jetzt ist es der richtige Zeitpunkt, diese Konferenz zu einem echten Platz zu machen, wo wir über die Zukunft Europas entscheiden, den Mut haben, diese Schritte gemeinsam zu gehen – wann, wenn nicht jetzt!

Und der „Kiew-Moment“ zeigt auch, dass wir die Politikbereiche auf den Prüfstand stellen müssen, die wir hier im Europäischen Parlament zu diskutieren haben: die Energiepolitik, bereits angesprochen von Ursula von der Leyen, die EU muss den *Green Deal* beschleunigen und neue internationale Partnerschaften sowie Energiehandelsverträge abschließen.

Und der „Kiew-Moment“ bedeutet für uns: Wir sind mit den USA in einer Schicksalsgemeinschaft verbunden. Gerade mit Joe Biden müssen wir jetzt dieses Momentum nutzen. Gerade jetzt zeigt sich, wie wichtig eine geschlossene Wirtschaftsunion, eine Wirtschaftsmacht für Freiheit und Demokratie ist. Und deswegen wollen wir eine neue TTIP, ein neues Handelsabkommen mit den Amerikanern aufbauen, damit wir noch enger zusammenstehen.

Es ist der richtige Zeitpunkt, mit diesem Kiew-Moment die Weiterentwicklung Europas anzugehen. Es beginnt eine neue Zeit. Wir brauchen einen langen Atem. Aber die Freiheit und der *European way of life* sind es wert. Denn Freiheit hat kein Preisschild. Den Preis der Freiheit zahlt man erst, wenn man sie verliert. Das beweisen uns die mutigen Ukrainerinnen und Ukrainer. Wir stehen an eurer Seite!

(Beifall)

**Iratxe García Pérez**, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señora presidenta, la guerra de Putin contra Ucrania marca el inicio de una nueva etapa en Europa y en el mundo. En tiempos históricos necesitamos decisiones históricas. El apoyo financiero y militar a Ucrania, la desconexión de los principales bancos rusos de la plataforma SWIFT, la activación de la Directiva de protección internacional para ayudar a los refugiados ucranianos y la prohibición de la maquinaria mediática del Kremlin suponen un salto cualitativo para nuestra capacidad de respuesta.

Las democracias occidentales hemos logrado una admirable unidad para hacer frente a este desafío y es fundamental que mantengamos la unidad ante los graves retos que tendremos que seguir afrontando. Los cuatro paquetes de sanciones liderados por el señor Borrell son un primer paso ante una larga crisis que planteará nuevos dilemas; entre ellos, cómo seguir apoyando a Ucrania o cómo reaccionar a probables represalias rusas.

La unidad requiere valor y sacrificio. Solo con valor y sacrificio alcanzaremos la autonomía energética para doblegar a Putin. Nuestro compromiso irrenunciable con un orden energético mundial cimentado en las energías renovables a largo plazo debe complementarse con la creación de reservas estratégicas de gas a corto plazo. Y también necesitamos valor y sacrificio para acoger a todos los refugiados que huyen de la guerra con un esfuerzo de responsabilidad compartida.

El cobarde ataque de Putin muestra su verdadero temor: la democracia. Una exitosa transición democrática en Ucrania debe servir de inspiración a quienes valientemente hoy también han salido a las calles en Rusia. La lucha por la paz y la libertad de los pueblos ruso y ucraniano requiere nuestro compromiso. No descansaremos hasta conseguir que Putin sea juzgado como criminal de guerra por la Corte Penal Internacional.

(Aplausos)

La agresión de Putin también desenmascara a sus cómplices de extrema derecha y a un modelo de convivencia que reprime a los opositores, censura a medios de comunicación y niega derechos individuales.

A esta hora, en las ciudades y en los pueblos de Ucrania no solo están en juego la seguridad y la integridad territorial de este país, sino también el mundo en el que queremos vivir. Puede ser uno democrático, apoyado en el Derecho internacional, la diplomacia y los derechos humanos; o puede ser otro, fundado en la fuerza bruta, en las esferas de influencia y en la violación de los derechos que deben de ser universales.

Ningún tirano nos hará renunciar a nuestro deseo de forjar alianzas en torno a un proyecto de paz que protege la soberanía de las naciones, el progreso y la libertad de los pueblos y la integridad de las fronteras.

La historia nunca se equivoca. No podemos dejar atrás a los ucranianos, solos, como nos sentimos en su momento los españoles en la primera mitad del siglo XX en la lucha entre el fascismo y la democracia. La resistencia del heroico pueblo ucraniano será el triunfo de las democracias occidentales. Y déjenme formular una última reflexión personal: me siento orgullosa de Europa, de la Europa de hoy, de la Europa que no se rinde y no se resigna, de la Europa que mira atrás para aprender de la historia, pero, sobre todo, mira hacia delante para seguir defendiendo lo máspreciado: la democracia y la paz.

(Aplausos)

**Stéphane Séjourné**, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Président, Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Haut Représentant, chers collègues, je souhaite commencer par saluer le courage des Ukrainiennes et des Ukrainiens qui se battent non seulement pour leur patrie, mais aussi pour leur droit à choisir leur destin. Monsieur le Président Zelensky, Monsieur le Président du Parlement ukrainien, vous êtes l'honneur aujourd'hui des démocrates. Ces derniers jours, l'Europe a montré qu'elle était le meilleur allié du peuple ukrainien. L'Europe a aussi démontré qu'elle était le bouclier qui protège la démocratie et nos libertés pour chaque peuple de l'Union.

Sur toutes les décisions prises cette semaine, Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Président, je vous garantis le soutien absolu de mon groupe politique. Nous mesurons le travail énorme qui a été fait par les institutions européennes pour prendre et rendre opérationnelles les sanctions et les mesures de soutien à l'Ukraine. Si nous avions été seuls ou divisés, je n'ose imaginer ce que Poutine aurait fait de notre continent. Vous avez été, en quelque sorte, à la hauteur de l'histoire.

Permettez-moi d'appeler à aller un cran plus loin, notamment sur la mesure de soutien à l'Ukraine. L'octroi du statut de candidat à l'adhésion a son importance. L'Ukraine ne rejoindra pas l'Union européenne avant quelques années avec un processus rigoureux, mais il est temps que nous reconnaissons que les Ukrainiens, par le sang versé au nom de la liberté et de la démocratie, sont déjà membres de notre communauté de destin. Le statut de candidat est, en ce sens, une juste reconnaissance.

Nous attendons également des sanctions fortes avec un objectif: assécher les financements de la guerre du clan Poutine, pour mettre fin à son régime et à la guerre. Embargo commercial sur les technologies, le pétrole et le gaz, saisie des propriétés des oligarques et des passeports dorés, fin des droits de résidence – vous l'avez mentionné, Madame la Présidente – toutes ces sanctions doivent être activées le plus rapidement possible. Nous espérons que ces mesures permettront le sursaut du peuple russe, majoritairement opposé – il faut le rappeler – à la guerre. Le courage des manifestants, notamment ceux d'opposition en Russie, doit être aussi salué dans cet hémicycle.

Ces mesures ont un coût pour nos économies. Nous invitons donc l'Europe à mutualiser au niveau européen ces coûts pour les pays et les entreprises les plus exposés.

Je terminerai peut-être par un élément, Monsieur le Président, Madame la Présidente, pour rappeler que cette crise démontre que l'Europe a encore du chemin à parcourir pour garantir sa souveraineté. Ce travail de long terme vers notre autonomie stratégique doit se conclure et inclure une révision des budgets de défense, au niveau national comme au niveau européen, ainsi qu'une stratégie d'autonomie énergétique.

Chers collègues, la protection de notre modèle européen a certes un prix. Mon groupe politique, pour lequel la liberté est une valeur cardinale et fondatrice, répond sans trembler: nous sommes prêts à assumer le coût, tant dans les conséquences et les sanctions que dans les investissements massifs dans les outils de souveraineté européenne. Nous serons à la hauteur du sacrifice du peuple européen, mais aussi du sacrifice de millions d'Européens avant nous, qui ont fait du peuple européen le plus libre du monde.

**Philippe Lamberts**, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, I would say to our dear Ukrainian friends: we do not have enough words to praise your courage and determination to defend your freedom. Your resistance is a wake-up call to all democrats around the world. Without the will to fight, democracy will perish.



To your aggressor I say: your lies for justifying war cannot, and will not, remain unchallenged. No, Mr Putin, Ukraine is not ruled by Nazis. On the contrary, its legitimately-elected President stems from a family which was bloodied in the Holocaust.

No, Mr Putin, there is no genocide going on in the Donbas. What is happening there is a war that you yourself started eight years ago, which has already taken 14 000 lives, and which your invasion brings only to a new level.

No, Mr Putin, Ukraine has never intended to get nuclear weapons. On the contrary, it relinquished voluntarily those it inherited in 1991 from the Soviet Union in exchange for its territorial integrity, which you have been trampling on ever since you annexed Crimea in 2014.

No, Mr Putin, there was no perspective for Ukraine to join NATO in the foreseeable future. If there is such an aspiration in Ukraine, as there was in so many nations once subjugated by the Soviet Union, your aggression against Ukraine explains why.

No, Mr Putin, the NATO member states have no intention to deny the Russian peoples' right to peace and security. It is your reckless actions that imperil those legitimate aspirations. The reality, Mr Putin, is that the people of Ukraine chose freedom, democracy, the rule of law and peace. That choice, made by a people so close to Russia's by history and geography, was never a threat to Russia's security, but to the very existence of your authoritarian and kleptocratic rule.

This is the real reason for the invasion and the cost of precious human lives and livelihoods, both Ukrainian and Russian.

The reality, Mr Putin, is that your brutal aggression against the Ukrainian people is doomed to fail. You wanted to deny their very existence as a people, but your aggression is cementing their unity against the invader.

As citizens of the European Union, we know that the war on Ukraine is more than just an aggression against a sovereign state. It is a direct challenge to the values that lie at the foundation of our Union.

Ever since it was started, the European project was – and remains – a peace project, so that the rule of brute force be replaced by the rule of law and so that democracy, dialogue, compromise and cooperation across national borders provide the best basis for shared and sustainable prosperity. We Europeans cannot stand by idle when a partner country is invaded and when our fundamental values are challenged in such a brutal way.

This is why – short of direct military intervention, which would be foolish – we must, and we will, provide the Ukrainian people with all the support we can in order to face the aggression. This is why we must, and we will, provide safe haven without any discrimination to all those who are fleeing the war to seek refuge on our territory.

This is why we must, and we will, mobilise all the political, economic and financial means at our disposal to exert maximum pressure on Putin's Russia in order to make him stop his aggression.

Let me be clear to the people of Russia: we have no quarrel with you. You too have the right to live in dignity, and many of you are standing up daily to defend it at great personal risk. We know that resuming the diplomatic dialogue with your country is the only path to sustainable peace on our continent, but this can only happen if the aggression stops.

As for us Europeans, meeting the challenge put to us by Putin's war will test our strength, our determination and, above all, our unity. It will not come cheap. Therefore, it will force us to make hard choices.

The first must be for cohesion within and across Member States. The global financial crisis, the eurozone crisis and the pandemic have deepened social and economic injustice in our Union. It cannot be that, once again, the brunt of the massive efforts required to counter Putin's war will be carried by the weakest shoulders.

Should that be the case, the legitimate resentment would sap the very basis of our social contract, as well as those of our Union. This would fulfil one of Putin's unsaid goals – dividing us.

The second must be for energy independence. Indeed, our massive dependence on Russia for raw materials and energy is a primary reason for Europe's lack of determination to deter the Russian regime up until now. That is no surprise when 40% of our gas, 30% of our coal, of our oil and of our nuclear fuel – don't forget that – is provided by Russia as the EU is almost devoid of those resources.

Is our plan really to replace this massive dependence on Russia with another equally massive dependence on anyone else? We say that energy independence is the key for the EU to become a respected geopolitical player, and that will never be achieved by putting gas and nuclear at the heart of our energy strategy.

As the President said, only renewables and energy efficiency can give us the strategic autonomy we seek. It is not just for the climate that we must accelerate the energy transition. It is for our security and for the resilience of our economies.

Dear colleagues, never before has the European Union been challenged in such a direct and brutal way. I have no doubt that we collectively – and only collectively – have the strength, the resources, the determination and, above all, the wisdom to meet this challenge together, and together with Ukraine, because we belong together.

**Marco Zanni**, *a nome del gruppo ID*. – Signora Presidente, signora Presidente della Commissione europea, signor presidente del Consiglio, signor Alto rappresentante, onorevoli colleghi, l'ignobile attacco del regime russo all'Ucraina fa rivivere all'Europa le immagini più brutte della sua storia. Come ricordava la Presidente von der Leyen, a trent'anni dalla guerra dei Balcani, di nuovo, ancora, nel 2022, siamo a parlare di una guerra in Europa.

Il nostro supporto e la straordinaria ammirazione vanno al popolo ucraino, a queste persone che oggi, con tenacia, difendono la loro libertà e la loro sovranità di fronte a un'aggressione ingiustificabile.

Bene la condanna unanime e bene il fatto che, forse per la prima volta, in questa maniera le Istituzioni europee hanno risposto con fermezza e con velocità a una situazione emergenziale. Lo avete ricordato tutti: il pacchetto di sanzioni che è stato varato è un pacchetto che per dimensioni, larghezza e impatto, non ha eguali nella storia dell'Europa; l'approccio e l'unità con cui si sono mosse le Istituzioni europee non li abbiamo mai visti in precedenza.

Il supporto al popolo ucraino deve essere totale e dobbiamo far sì che, prima possibile, la soluzione a questo conflitto sia una pace che ripristini l'integrità territoriale dell'Ucraina. Ma allo stesso tempo, come hanno ricordato alcuni di voi, dobbiamo analizzare il fatto che il 24 febbraio cambia e ha cambiato la nostra storia e che ci sarà un «prima» e un «dopo».

E noi abbiamo l'obbligo di analizzare quali sono stati i nostri sbagli, quali sono stati i nostri errori nel prima, per far sì che l'Europa e gli Stati europei non siano impreparati per un dopo. La Russia non è l'unico regime autoritario che minaccia il mondo globale e di questo dovremmo tenere conto.

Allora, proviamo a analizzarli, questi errori: abbiamo parlato più volte – e alcuni sono stati evidenziati da chi ha parlato prima di me – della nostra dipendenza dalla Russia sull'energia, sul gas, sul petrolio, sulle materie prime, come mercato di sbocco dei nostri prodotti. Ma questa dipendenza è stata una nostra scelta politica: è stata nostra la scelta di non sfruttare le nostre risorse energetiche per comprarle poi dalla Russia o da altri Paesi.

Vedete, l'Europa non è un paese povero di fonti energetiche: ha deciso di essere un paese povero di energia. Vi faccio un esempio: il mio Paese negli anni '90 produceva 20 miliardi di metri cubi di gas all'anno. Oggi ne produce 3 e non perché il gas in Italia sia finito, ma perché abbiamo deciso di non utilizzarlo.

E riguardo alle sanzioni: come abbiamo detto, un pacchetto mai visto che, però, dobbiamo essere chiari, avrà un impatto anche sulla nostra economia e riprendo quanto detto dal collega Lambert: dopo due anni di pandemia e dopo una crisi economica mai vista, non possiamo permettere che le conseguenze di queste sanzioni pesino ancora sulle nostre imprese e sui nostri cittadini e spero che altrettanto prontamente, come ha agito sulle sanzioni, la Commissione agisca affinché questo non accada e affinché le nostre imprese e i nostri cittadini siano supportati.

Chiudo con due riflessioni. La prima: quello che abbiamo visto con la Russia deve essere una lezione per il futuro. C'è un altro regime illiberale che minaccia l'Occidente, cioè quello cinese: non commettiamo gli stessi errori che abbiamo commesso con la Russia con questo regime e ridurre la dipendenza dell'Europa da questo Paese è un obbligo.

Il secondo punto, e concludo, è più personale. Questi sono i momenti della storia in cui la politica, i politici, si dividono tra grandi e piccoli; nel mio Paese si dice tra «uomini» e «omnicchi». Purtroppo devo constatare, Presidente, che ancora una volta, di fronte a questo momento drammatico, alcuni in questo Parlamento hanno voluto essere ricordati come dei piccoli uomini: impedire al mio gruppo politico di sostenere con convinzione la risoluzione che andremo a votare è un gesto da piccoli politici, che non fa tanto danno a me, né al gruppo che presiedo, ma fa danno a questa Istituzione che, forse, per una volta nella sua storia, avrebbe potuto assumere una posizione forte all'unanimità.

**Ryszard Antoni Legutko**, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Madam President, the war has created an entirely new situation, and we have to do everything we can to win this war because it's our war, the war of all European nations.

Once Putin decided to go ahead with the invasion, it became clear he's determined to subdue Ukraine and will not hesitate to resort to extreme measures. It was he who once said, let me remind you, that the collapse of the Soviet Union had been the greatest geopolitical tragedy of the century. So there should be no misunderstanding as to his intentions. He plans to create what was once the Soviet empire – perhaps not with one stroke, but that is definitely his final objective. Moreover, he has been more or less open about it all along.

The Ukrainian army and the Ukrainian people are opposing the invaders, and they desperately need some military backup, arms and other tools of defence. Fortunately, after the initial opposition from some countries, it is now about 20 governments I think, which have started helping the Ukrainians. It's very good that some time ago, in the Council, the Member States decided to create a European Peace Facility and that these funds can now be used to help Ukraine. I'm proud to say that it is my government that was first to propose, as early as Thursday morning, to activate the European Peace Facility.

So, the flow of arms, the flow of necessary technology and other means of defence must continue. Whatever the effects of the sanctions, who wins the war will ultimately be decided on the battlefield.

Finally – and I must say this, I'm sorry, because as usual, the EU with its narcissistic and self-congratulatory proclivities likes to escape responsibility – Putin made his decision because he was induced by the weakness of the West. Let us be frank. He did not think much of the Western leaders, and it showed. He didn't hide it. In a way, he was right, having been for a long time pampered by the French and German Governments, by some American administrations, and also by the European Commission that was both unable and unwilling to stymie the Nord Stream projects.

So to those Western leaders and governments that took upon themselves the job of dealing with Russia, and particularly to the German politicians – but not only to them – we must say today, ladies and gentlemen: you blew it and your leadership credibility is gone. It's time for a reset, and let us start by enabling Ukraine to join the European Union.

**Manon Aubry**, *au nom du groupe The Left*. – Madame la Présidente, Madame la Présidente de la Commission européenne, la guerre revient en Europe. Je fais partie de cette génération née après la guerre froide, qui n'a pas connu le choc guerrier des grandes puissances et à qui on a répété depuis l'enfance que l'Europe, c'était la paix.

Or, les fantômes du passé ressurgissent et la guerre est de retour. Je veux le dire ici très clairement: Vladimir Poutine en porte l'entière responsabilité et il a aujourd'hui du sang sur les mains. Notre groupe condamne avec la plus grande fermeté l'intolérable agression militaire contre l'Ukraine et salue la résistance héroïque des Ukrainiens et de leur président Zelensky face à l'invasion.

Les chars grondent, les balles pleuvent et les civils tentent de trouver un abri, la peur au ventre, tantôt dans le métro, tantôt sur les routes de l'exil. C'est d'abord à eux que je veux penser. Aujourd'hui, les Ukrainiens doivent savoir que nous ne les abandonnerons pas. Je veux dire au président Zelensky, que je remercie d'avoir pris le temps aujourd'hui de s'adresser à notre Parlement, que la démocratie et la liberté, pour lesquelles son peuple se bat, sont nos valeurs et précisément la hantise de Vladimir Poutine. Nous devons envoyer une aide humanitaire d'urgence sans condition et accueillir les réfugiés, sans distinction de couleur de peau, sans «mais», sans ergoter.

La crise est humanitaire, mais elle est aussi, évidemment, plus que jamais géopolitique. Poutine veut nous faire entrer dans un monde de chaos et de brutalité, où la règle du plus fort domine. Je le dis ici avec solennité: chers collègues, chère Présidente von der Leyen, cher Président du Conseil, nous ne pouvons accepter d'entrer dans un jeu terrible et acter que l'Europe se transforme durablement en champ de bataille. Je vous mets en garde, collègues, contre la surenchère militaire et la course aux armements qui mettraient notre continent à feu et à sang. Comme le disait très justement Jean Jaurès, «on ne fait pas la guerre pour se débarrasser de la guerre». L'Union européenne doit au contraire défendre, quoi qu'il en coûte, le seul objectif valable: la paix et la désescalade.

Des sanctions fortes et ciblées sont prises, mais comment voulez-vous réellement appliquer certaines d'entre elles, quand on garantit l'impunité des paradis fiscaux qui planquent les avoirs des oligarques russes? Comme quoi, lutter contre l'évasion fiscale, c'est aussi lutter contre la criminalité au niveau international. Soyons lucides, les sanctions économiques n'auront qu'un temps, car les peuples vont en subir les conséquences, notamment à travers des hausses de prix qui doivent être compensées.

Nous le savons tous, la seule option durable est diplomatique et tous nos efforts doivent être tournés vers l'obtention d'un cessez-le-feu et du retrait des troupes russes. Le chemin de la paix est certes laborieux, mais il est le seul raisonnable à cette heure. L'OTAN, alliance militaire héritée de la guerre froide, n'est pas la solution. Le juge de paix international n'est pas l'OTAN; c'est l'ONU. L'espace de discussion des conditions de sécurité du continent n'est pas l'OTAN; c'est l'OSCE. Le président ukrainien a évoqué des pistes pour sortir par le haut, par exemple un statut de neutralité protégé par l'ONU; accompagnons cette possibilité.

Je ne veux pas mentir aux citoyens, il n'y a pas de solution miracle. Toutefois, j'ai une conviction profonde: la véritable fermeté face à Poutine n'est pas de s'enfermer dans le cercle vicieux du «œil pour œil, dent pour dent»; l'espoir vient au contraire de la mobilisation des peuples pour la paix jusqu'en Russie. À Rostov-sur-le-Don, juste à côté de la frontière ukrainienne, en Russie, une jeune femme a été condamnée à huit jours de prison pour s'être postée seule dans la rue avec une pancarte blanche, symbole d'une mobilisation que Poutine veut rendre invisible. Elle symbolise aussi le courage de ces milliers de Russes défiant la répression féroce de Poutine, faisant écho aux centaines de milliers d'Européens qui se parent du drapeau ukrainien avec un message: la paix à tout prix.

Je terminerai par ces mots d'Albert Camus, le 8 août 1945, juste après le bombardement d'Hiroshima: «Devant les perspectives terrifiantes qui s'ouvrent à l'humanité, nous apercevons encore mieux que la paix est le seul combat qui vaille d'être mené. Ce n'est plus une prière, mais un ordre qui doit monter des peuples vers les gouvernements, l'ordre de choisir définitivement entre l'enfer et la raison».

**Kinga Gál (NI).** – Elnök Asszony, Főképviseelő Úr! Magyarországra tegnap estig több mint 90 ezer menekült érkezett. A magyar történelem egyik legnagyobb humanitárius programja zajlik éppen, a hazánkba érkező menekültek, illetve az Ukrajnába küldendő segély tekintetében. Mindenkit befogadunk, ellátunk, függetlenül attól, Ukrajna melyik részéről menekül, vagy milyen etnikumú. Az egész ország egy emberként segít. Teljes mértékben elítéljük az orosz katonai agressziót, és kiállunk Ukrajna területi integritása és szuverenitása mellett. Magyarország az egységes európai fellépést kulcsfontosságúnak tartja, támogatja Ukrajna tagjelölti státuszát, s minden rosszindulatú álhírrrel, dezinformációval ellentétben, a magyar kormány támogat minden közös szankciót, egységes döntést, ideértve az európai békekeret aktiválását is.

Nem engedhetjük, hogy belerángassanak a szomszédban zajló tragikus háborúba. Az emberek békét akarnak! Háborús helyzetben a nemzeti kisebbségek még kiszolgáltatottabbak, még kitettebbek az álhíreknek, dezinformációnak, így oda kell figyelniük a kárpátaljai magyar közösség biztonságára is. Most stratégiai nyugalomra van szükség, hogy az erőszak és a fegyverek térfeléről visszatérjenek a felek a tárgyalásokhoz, a diplomáciai megoldásokhoz. A béke helyreállításán kell dolgoznunk, a szomszédságban és a térségben egyaránt, és ehhez minden segítséget meg kell adnunk Ukrajnának.

#### VORSITZ: OTHMAR KARAS

*Vizepräsident*

**Rasa Juknevičienė (PPE).** – Mr President, Ukraine signed in their blood the EU membership. I myself must apologise to Ukrainians and to all others that I was too weak to convince my friends in the West in time that Putin is a major threat and that the biggest provocation is not NATO or EU membership, but not being invited to join NATO and the EU.

But today there are no more Eastern or Western Europeans. There is only our joint responsibility for the European continent. I want to turn to the Russians. You also can stop the war criminal Putin. I understand that you yourselves are imprisoned and poisoned with lies, but join us nonetheless. The Ukrainians are dying for you also, for a free Russia.

Some human being in the Kremlin must act too, to isolate this war criminal with a nuclear button in his hands. Those MEPs who went to the occupied Crimea must now go to Putin and stop him. Ukrainian blood binds you. We are witnessing the beginning of an end for Putin. When that end will come, I cannot tell you. I only know that we must do all that is in our power to bring it closer. Thank you, Ukraine. *Slava Ukraini.*

**Pedro Marques (S&D).** – Presidente, Presidente da Comissão, Alto Representante, Presidente Zelenskyy, ucranianos, uma agressão bárbara a um Estado livre e uma Europa que se une contra o regresso do mundo à Guerra Fria. Uma guerra que já não é apenas uma miragem. Há um povo que sofre e um mundo que muda.

Sim, armamos a Ucrânia. Sim, infligimos sanções sem paralelo a Putin e aos oligarcas. Isolamos a Rússia de Putin do mundo livre. Exortamos a coragem sem fim dos ucranianos e o exemplo dos milhares que Putin prendeu por gritarem pelo fim da guerra.

Se hoje somos menos livres, devido a esta guerra, lutaremos com mais força pela ambição do sonho europeu da liberdade. Apoiaremos a Ucrânia, enfrentaremos a crise energética. Seremos, finalmente, solidários com os refugiados todos e afirmaremos, sem mais demoras, a autonomia da Europa no mundo.

Sairemos mais fortes e unidos da crise que nos queria dividir. E sonhamos, sonhamos com o regresso à paz para os nossos filhos, para os filhos da brava Ucrânia. *Slava Ukraini!*

**Petras Auštrevičius (Renew).** – Mr President, Madam President, High Commissioner, dear colleagues, dear Ukrainians, today we are back to 28 in the European Union again. Ukraine has emerged as a great member of the European family. Ukraine is bravely fighting for European values and freedom for Europeans. Let us give Ukraine its due: providing a candidate status now and then accepting it in the European Union. Every day that passes makes things worse for Ukraine and we cannot allow it.

Today, the future and the fate of Europe is at stake in Ukraine. Russia's traitorous operation only confirms the Putin regime's choice to draw new red lines on the face of Europe. By ordering the attack on Ukraine, the Russian leader, Putin, has become a war criminal and has brought the Belarusian dictator Lukashenko with him. They are already in the dustbin of history. Their actions are already condemned and soon due to be convicted.

Let us give Ukraine a weapon with which it can defend itself against the aggressor. It's our duty. And let us provide humanitarian aid to its people who are suffering from the crimes of its aggressor. This support must be such that the West can look Ukraine in the eye.

Let us isolate Russia. The full political, economic and cultural blockade. Keep Russia down, Kremlin cronies out and the Russian people close. Ukraine's victory is our victory.

*Slava Ukraini!*

**Sergey Lagodinsky (Verts/ALE).** – Mr President, *Slava Ukraini!* We did not ask for this confrontation. Ukrainians did not ask for this confrontation. Ukrainians didn't spread hate. Ukrainians didn't dream of empires. Ukrainians did not dictate their neighbours what policies to follow and which alliances to join. Ukrainians did not occupy, did not annex and did not blackmail. Those actions came from Moscow, and my heart is bleeding when I say those words.

But Ukrainians, all they want is to live a free life in a free country. This is not much to ask, but this is a lot to defend. And this is why it is our European moral imperative to help, to help Ukrainians with refuge and money, but yes, also with military equipment to help them defend their own choice, to help them save their children, their families, their loved ones, the loved ones who take arms and walk to battles, help them to return.

And yes, this is why we have no other options than to put a clear alternative in front of President Putin. Either you stop this war now, or you will have to bear the consequences that will be devastating. We did not ask for this confrontation. You did.

**Peter Kofod (ID).** – Hr. formand! Rusland skal rammes af de hårdeste sanktioner. Vi skal sende våben til Ukraine. Vi skal sende penge. Vi skal sende nødhjælp, og vi skal tage imod de stakkels mennesker, der er tvunget på flugt fra Ukraine og kommer til vores hjem, som er deres nærområder. Vi skal sige fra over for Putins rædselsregime. Vi skal vise, at den aggression, Putin har udvist over for en fredelig nabo, er uacceptabel, at aggression vil blive besvaret med hårde konsekvenser for Rusland, og at Kremles terror aldrig vil blive tolereret af den frie verden. Den frie verden kan kun være på Ukraines side.

Jeg elsker Europa, som det mangfoldige kontinent det er. Og Ukraine er også Europa. De mennesker, der flygter i disse dage fra Ukraine, de er europæere, og de er en del af vores europæiske familie.

Når ukrainerne mødes med fjendskab og bomber fra Putin, skal de mødes med venskab og hjælp fra Europa. Diktatorer bliver aldrig mætte, og Putin får aldrig nok. I disse tider går det ud over Ukraine. I fremtiden kan det gå ud over andre europæiske lande. Det skal der sættes en stopper for. Vi må mande os op. Og vi må og skal stå vagt om enhver suveræn nations fulde ret til selv at bestemme over sin skæbne. Vi skal være beredte på at forsvare os selv imod enhver tyran, der vil udfordre os eller kommer med krig og terror. Vi har brug for et markant styrket NATO, og vi har brug for markant øgede forsvarsbudgetter. Jeg støtter den beslutning, som flertallet har forhandlet på plads.

**Raffaële Fitto (ECR).** – Signor Presidente, signora Presidente della Commissione, onorevoli colleghi, una tragedia ingiustificabile sta colpendo il nostro continente.

Quello che sta accadendo sotto i nostri occhi, a pochi chilometri dai nostri confini, è un attacco condotto dalla Federazione Russa a tutto campo contro la sovranità e l'integrità territoriale di un Paese democratico. Le immagini che ci giungono dall'Ucraina testimoniano non solo un attacco ingiustificato e indiscriminato ma la palese violazione di tutte le regole del diritto internazionale, comprese quelle che regolano i conflitti.

Bisogna reagire per mettere fine a queste azioni mirate contro obiettivi civili, donne e bambini, che non rappresentano una guerra vera e propria ma una barbarie, i cui responsabili dovranno essere chiamati in causa nelle sedi competenti. Barbarie alla quale il popolo ucraino, cui esprimiamo la nostra piena solidarietà e vicinanza, sta seguendo e reagendo con coraggio, dignità e con grande spirito di resilienza.

Così come penso che oggi sia opportuno sottolineare quella che è l'azione, il ruolo dei Paesi del confine orientale, i quali stanno svolgendo un'azione nell'accoglienza e nella gestione dell'emergenza umanitaria che è encomiabile. Una reazione, quella ucraina, forse per molti inaspettata e che richiede da parte nostra, in cooperazione con altri Paesi dell'Alleanza atlantica e della comunità internazionale, un impegno ancora maggiore per difendere i valori di libertà e democrazia.

Ed è per questo che l'Unione europea e l'Occidente hanno sicuramente compiuto nel passato alcuni errori: ma oggi è il momento dell'unità e della fermezza. Per questo, da parte del nostro gruppo, ribadisco il pieno sostegno alle sanzioni e a tutte quelle azioni che vanno a colpire il potere economico e militare di Mosca e che costringono il Cremlino a mettere fine a questa vergognosa offensiva nei confronti dell'Ucraina. Ma, al tempo stesso, è opportuno anche far sì che, nel preservare l'unità politica e le decisioni dell'Unione europea, si riesca a mantenere il consenso dell'opinione pubblica europea su quanto già è accaduto oltre a questi due anni di pandemia sul fronte economico.

Ecco perché dobbiamo ragionare con forza per guardare con attenzione all'istituzione di un fondo, per poter mettere al riparo i cittadini e le categorie colpite da queste sanzioni.

**Idoia Villanueva Ruiz (The Left).** – Señor presidente, señora presidenta de la Comisión, quiero hoy expresar nuestra rotunda condena a la invasión de Ucrania y nuestra máxima solidaridad con las víctimas del pueblo ucraniano en estos momentos tan difíciles. Pero hoy cabe recordar también que tenemos presentes en esta Cámara grupos de extrema derecha aliados de Putin, financiados para trabajar precisamente por la desestabilización de Europa, algo que no se puede seguir blanqueando. Europa debe actuar con firmeza, pero con el objetivo de construir la paz. La prioridad debe ser parar la pérdida de vidas humanas, evitar las tentaciones de utilizar este conflicto para afianzar otros intereses. Debemos impulsar espacios de negociación internacional y usar todos los medios a nuestro alcance para cuidar los espacios de diálogo, porque sabemos que es la única vía para poner fin a esta terrible tragedia. No cometamos viejos errores agravando conflictos y participando en escaladas militares que se han extendido durante años con inmenso dolor. Es el momento de hacer política con mayúsculas y demostrar que Europa puede estar y estará a la altura de los tiempos. Solo la paz es el objetivo.

**Fabio Massimo Castaldo (NI).** – Mr President, today, we are not simply condemning an unjustifiable aggression. Today, we stand up united in this House to face the criminal invasion of an authoritarian regime against international law, our principles, our values, therefore against all of us.

Putin's cynical bet assumes he would quickly overthrow the Ukrainian democracy with these divisions on the ground, but also brings other divisions no less dangerous through propaganda and fear within our countries, among our peoples. Our bond and duty is to make sure that he will fail. With our resolute support to the resistance in Ukraine and its official recognition as EU candidate and with the immediate adoption of a new solidarity package based on common European bonds. We must immediately support also our companies and families who will suffer the dire consequences of the dutiful sets of sanctions aimed at bringing Moscow to the negotiating table.

This is not the war of all the Russians. This is a crime perpetrated by a tyrant and his accomplices. Thousands of citizens are bravely taking to the streets to shout their clear 'no', risking their lives to oppose his imperialistic ravings. They deserve our full support.

This existential threat is a crucial moment in our history and calls for exceptional efforts. If we really want to protect peace, democracy and our common destiny, sometimes it takes courage to grow up and become who we really are.

*Slava Europa, slava Ukraini.*

**Michael Gahler (PPE).** – Herr Präsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! *Schanowni ukrajinski drusi, slawa Ukrajini!* Was sich hier vor unseren Augen abspielt, ist Krieg in Europa in Echtzeit, ist unermessliches Leid unschuldiger Menschen, ist die größte Katastrophe für die Ukraine seit dem deutschen Einmarsch 1941 und ist Schuld und ausschließliche Verantwortung eines zynischen, ständig lügenden und menschenverachtenden russischen Diktators, der die Existenz der Ukraine als demokratischer, unabhängiger Staat beenden und sie gegen den Willen der Menschen heim ins Reich holen will. Dieser Versuch läuft gerade, und dieser Versuch muss scheitern.

Als die Sowjetunion 1948 die Blockade Westberlins begann – die Rote Armee stand rundherum –, da richtete der Regierende Bürgermeister Ernst Reuter einen Appell an die Völker der Welt. Heute versucht das revisionistische Russland mit seinen Invasionstruppen die ukrainische Hauptstadt einzukreisen und zu strangulieren und die freien Menschen dort in die sowjetische Knechtschaft zu führen. Deshalb ist es angebracht, diesen Appell zu wiederholen: Ihr Völker der Welt, Ihr Völker in Amerika, in Europa, in der freien Welt, schaut auf diese Stadt und dieses Land und erkennt, dass Ihr dieses Land und dieses Volk nicht preisgeben dürft, nicht preisgeben könnt!

Diesem Volk, das die Revolution der Würde mit ukrainischen und Europafahnen bewirkt hat, das gesagt hat, wohin es schaut und wohin es strebt, dem müssen wir heute ein politisches Signal geben: dass sie zu uns gehören, dass ihr Freiheitskampf nicht vergebens ist, dass das Böse, das gleichermaßen stalinistische und faschistische Putin-Regime, nicht obsiegen wird und dass es nach dieser Prüfung, nach diesem Kreuzweg einen Wiederaufbau auf einem Weg in eine gemeinsame europäische Zukunft geben wird.

Ich bitte um Zustimmung zu unserer EntschlieÙung. *Slawa Ukrajini!*

**Tonino Picula (S&D).** – Poštovani predsjedavajući, da, agresija Rusije na Ukrajinu može biti uvod u sumrak čovječanstva, ali i novog, pravednijeg međunarodnog poretka. Glavni razlog za rat je autoritarana priroda režima pod apsolutizmom ruskog predsjednika.

Ne zna se što je gore, Putinova vojna agresija ili njegov narativ kojim opravdava nasilništvo.

Putin je računao na pasivnost Ukrajinaca i podijeljenost Zapada. Precijenio je svoju snagu, podcijenio snagu otpora Ukrajinaca i sposobnost Zapada da se ujedini.

Ovaj rat izaziva i sjećanja na ratnu agresiju na moju zemlju, Hrvatsku, prije trideset godina. Napadi na dječje bolnice, civilne objekte, rušenje gradova, mnogo izbjeglica. Putin mora kao i Milošević odgovarati za svoje postupke pred sudom za ratne zločine.

Njemu će biti vrlo teško izaći iz ovog rata. Kremlju bi se mogla dogoditi ruska verzija Majdana. Povijest je pokazala da se diktatore može pobijediti, ali jednako je važno otkloniti okolnosti koje su dovele do pojave diktatora.

Ukrajina krvari, ali Putinov režim će iskrvariti. Živjela europska Ukrajina, slava Ukrajini!

**Nathalie Loiseau (Renew).** – Monsieur le Président, il a fallu une guerre sur le sol européen pour que l'Europe apprenne à parler le langage de la puissance. Il a fallu Vladimir Poutine et sa guerre de trop pour que le lien transatlantique se resserre, pour que l'OTAN se réveille et pour que la défense européenne naisse enfin. Il a surtout fallu l'extraordinaire courage de Volodymyr Zelensky et du peuple ukrainien pour que nous nous sentions enfin obligés d'essayer d'être à la hauteur.

Ne nous leurrons pas: la crise sera longue et elle sera dure. Nous allons devoir tenir, assumer le prix de nos décisions et surtout aller plus loin dans le renforcement de notre Union.

À Midane, en 2014, c'est le drapeau européen que les Ukrainiens brandissaient pour réclamer la fin de la tutelle de Moscou. Aujourd'hui, dans les abris où ils se réfugient contre les bombes, on voit encore des drapeaux européens. C'est vers nous que l'Ukraine regarde. Nous devons prouver aux Ukrainiens qu'ils ont raison de croire en nous. Nous devons aimer l'Europe autant qu'ils l'aiment. *Slava Ukraini.*



**Heidi Hautala (Verts/ALE).** – Arvoisa puhemies, Venäjän hyökkäys Ukrainaa vastaan on saanut EU:n viimein näyttämään sellaista yhtenäisyyttä ja globaalia johtajuutta, jota siltä on kauan odotettu. EU ja koko demokraattinen maailma ovat onnistuneet yhdistämään voimansa Ukrainan tueksi.

Suomen presidentti Sauli Niinistö kuvasi tuntemuksiaan sanomalla, että naamiot on nyt pudotettu ja jäljellä ovat vain sodan kylmät kasvot. Tilanne on täydellinen herätys todellisuuteen, vaikka merkit Venäjän erittäin huolestuttavasta aggressiivisesta kehityksestä ovat olleet ilmassa jo pitkään. Nyt jos koskaan on rakennettava todellinen turvallisuus- ja puolustusyhteistyö Euroopan unionille, ja sen tulee kattaa kaikki EU-maat ja sen tulee antaa suojaa myös EU:n läheisille kumppaneille.

Hyvät ystävät, teille ei tarvitse kertoa, että Suomessa, sotilaallisesti liittoutumattomassa maassa, herätys todellisuuteen on ollut vielä jäätävämpi. Mitä tiiviimmäksi EU:n ja Naton yhteys tästedes rakentuu, sitä helpompi Suomen tilanteessa olevien maiden on voittaa esteet, joita Venäjä on niiden eteen kasannut, mikäli ne haluavat sinetöidä jäsenyydellä jo nyt läheisen kumppanuuden Naton kanssa.

**Jordan Bardella (ID).** – Monsieur le Président, alors que des négociations étaient plus que jamais ouvertes, Vladimir Poutine a franchi un pas inacceptable en jetant l'Europe devant le fléau de la guerre. Nous ne pouvons accepter que la souveraineté d'un État et d'un peuple soit violée, et encore moins par les armes. Comme vous tous, je soutiens cet élan de solidarité pour le peuple ukrainien, entré en résistance pour la défense de sa patrie.

Cependant, le retour du tragique de l'Histoire ne doit pas nous empêcher de penser avec raison, de regarder ce conflit dans sa complexité et de porter la voix de la paix et surtout de la désescalade. En soutenant l'otanisation de l'Europe depuis près de vingt ans, nous plaçant de fait sous pavillon américain, nos dirigeants ont manqué les occasions d'ouvrir une relation d'équilibre avec la Russie. Nous avons troqué notre indépendance et notre liberté d'action contre une illusion de protection et avons ainsi entretenu un climat conflictuel archaïque. Aujourd'hui, l'heure est à la fermeté et nous devons faire preuve d'unité sans ambiguïté dans le soutien au peuple ukrainien et la condamnation de cette invasion.

Toutefois, je voudrais dire qu'il est malhonnête que les institutions européennes utilisent cette guerre pour faire avancer un agenda fédéraliste que les peuples refusent. C'est le cas de l'approfondissement de l'OTAN ou de l'élargissement de l'Union européenne qui ne seraient d'aucun secours, à l'heure où notre priorité est de faire taire les armes.

Je veux aussi dire que sanctionner la Russie ne doit pas revenir, en tout cas, à se sanctionner lourdement nous-mêmes. Gare à ce que des sanctions prises sous le coup de l'unanimité ne se révèlent pas être des boulets pour le pouvoir d'achat des peuples et qu'elles ne fassent pas du mal à nos entreprises tout en permettant à la Russie de renforcer son autonomie stratégique. C'est précisément le cas avec les sanctions en vigueur depuis 2014.

N'utilisons pas non plus en Europe les méthodes que nous condamnons ailleurs. Il n'est pas dans les pratiques ni dans les valeurs de démocraties matures comme les nôtres, de fermer des médias, quand bien même ils seraient des relais d'influence étrangers.

Tomber dans une surenchère inutile aggraverait la guerre plutôt que de trouver la paix. Notre impératif est la paix, la désescalade, mais aussi, pour mon pays, le retour d'une France libre, indépendante, respectée et force d'équilibre au sein d'un monde multipolaire.

**Anna Fotyga (ECR).** – Mr President, I salute the heroism and resistance of the Ukrainian people facing the unprecedented aggression from the Kremlin, Putin's Russian Federation. I really admire the heroism of the Ukrainian leadership. President Zelenskyy already finds his place in universal history. I admire the heroism of the commanders, soldiers and in particular, ordinary people. You are invincible. It is our war as well and in resisting aggression, you are the best part of us, the West.

We are honoured by your request to become a Member of the European Union. We will do our utmost to provide you candidacy status as soon as possible and immediately on unprecedented rules for membership, therefore. Because we need you and of course, you need us. In this I speak on behalf of all of the ECR Group's Polish delegation. All of them fully support the resolution as negotiated by me.

**Manu Pineda (The Left).** – Señor presidente, condenamos el ataque y la invasión de Rusia a Ucrania, sin ningún tipo de matices.

Ni los ocho años de ataque contra el Dombás, ni la impunidad de los asesinatos cometidos por las bandas nazis, ni el incumplimiento de los acuerdos de Minsk, ni el despliegue de la OTAN en la frontera rusa: nada de esto justifica el ataque.

Estamos en contra de la guerra y, precisamente por ello, no podemos apoyar una Resolución que hace un llamamiento a las armas y que se referencia como garantía de paz en un instrumento de guerra como es la OTAN.

Tampoco podemos apoyar unas sanciones que afectan directamente a la población civil y que han demostrado históricamente su ineficacia. Nunca en la vida las sanciones han servido para acabar con ningún conflicto. Nos parece una vergüenza que un fondo de apoyo a la paz se dedique a la compra de armamento.

Nosotros defendemos la vía diplomática y política como único camino para la resolución de conflictos. Defendemos el envío de ayuda humanitaria y la apertura de fronteras para recibir a las personas refugiadas.

Quiero terminar haciendo mía una frase de nuestro secretario general, Julio Anguita: «Malditas sean la guerra y los canallas que las apoyan».

**Κώστας Παπαδάκης (NI).** – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, η καταδίκη μας στην εισβολή της καπιταλιστικής Ρωσίας στην Ουκρανία συνδυάζεται με την καταδίκη των κατά συρροή πολεμικών εγκλημάτων των Ηνωμένων Πολιτειών, του ΝΑΤΟ και της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης σε βάρος των λαών της Γιουγκοσλαβίας, του Αφγανιστάν, του Ιράκ, της Συρίας, της Λιβύης. Οι ιμπεριαλιστικοί ανταγωνισμοί για σφαίρες επιρροής και πλουτοπαραγωγικές πηγές οδήγησαν στον ιμπεριαλιστικό πόλεμο που οι λαοί πληρώνουν με ζωές, προσφυγιά και νέα απογείωση της ήδη υπάρχουσας «πράσινης» ακρίβειας. Όλα αυτά τριάντα χρόνια μετά την καπιταλιστική παλινόρθωση στη Σοβιετική Ένωση, όπου ο σοσιαλισμός είχε καταφέρει να ζήσουν οι λαοί για δεκαετίες ισότητα και ειρηνικά. Σήμερα, ευρω-νατοϊκοί εξοπλισμοί και κυρώσεις που επωμίζονται οι λαοί οδηγούν στην κλιμάκωση του ιμπεριαλιστικού πολέμου και με τη βαθιά εμπλοκή της Ελλάδας με όπλα και αμερικανικές βάσεις.

Οι λαοί να μη διαλέξουν πλευρά. Με την αυτοτελή πάλη τους να απαιτήσουν: καμία εμπλοκή, καμία συμμετοχή στον πόλεμο, κανένας στρατός εκτός συνόρων, ξήλωμα όλων των βάσεων-ορμητηρίων και αποδέσμευση από την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση και το ΝΑΤΟ, με τον λαό στην εξουσία.

**Andrius Kubilius (PPE).** – Mr President, dear brothers and sisters in Ukraine, dear colleagues, first of all I would like to praise the heroism of Ukrainian people. I would like to praise heroism of Ukrainian soldiers and the heroic leadership of President Vladimir Zelenskyy.

Ukrainians are facing and defending themselves against the war launched by a real new Nazi regime in the Kremlin. Putin is a real war criminal. Ukrainians are suffering because we, in the West, till now were too weak to stop Putin's crimes from the very beginning.

Ukrainians with their blood are fighting for their right to reunite with Europe. They are more Europeans than many of us. That is why we need to give them candidate status immediately and then we need to design special fast procedure for Ukraine to join us. There is an example of such a special procedure, when in 1990 East Germany integrated into the European Union and it took less than a year. So, let's establish a special procedure also for Ukraine's swift reunification with Europe.

After the EU started to deliver weapons to Ukraine, when SWIFT and other banking sanctions were introduced, we need the next steps. First of all, we need to stop imports of Russian oil and gas immediately. Each day we are paying to Putin for 100 new T-72 tanks. Twice more than Ukrainians are able to destroy during one day on the battle field.

Second, let's create a multi-billion 'Free Ukraine fund' to support the resilience, reconstruction and modernisation of the Ukrainian economy. Let's finance it in the same way as we financed the Next Generation EU Fund, with the EU borrowing in the market. Thanks, Josep Borrell, for a good idea.

Third, let's introduce full-scale SWIFT and other sanctions also against criminal Lukashenko and his banks.

And the last point, a stable peace on the European continent will be possible only if the 'de-Putinisation' of Russia will happen. With the help of Ukrainian victories on the battlefields, with our sanctions and with the help of ordinary Russians protesting on the streets, the de-Putinisation of Russia is coming closer and closer.

Mr Putin, you lost this criminal war. The International Tribunal in the Hague is waiting for you. For justice to be served. Justice first of all to Ukrainians.

*(The speaker concluded his speech in Ukrainian)*

**Sven Mikser (S&D).** – Mr President, I am proud at how strong and united we are today, but we have to be honest: we have been painfully slow and painfully late waking up to the true nature of Putin's Russia. I hope that today we finally truly understand the urgency and the existential nature of the current situation.

If we do, it is imperative that we support Ukraine in every way possible without holding anything back. This includes lethal defensive equipment, economic and humanitarian aid, help to refugees and, yes, also launching an honest and successful accession process for Ukraine to join our Union.

Regarding sanctions on Russia, for as long as the criminal ideology of Putinism remains in power in Russia, we have to go beyond punishing individuals and take the strategic decision of systemically weakening Russia's economy and industrial base. This is in our vital security interest. Yes, sanctions hit ordinary Russians too, and they are not enemies, but let's admit it, it is primarily the responsibility of the Russian people to make sure that their mad Tsar cannot kill innocent people abroad. We should fully expect and, when possible, encourage the Russian people to take that responsibility seriously.

*Slava Ukraini!*

**Malik Azmani (Renew).** – Mr President, the courageous Ukrainian people are standing up to an evil act of aggression. Europe answers Ukraine's call for help. We rise up to defend those who are fighting for freedom and democracy. The EU is showing unity and we are finally showing that we are not just a soft power. We are crippling Russia's economy, isolating Putin's regime and reinforcing Ukraine's defence. But this is just the start and we have to do more by excluding more Russian operators and banks from Swift, by blocking the Russian Central Bank's use of Western currencies – and we should even consider blocking Russian ships in our harbours and more. Also, we have to increase our support for Ukraine's economy and defence with money and weapons.

My message to the Ukrainian people: Europe stands with you. *Slava Ukraini!*

**Yannick Jadot (Verts/ALE).** – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, en ce moment même, dans les rues, dans les maisons, les Ukrainiens défendent héroïquement la liberté. Ils défendent leur démocratie, ils défendent leur intégrité territoriale. Ils sont, pour l'Europe entière, le front pour la sécurité, pour la paix et pour la démocratie sur notre continent.

Sanctionnons donc massivement Poutine et les oligarques et intégrons immédiatement la Biélorussie dans ces sanctions. Soutenons militairement la résistance en Ukraine. Reconnaissons le statut de candidat à l'Ukraine pour l'Union européenne. Mettons au ban la Russie de toute la communauté internationale. Lançons un grand plan d'investissement pour la sécurité climatique et énergétique, pour mettre les énergies renouvelables au cœur de notre bouquet, parce que ce sont des énergies de paix, et pour sortir des dépendances énergétiques et des complaisances politiques qui tuent la démocratie et qui tuent le climat.

Agissons maintenant et soyons fiers de l'Europe aux côtés de la résistance héroïque de l'Ukraine. *Slava Ukraini.*

**Milan Uhrík (NI).** – Vážený pán predsedajúci, ešte predtým, než sa vyjadrím k Ukrajine, mi dovoľte zopár možno náročných, ale čestných otázok.

Kde boli medzinárodné sankcie, keď Spojené štáty americké zabili v Iraku 200 tisíc civilistov kvôli vymyslenej zámienke o zbraniach hromadného ničenia? Kde boli odsudzujúce rezolúcie, keď USA, opäť v rozpore s medzinárodným právom, bombardovali Juhosláviu, Líbyu či Sýriu? Kde bola Európa, keď ukrajinskí žoldnieri zabíjali deti na Donbase či upaľovali civilistov v Odeze?

Dúfam, že udalosti posledných dní sú pre nás všetkých poučením, že každá vojna je zlá, priatelia, každá vojna je zlá. Nielen tie, ktoré vedie Ruská federácia, ale aj tie, ktoré vedú Spojené štáty americké. A každú vojnu treba odsúdiť. To, čo sa deje na Ukrajine, je hrozné a musí to skončiť. Musí to skončiť. Ale takisto je hrozné pokrytectvo niektorých z vás, kolegovia, ktorí prehliadajú vojny len preto, že ich nevedú Američania.

**Arnaud Danjean (PPE).** – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, il est des événements qui transgressent si brutalement toutes les règles établies et qui défont de façon tellement sidérante toute rationalité qu'ils font basculer le monde dans des zones inconnues.

En agressant délibérément et grossièrement un État européen libre et souverain, Vladimir Poutine, seul, a créé un de ces événements décisifs. Ce faisant, il a sous-estimé le sentiment national ukrainien. Il a sous-estimé l'attachement à la liberté, ce concept que tous les autocrates croient dépassé. Il a sous-estimé aussi les réactions européennes.

La résistance ukrainienne est admirable. Elle mérite notre absolu soutien. On ne peut également que se féliciter de la prise de responsabilités des Européens. Cependant, la satisfaction de nous voir aujourd'hui réagir avec force et unité ne doit pas altérer notre lucidité. Cette terrible guerre va durer. L'agresseur risque même de gagner militairement, malgré l'indignité morale et sa défaite politique inexorable.

N'oublions pas non plus que, face à la guerre sur notre continent, qui a déjà existé entre 1945 et aujourd'hui, nous avons déjà vu l'Europe croire être prête à faire face. «L'heure de l'Europe a sonné», avait dit un ministre européen en 1991; on a vu une décennie de guerre terrible dans les Balkans s'ensuivre.

L'urgence aujourd'hui est de soutenir l'Ukraine. L'Ukraine défend plus que son seul destin de nation libre. L'urgence est aussi de rendre irréversible le réveil stratégique européen, car nous sommes entrés dans une nouvelle ère, où pouvoir tenir les rapports de force qui nous sont imposés par d'autres est une priorité existentielle.

**Brando Benifei (S&D).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, «non c'è grandezza dove non c'è verità»: sono parole di Tolstoj, che David Sassoli citava alcuni mesi fa, rivolgendosi a Putin.

E anche oggi serve la verità per raggiungere la grandezza della pace: si tratta della verità del popolo ucraino, che ha saputo resistere eroicamente, insieme al Presidente Zelensky; la verità di un'Europa che finalmente si impegna per la propria sovranità politica, energetica e di difesa e non ha paura di fare sacrifici per trovare una voce unica per fermare la guerra e salvare le vite umane perché, prima di tutto, ci sono le vittime, i morti in Ucraina, i profughi da accogliere, i russi coraggiosi che non vogliono questo delirio militarista di Putin, sapendo che ogni popolo, a partire da quello ucraino, deve essere libero di autodeterminarsi senza che avvenga qualcosa di male se cerca di decidere del proprio futuro.

Per questo diamo tutto il supporto necessario a chi oggi, difendendosi, difende anche le nostre democrazie sul suolo ucraino. Ma dobbiamo essere più coraggiosi ancora, dobbiamo essere là: i nostri governi e le Istituzioni europee vadano con una delegazione a Kiev a sollecitare il cessate il fuoco e a supportare le negoziazioni.

Putin dovrà fermarsi e sarà così ancora più evidente, anche ai suoi concittadini, la follia sua e della sua guerra disumana. Per un'Ucraina libera e per un'Europa libera!

**Bernard Guetta (Renew).** – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur Poutine, vous avez perdu. Oh, bien sûr, vous allez encore tuer, détruire et semer le deuil et le malheur, mais vous avez déjà perdu, car on ne reconstruit pas les empires – croyez-en un Français – et ne revient pas cet absolutisme dont vous rêvez tant, croyez-en toujours un Français.

Vous avez perdu, Monsieur Poutine, car l'Ukraine résiste héroïquement et magnifiquement, et résistera jusqu'à sa juste victoire. Vous avez perdu, car vous avez resserré comme jamais les rangs de notre Union qui prend, ce jour même et ici même, les traits tant espérés d'une union politique.

Vous avez perdu, car vous avez rapproché les deux rives de l'Atlantique et vous avez perdu, Monsieur Poutine, parce que votre peuple ne vous croit plus et n'admet pas que vous alliez massacrer ses cousins ukrainiens. Vous n'êtes pas qu'un criminel de guerre, Monsieur Poutine; vous êtes aussi une absolue nuisance pour votre pays lui-même, que vous menez dans le mur contre son gré. Vive la paix, vive l'Ukraine et vive la liberté, Monsieur Poutine!

*(Die Aussprache wird unterbrochen)*

## 10. Ogłoszenie wyników głosowania

**Der Präsident.** – Ich gebe nun die Ergebnisse der ersten Abstimmungsrunde des heutigen Tages bekannt.

*(Der Präsident verliest die Ergebnisse der ersten Abstimmungsrunde<sup>1</sup>.)*

<sup>1</sup> Siehe Protokoll.

## 11. Napaść Rosji na Ukrainę (ciąg dalszy debaty)

**Der Präsident.** – Wir setzen nun unsere Aussprache über die Erklärungen des Europäischen Rates, des Rates und der Kommission (2022/2564(RSP)) fort.

**Miroslav Radačovský (NI).** – Vážený pán predsedajúci. Som jediný poslanec Európskeho parlamentu pochádzajúci z východného Slovenska. Moji krajanovia, priatelia, príbuzní v blízkosti ukrajinských hraníc poskytujú nezištnú pomoc utečencom pred vojnou a odsudzujú vojnu medzi dvoma slovanskými národmi.

Parlament Slovenskej republiky odsudzuje neoprávnenú vojenskú inváziu na Ukrajinu a žiada o okamžité zastavenie vojenských operácií. Slovenská republika predvčerom ponúkla ukrajinským predstaviteľom a ruským predstaviteľom Bratislavu ako miesto rokovania o mieri. Slovenská republika sa nestotožňuje s vyhlásením samostatnosti republík na území štátu za pomoci cudzích vojsk. Slovenská republika preto, ako jeden z mála štátov, neuznáva ani jednostranné vyhlásenie štátu Kosovo, pretože aj v tomto prípade to bolo za pomoci a invázie cudzích vojsk. Verím a som presvedčený, že v blízkej budúcnosti medzi národmi Ruska a Ukrajiny zavládne mier a priateľstvo. A je povinnosťou nás všetkých urobiť všetko pre to, aby tomu tak bolo.

**Andrzej Halicki (PPE).** – Zabite dzieci, kobiety, zniszczone miasta to ponura cena za otwarcie Europy. A oni walczą za nas, za swoją wolność, ale też za wartości, za wartości, w które wierzą: demokrację, za wartości europejskie, nasze wartości. Walczą za nas Polaków, za Litwinów, ale za was państwo też, w zachodnich krajach Europy. Po to, żeby Europa była bezpieczna.

Oni dziś potrzebują broni, to oczywiste, ale my w tej Izbie możemy dać im znacznie więcej. Możemy im dać gwarancję, że po wywalczeniu tej wolności i bezpieczeństwa dla siebie, będą żyć razem z nami w pokoju. I musimy im to dać jak najszybciej – *as soon as possible*, nie patrząc nawet na procedury, nadając szybkie tempo możliwości realizacji tych marzeń, ale też musimy być konsekwentni, nie popełniać błędów. Jeżeli zamrażamy Nord Stream 2, dłaczego nie obejmuje to Nord Stream 1? Musimy odciąć mafię Putina od wszelkich możliwych źródeł zarobku. Jego miejsce jest oczywiście przed Trybunałem w Hadze.

On musi odpowiedzieć za zbrodnie wojenne, ale my musimy także wyciągnąć rękę do wszystkich tych, którzy marzą o życiu w pokoju. To jest nasze zadanie. To jest ta nowa, silna, zjednoczona Europa! Wszyscy, którzy się temu sprzeciwiają, są pomagierami Putina. Silna, zjednoczona Europa dla wszystkich, którzy jej pragną! Ta wojna nie zaczęła się wczoraj na Ukrainie. 2008 rok – atak na Gruzję. A Mołdawia? Czy ma się tam polać krew? Musimy pamiętać o demokratycznej opozycji na Białorusi i o demokratkach w Rosji. Wolność dla Aleksieja Nawalnego, solidarność z Ukrainą! Niech żyje zjednoczona, silna Europa i wolna, demokratyczna Ukraina!

**Jens Geier (S&D).** – Herr Präsident! Ich bin dankbar für diese Sondersitzung, weil sie die Gelegenheit gibt, zum Ausdruck zu bringen, was die politische Nachricht dieses Tages sein muss: Wir verdammen den Völkerrechtsbruch, den Präsident Putin mit seinem Angriffsbefehl auf ein friedliches Nachbarland, die Ukraine, begangen hat. Deswegen werden die Abgeordneten der SPD in diesem Parlament die eingebrachte EntschlieÙung umfänglich unterstützen.

Bundeskanzler Scholz hat recht – das ist Putins Krieg. Ihm und seiner Regierung gilt unser Widerstand und unser Protest, nicht dem russischen Volk. Unsere Gedanken sind heute bei den Menschen in der Ukraine, bei denen, die um ihre Freiheit kämpfen, die dabei ums Leben kommen und die flüchten, um ihr Leben zu retten. *Slawa Ukraini!*

Die EU und ihre Institutionen haben bei dieser Gelegenheit bewiesen, dass sie ihrer Aufgabe gerecht werden können, und eine nie gesehene Entschlossenheit und Handlungsfähigkeit an den Tag gelegt. Die gemeinsame Außenpolitik der EU – sie funktioniert also, wenn die Mitgliedstaaten es nur wollen. Die Sanktionen treffen hart. Viele europäische Politikerinnen und Politiker haben Putin gewarnt, wie kostspielig ein Angriff auf die Ukraine sein wird. Das bewahrheitet sich jetzt.

Die humanitäre Hilfe für die Geflüchteten läuft an. Unsere Solidarität gilt den Mitgliedstaaten an der Westgrenze der Ukraine, die jetzt ihre Erste Hilfe leisten. Ihr seid nicht allein!

Über alle Hilfe für die Ukraine und für die europäischen Nachbarstaaten müssen wir aber jetzt auch unsere Politiken weiterentwickeln. Wie stellen wir uns Sicherheit in einer multipolaren Welt vor? Diese Frage hat uns Putin in aller Brutalität gestellt. Wir werden Antworten finden.

**Hilde Vautmans (Renew).** – Voorzitter, mijnheer de hoge vertegenwoordiger, collega's, Poetin heeft het tegenovergestelde gekregen van wat hij wilde: méér Europese eenheid, méér NAVO, en méér westerse vastberadenheid.

Poetin is duidelijk uit op een vuile oorlog, op wraak tegen Oekraïne, tegen het Westen, en hij dreigt met nucleaire wapens. Tegen zoveel irrationele oorlogszucht is het moeilijk handelen. Maar vergis u niet! Autocraten over heel de wereld kijken toe in hoeverre wij bereid zijn onze waarden te verdedigen. Onze reactie vandaag zal bepalen in welke wereld we morgen leven.

En sinds 24 februari is de wereld veranderd. Laten we ervoor zorgen dat in deze crisis een nieuw Europa geboren wordt. Een Europa met een sterke Europese defensie en een Europees leger om onze waarden te verdedigen. Een Europa met een gezamenlijk Europees asiel- en migratiebeleid om de gevluchte Oekraïners humanaan op te vangen. Een Europa dat niet langer afhankelijk is van Rusland voor de leveringen van gas. Een Europa met een Europees solidariteitsfonds voor alle Europeanen die getroffen worden door Poetins wraak. Dát is het Europa dat we nu nodig hebben.

Lang leve de vrede!

Lang leve Europa!

*Slava Ukraini!*

**David McAllister (PPE).** – Mr President, the Russian military aggression and invasion against Ukraine is illegal. It is unprovoked. It is unjustified. This is indeed a crucial and historical moment, the moment of truth, as Commission President Ursula von der Leyen pointed out.

Too many times in the past, the international community has been blind in front of unfolding tragedies. Today, we as a European Parliament are sending a strong and a united message to the Kremlin that we stand with Ukraine in full solidarity.

As Chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I would like to thank the colleagues from the different political groups who drafted and negotiated this resolution, and I call on colleagues to vote in favour.

I fully underline the very good arguments we have heard today. I want to add one point. Let us also strongly condemn the involvement of Belarus in this aggression against Ukraine. It was during last week's inter-parliamentary conference on the CFSP and CSDP in Paris that Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya made it very clear that the assault on Ukraine wouldn't have been possible if dictator Lukashenko wouldn't have provided Russia with the land and the infrastructure. The Lukashenko regime has assisted and enabled this Russian aggression. For this reason, the EU should apply further appropriate sanctions also on Belarus.

Dear colleagues, the world will hold Russia and Belarus accountable for their actions.

**Kathleen Van Brempt (S&D).** – Mr President, dear colleagues, today we feel sadness, anger for sure, but also pride – pride in the unity of the European response to Putin's war crimes.

Could you imagine just for one second that we did not have the European Union today? Then we would be divided, and divided we cannot have any response to Putin. But united, as we stand today, we have Ukraine's back.

Mr Zelenskyy, I know you have other things to do, but you know we have your back. We stand with you. We stand with your people in full solidarity, in the fight for peace, freedom and democracy. It is clear Putin will only listen to clear messages, so we need to use this clear language.

Therefore, I think it's important that we stop buying gas from Russia. We need to cut off from that gas. It's at a high price, but it is doable. If we do not pay the price today, we will be presented with the price tomorrow.

President Zelenskyy was right. He said this is the crisis of freedom and democracy. Well, dear colleagues, in Europe let's take this fight and stand up for our values.

**Ilhan Kyuchyuk (Renew).** – Mr President, dear colleagues, we have a war in Europe on a scale and of a type we thought belonged to the history books. And let me be clear, this is not the war of Russian people. This is Putin's war. Putin's regime is the one to blame for waging the war, killing civilians, destroying country's infrastructure.

Putin has attacked the democratic values and European aspirations of the people of Ukraine. But the brave Ukrainians stood up strong, and they deserve fully fledged support.

Colleagues, it's time to be on the right side of history and to grant Ukraine candidate status.

Dear Ukrainians, we will not let you go. I'm sure that the light will win over the dark. We are with you the brave people of Ukraine.

*Slava Ukraini!*

**Siegfried Mureşan (PPE).** – Mr President, dear colleagues, now is the time for actions and clear words, so I will say four things very clearly.

We can only live in safety and security within the borders of the 27 Member States of the Union if we are surrounded by countries which are safe and stable in our neighbourhood. This is why defending Ukraine means defending the European Union. We have to provide all the support that we can to Ukraine, including financial support, and here we, the European Parliament, have a big role to play. We say very clearly, we are ready to spend EU money to support Ukraine and to rebuild Ukraine. We are ready to spend EU money for defence. We are ready to spend more for democracy in Ukraine and everywhere else where needed as well.

Secondly, when people in Ukraine say they want to join the European Union, our answer is yes, you are welcome. Ukraine belongs to Europe. Ukraine belongs to the European Union. This today we say with a very large majority of pro-European Members of the European Parliament. We know there is still a lot to do until membership, and many difficulties to overcome, but what more proof do we need than what the people of Ukraine are doing these days that the people of Ukraine can overcome all difficulties in view of it becoming a member of the European Union one day. We start work on this as soon as possible.

Thirdly, the Republic of Moldova, a country of less than three million people and a neighbouring country of the European Union, has welcomed more than 70 000 refugees onto their territory in the past five days. They have provided food, they have provided shelter, they have provided support. They acted in the European spirit on the basis of European values because they are led by a pro-European president and a pro-European government. This is why I say that everything that we offer to Ukraine, we have to offer to the Republic of Moldova right now in terms of EU cooperation. In terms of perspective for membership, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine are equally important for the security of Europe.

The last thing is that the invasion of Ukraine and the assault upon Kyiv would not have been possible without Belarus. This is why all political measures that we apply upon Russia, we should apply in the same manner upon Belarus.

**Robert Biedroń (S&D).** – Wojna wróciła do Europy. To wojna między dwoma światami: agresywnym i autorytarnym światem Putina a drugim, gdzie chcemy pokoju i demokracji. To wojna, w której Putin jest przestępcą, a ukraińskie dzieci, mężczyźni i kobiety – bohaterami. To nie jest tylko agresja na Ukrainę, to wojna Putina z całą Europą, z naszymi wartościami, marzeniami o pokoju. Dlatego dzisiaj musimy sobie uświadomić, że nie będzie bezpiecznej Europy bez bezpiecznej i niepodległej Ukrainy. Ukrainy, która jest częścią Unii Europejskiej. To jest ten moment, ta nadzieja dla milionów Ukraińców, którzy w nas, w Unii Europejskiej widzą swoją nadzieję. Dlatego musimy dzisiaj otworzyć szeroko drzwi dla Ukrainy, zanim Putin jutro zamknie je na zawsze.

Jako Polak z kraju legendarnej Solidarności proszę dzisiaj cały demokratyczny świat o solidarność z Ukrainą. Za wolność naszą i waszą! Nigdy więcej wojny! *Sława Ukraini!*

**Dacian Cioloș (Renew).** – Domnule președinte, cetățenii ucraineni au curaj să țină piept uneia dintre cele mai mari armate din lume și reușesc acest lucru. Au curajul să lupte, dar să nu renunțe la valorile libertății, care sunt și valorile Uniunii Europene. Este o lecție pentru orice regim tiranic și criminal care vrea să înăbușe în sânge și sub bombardamente aspirațiile și valorile europene, democrația și alegerea viitorului în libertate.

Dragi colegi, această lecție a cetățenilor ucraineni este și pentru noi, cei care am luat de-a gata libertatea și pacea în ultimele decenii. Lecția noastră este că trebuie să avem determinare, curaj și să deschidem azi calea către Uniunea Europeană tuturor europenilor care vor și care cred în acest proiect. Și să nu vă temeți: așa cum ei au putut ține piept unei armate atât de mari, așa vor avea puterea să-și reconstruiască țara și să fie pregătiți pentru Uniunea Europeană. Ucrainenii merită să fie în Uniunea Europeană și Uniunea să le deschidă larg ușile. La fel cum merită și moldovenii, și georgienii.

Comisia a făcut pași curajoși istorici în ultimele zile și așa trebuie continuat. Uniți suntem puternici și asta se vede și prin ajutorul dat de cetățenii români, polonezi, maghiari, slovaci și moldoveni refugiaților din calea războiului. Țările care și-au deschis granițele pentru refugiați au nevoie urgentă de sprijin, trebuie să fie ajutate. Slava Ukrainai!

**Antonio Tajani (PPE).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, *we are all Ukrainians*. Tutta l'Europa, tutto l'Occidente, sono dalla parte della libertà e della democrazia. Continueremo a contrapporre alla violenza degli aggressori russi la forza dei nostri valori: l'unità, la coesione e la dura resistenza del popolo dell'Ucraina, la nazione forte dell'Europa! Hanno costretto, comunque, la Russia a sedersi attorno a un tavolo.

Tutti quanti vogliamo che si raggiunga la pace, ci auguriamo che i colloqui possano continuare a raggiungere obiettivi fondamentali: la pace. Ma la pace non significa colonizzazione di un Paese libero. Molti cittadini dell'Ucraina stanno fuggendo dalla guerra; è nostro dovere dar vita a corridoi umanitari e a un grande piano di accoglienza dei profughi.



I tragici, drammatici fatti di questi giorni devono anche spingerci sempre più ad avere una vera politica estera, una vera politica di difesa comune. Abbiamo bisogno di un'Europa ancora più forte per difendere i nostri valori. Serve anche l'autonomia energetica: serve un mercato unico dell'energia, se vogliamo veramente essere liberi, altrimenti saremo sempre sottoposti al ricatto di qualcuno.

Dobbiamo avere anche, però, un'Europa solidale, che aiuti le famiglie e le imprese che si sono mobilitate con grande entusiasmo a favore delle sanzioni, ma che sono anche pronte a pagarne un prezzo. Ma Stati e Unione europea devono guardare a questi coraggiosi imprenditori e a queste coraggiose famiglie, cercando di aiutarle nei prossimi mesi e nei prossimi anni perché, è vero, la libertà e la democrazia hanno un costo ma il costo del nostro impegno certamente è senza prezzo. Dovremo però guardare a chi si è battuto con grande determinazione.

**Heléne Fritzon (S&D).** – Herr talman! Kommissionen, den höga representanten! Ja, det är krig i Europa. Bomber faller, civila mördas, bostäder blir ruiner och barnen gråter. Putins invasion går bara att beskriva som kallblodig. Den ryska statsledningen är ensam ansvarig för detta mänskliga lidande. Men EU står mer enat än någonsin och riktar de största och mest kända sanktionerna i unionens historia.

Ukraina och president Zelenskyj ska känna Europas samlade solidaritet och stöd, och Putin ska bemötas av ett enat och kraftfullt agerande. Resolutionen är ett bevis på vår samlade kraft i unionen. Vi har ett Europa som talar med en röst, och Rysslands angrepp mot Ukraina måste omedelbart upphöra. Vi är redo att göra vad som krävs. Vi står upp för Europas säkerhet. Mitt Sverige, som bär samma vackra färger som Ukraina, vi står i solidaritet med det ukrainska folket.

#### **PRESIDENZA: ROBERTA METSOLA**

*President*

**Dan Nica (S&D).** – Doamna președintă, cu toții am văzut cum o agresiune nejustificată și neprovocată a Federației Ruse în Ucraina a produs o catastrofă umanitară de proporții. Astăzi, când vă vorbesc, mii și zeci de mii de femei, copii, persoane în vârstă încearcă să se salveze, iar punctele de trecere a frontierei sunt aglomerate cu acești oameni, aceste persoane care au dreptul la o viață, la o viață civilizată și au dreptul să supraviețuiască.

Românii s-au mobilizat: guvern, autorități locale și mii și mii de cetățeni individuali care vin să le dea ce pot ei: mâncare, un adăpost. Situația este tragică.

A fost ieri doamna comisar Johansson și a văzut ce înseamnă o condiție absolut deplorabilă pe care au trebuit să o îndure acești oameni nevoiți să își părăsească casele și vreau să vă dau un singur exemplu: o femeie care a fost întrebată la trecerea frontierei care este averea ei. Avea în mână un copil mic, un copil nenăscut și un rucsac mic în spate. Soțul a rămas să își apere țara. Aceasta este lecția noastră și din acest motiv trebuie să luptăm cu toții ca să dăm statutul de țară candidată Ucrainei, Moldovei, pentru că acești oameni merită respectul și merită sprijinul nostru.

**Tanja Fajon (S&D).** – Gospa predsednica! Nisem si predstavljala, da bom kadarkoli na tem odru pozivala ustavite vojno Ukrajini. Ustaviti je treba glasnike vojne, zatiralce svobode, pravne države, demokracije, človekovih pravic.

Nacionalistični avtokrati, tudi v Evropi, bodo rušili demokracije, dokler jih ne bomo ustavili. Ravnanje Rusije ogroža povojno ureditev in varnost celotne Evrope. Tudi izkoriščanje v Ukrajini v politične ali dobičkonosne namene je sramota. Samo enotnost in hitro odzivanje zahodnih demokracij je upanje.

Slovenci imamo še zelo živ in boleč spomin na krvave balkanske vojne. Hočemo mir. V Sloveniji bo danes velik shod za mir. Prizadetim zaradi vojne moramo pomagati in hvala vsem, ki nesebično zbirate in nudite pomoč beguncem, ljudem v stiski, ne le danes, vedno.

Vsaka vojna se konča za pogajalsko mizo. Absurd je, da zato sploh pride do morije, uničevanja in trpljenja. Naredimo vse, da bo do miru pripeljala moč mednarodnega prava in besede in ne argument sile. Hvala lepa.

**Nils Ušakovs (S&D).** – Madam President, dear colleagues, I will speak Latvian today, but being myself an ethnic Russian, I would like to try to address Russians in Russia and in Europe as well.

Kad Kremlis īsteno zemisku un noziedzīgu karu pret Ukrainu, daudzi saka: 'Ir kauns būt krievam.' Tā tas nav. Krievijā tiek aizturēti tūkstošiem cilvēku, kas bezbailīgi piedalās protesta akcijās pilsētu ielās, protestējot pret karu. Eiropas pilsētās piedalās manifestācijās un demonstrācijās Eiropas Savienības krieviski runājoši pilsoņi un iedzīvotāji.

Būt krievam nav kauns. Bet vienu brīdi var pārņemt bezgalīga kauna sajūta par to, ka tu esi vai nu atbalstījis, vai nu esi mēģinājis atrast attaisnojumus tiem, kas dod noziedzīgas pavēles bombardēt ar 'Grad' Harkivas pilsētas mikrorajonus.

Ir prieks redzēt, ka Eiropa rīkojas, bet mums ir jāiet tālāk un jādara vairāk. Mums ir jānodrošina Ukrainai iespēja iestāties Eiropas Savienībā tik ātri, cik vien ir iespējams. Mums vienlaicīgi ir jāpasaka krievu cilvēkiem, gan tiem, kas dzīvo Eiropā, kas ir Eiropas pilsoņi un rezidenti, ka jūs esat mūsējie. Mēs esam pret Kremli. Mēs neesam pret krievu cilvēkiem. Un galvenie vārdi, kas ir jāpasaka šodien visās valodās ir ... (*runātājs uzstāšanos noslēdz krievu valodā*).

**Maroš Šefčovič, Vice-President of the Commission.** – Madam President, Honourable High Representative and dear colleague Commissioner McGuinness, honourable Members of the European Parliament, but first and foremost, dear Ukrainians, I have to say that I never seen a debate in the European Parliament charged with so much emotion, solidarity and the sense of common European belonging.

As you know, we come from different countries, from different political families, but we are discussing today an attack against the most fundamental European values that we all share. And therefore, today we are all Ukrainians. Because the people of Ukraine are fighting for our values. They are fighting for our freedom and they are fighting for everything we believe in, for Europe as we know it, for Europe, as we treasure it. And we will need the same unity as we felt this afternoon in this House in the days, weeks and months ahead.

It's clear that the Kremlin has failed in its goal to crush Ukraine. It failed to break the spirit of brave Ukrainians. It failed to divide or scare Europe. On the contrary, the bravery and courage of all Ukrainians and the calm and determined leadership of President Zelenskyy and his government energise not only Ukraine and Ukrainians, but the whole of Europe, all democracies, and I believe every peace-loving human being in the world.

Mr President Zelenskyy, we have been working together to reform Ukraine. We have been working together on energy security, on energy independence, and we will be working together to build a strong, democratic Ukraine.

Mr President, you ask us to prove that we are with you and I would like to respond to you: we are. We will make sure that the sanctions are vigorously applied and not only on Russia but also on Belarus. We will do our utmost to supply you with everything you need. And we will be with you to rebuild your beautiful country after your victory.

Nobody in Europe can doubt today that the people that stand up so bravely for our European values belong in our European family, and therefore I want to reassure you that as we welcome your women and children in Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania and other European countries, in the same warm, receptive way, we will open our arms to Ukraine in our common House of peace, democracy and prosperity called Europe.

*Slava Ukraini!*

**Josep Borrell Fontelles, vicepresidente de la Comisión / alto representante de la Unión para Asuntos Exteriores y Política de Seguridad, en nombre del Consejo.** – Señora presidenta, señor comisario, señoras y señores diputados, Rusia se sitúa, después de la agresión a Ucrania, en un punto de inflexión de su etapa postsoviética. Rusia ha puesto fin a uno de los últimos eslabones que quedaba en su relación con la Unión Europea. Este eslabón eran los Acuerdos de Minsk. El presidente Putin los ha liquidado. Eran Acuerdos imperfectos desde muchos puntos de vista, arrancados en un momento en el que había que hacer un alto el fuego en una anterior guerra. No obstante, estos Acuerdos consagraban la integridad territorial de Ucrania y su cumplimiento, hoy ya imposible, marcaba un hipotético camino hacia una normalidad de

las relaciones diplomáticas entre Rusia y la Unión Europea. Esta referencia y esta posibilidad ahora han desaparecido.

Por eso digo que Rusia se encuentra hoy en un punto de inflexión en su trayectoria en la época postsoviética. Este tremendo conflicto solo puede concluir positivamente con un regreso de Rusia a las normas y a los principios internacionales básicos. Esta es una ocasión que, desde la Unión Europea, tenemos que aprovechar para elaborar mecanismos y tratados que establezcan garantías de seguridad más firmes y mecanismos que permitan verificar su puesta en aplicación.

Quiero recordarles, después del entusiasmo de una sesión parlamentaria, que al final la vía de la negociación y el diálogo están en la esencia de lo que es la Unión Europea. No somos una Unión militar y no hemos declarado la guerra a nadie. Somos una Unión de Estados miembros que precisamente ha renunciado a la guerra como forma de resolver los conflictos. No estamos en guerra con nadie, pero estamos al lado de alguien que ha sido agredido, y dispuestos a movilizar todos nuestros recursos diplomáticos para salvaguardar la seguridad de Europa, pero también para encontrar una solución al conflicto. Porque las sanciones son necesarias, inevitables, pero, además de las sanciones, necesitamos soluciones.

Estas sanciones tendrán un efecto muy grande sobre la economía rusa y el señor Putin no puede decir que no lo sabía, porque se lo hemos advertido: la presidenta Von der Leyen multitud de veces, el presidente del Consejo... Cuántas veces hemos dicho que las sanciones tendrían efectos masivos y altos costes; y sin duda los van a tener. El rublo se ha desplomado un 40 %. El control sobre casi la mitad de las reservas de cambio de Rusia tendrá un efecto enorme sobre su economía. Es una amenaza de *default*. Es, sin duda, una medida al lado de la cual sacar del sistema SWIFT a unos cuantos bancos es de menor importancia. Porque, en este momento, las cifras cantan. Rusia se había preparado desde hacía tiempo para hacer frente a una situación como esta y había ido quitando sus reservas del dólar y el euro para colocarlas en yuanes y en oro. Cuando Rusia toma Crimea, el 87 % de sus reservas están en dólares y euros; ahora están entorno al 40 %. Pero sigue siendo mucho, porque el oro –135 millones de reservas en oro– hay que poderlo vender y para eso hace falta que alguien lo pueda comprar. Y nuestras sanciones financieras van también a impedir la movilización de este recurso. Por lo tanto, esas medidas financieras ciertamente...

these unprecedented financial measures will go in the direction of a potential default, which will have consequences for the whole financial system, for the global financial system. So don't undervalue the importance of what we have decided to do and what will follow. I want to stress that.

Now we have to work diplomatically all over the world, reaching out to all countries in order to build a state of mind in order that the aggressor is condemned. On that, I can assure you, me as the High Representative, all my colleagues, members of the Foreign Affairs Council, all our delegations, all our embassies, will be strongly working in order to get a result in the vote at the General Assembly. This is the most important thing that we have to do right now because, I repeat, this is an issue which belongs to foreign and security policy, which is intergovernmental, and it's the Member States who have to take the lead on this response in the diplomatic sphere.

The second thing that has been discussed today, and is maybe more important than many of us could believe, is our dependency on gas. The President has been saying all the time we have to reduce this dependency, but I've been hearing for the last 20 years that we have to decrease this dependency and this dependency has been increasing during the last 20 years. So, from now on, let's put our work in accordance with our saying because we paid USD 700 million before the war for gas and oil and gold imports from Russia, and every year we import 200 billion cubic meters of gas.

We have to increase renewables, the President said, have renewable hydrogen, but keep in mind that the amount of power in a country like Italy in renewables, in a year, is less than half a billion cubic meters. We have in front of us strong work to do, and we have to remain committed to it and we have to explain to our people what it means.

This is a good occasion to develop the best, most noble side of political activity, which is pedagogy. This is the moment to do pedagogy. I understand the enthusiasm and the approach of a parliamentary Chamber in a moment like this – I have been a parliamentarian, like you, for many years and even the President of this House – and I know that this is the moment to show enthusiasm and support, but then we have to go to acts.

So next time, when you discuss again the budget of the European Union, remember that we need resources to do what today we are doing with an intergovernmental fund that this Parliament has never approved, because it's not in its area of competence. Put more defence and security in your mind-set; stop discussing theology about strategic autonomy.

Call it the way you want, but we have to be more responsible. We have to take our responsibility more into our hands. We have to be strategically responsible – and this has nothing to do with weakening transatlantic alliances which, by the way, have proven to be stronger than ever. Our unity with the transatlantic partners has been 100% – so nothing against weakening NATO because we develop our capacities. We have to become a hard power.

I know that the words may frighten some people, but hard power, I insist, is not just talking about the military. Hard power is about having a power to coerce, the power to influence the decisions of others, and what we are doing with these measures is a lot of hard power. Be prepared for the answer. Be prepared for the consequences. Don't put all your strength in your mouth. Don't say nice things only.

From now on, we have to be prepared to resist. We have to be prepared to act in the long term with a clear understanding of our challenges and our capacities. This is the moment for the European Union to discuss what we want to be, what we are and what the limits are of what we can do, and what we want to do in the future. In order to face the challenge of the future, there are a lot of things that we have to review, a lot of things about our procedures, our methods, putting more attention on our capacity to act than on the time that we spend on internal discussions.

What's happening today in Ukraine reminds me of Budapest in 1956. I was nine years old, but I remember listening to the radio about how the Russian tanks were entering Budapest. It reminds me of 1988, the Prague Spring. I was an officer in the Spanish army then and my unit was put on alert. I don't know why, it was completely useless. On both occasions we did nothing because we couldn't do anything.

But from now on we have to face a confrontation between us, democracies, people who believe in freedom and a multi-party system where citizens choose their governments, when we live in a free market economy and we are trying to put together economic efficiency and social cohesion, and autocratic regimes which support themselves with a clique of people who take advantage of the system, while the great majority of the people don't improve their living conditions.

All the war treasury that Putin is taking from gas payments doesn't go to increase the well-being of the Russian people. It goes to make his war machine more powerful.

— Tout l'argent qu'on verse pour payer le gaz et le pétrole russe ne sert pas à accroître le bien-être du peuple russe; il sert tout simplement à augmenter sa capacité militaire. Le moment est venu, je le pense vraiment et honnêtement, pour l'Europe de réfléchir sur elle-même: que voulons-nous être à l'avenir? Je pense que nous voulons être quelque chose de plus que ce que nous sommes aujourd'hui. Tel est le véritable défi auquel nous devons faire face durant les prochaines semaines, les prochains mois et les prochaines années. C'est pour cela aussi que la conférence sur l'avenir de l'Europe joue un rôle important.

**President.** – Thank you very much, High Representative. That concludes the debate.

*Written statements (Rule 171)*

**Christine Anderson (ID), schriftlich.** – Ich verurteile den Einmarsch Putins in die Ukraine, aber ich habe große Zweifel, dass die in dieser Entschließung gewählten Instrumente der richtige Weg sind. Wenn in Artikel 42 der Entschließung Maßnahmen begrüßt werden, die russische Sportler und Kulturschaffende betrifft, dann bin ich mir sicher, dass man hier die Falschen adressiert. Man fördert vielmehr ein weiteres Mal eine Spaltung der Gesellschaft und bewirkt im Hinblick auf die militärische Situation in der Ukraine nichts. Auch ein Ausstrahlungsverbot für russische Fernsender und der Ruf nach Onlinesperrung für sog. Kriegspropaganda scheinen mir zweifelhaft, ist der Bürger in den Mitgliedstaaten doch selbst intelligent genug, um mit den ihm zur Verfügung stehenden Mitteln selbst zu entscheiden, was er richtig und was er falsch findet. Eine Bevormundung im Sinne einer Selektion durch die EU braucht es nicht. Und wer, wie die Kommissionspräsidentin von der Leyen in Absatz H in dieser Entschließung, den Beitritt der Ukraine zur EU fordert, der gießt noch zusätzliches Öl in diesen Konflikt, anstatt deeskalierend zu wirken und besonnen zu handeln. Wir werden mit diesen Sanktionen vor allem uns selbst treffen, denn wir benötigen Versorgungssicherheit und bezahlbare Preise. Genau das Gegenteil wird diese Entschließung mit sich bringen.

**Andrus Ansip (Renew)**, *in writing*. – I fully support the resolution but it is not enough. I feel that I am also guilty for what is happening in Ukraine. We are heating our family house with the Russian natural gas. As we are paying a high price for Russian natural gas, we helped Putin to collect USD 600 billion as governmental sector reserves. And now he is using this money to kill innocent people in Ukraine.

It was a huge mistake to believe that Russian natural gas is needed for us as much as our money is needed for Russia and that such interdependence helps to build up democratic Russia. It is not enough to talk about sanctions against Russia. We have to fully isolate Russia and set an embargo on Russian crude oil and Russian natural gas. I believe there should be no international sports competitions with Russian sportsmen, No EU visas to Russian citizens and further. Full isolation is also costly for us but we have to remember – freedom is not free.

**Andrea Bocskor (NI)**, *írásban*. – Hatodik napja tart a háború Ukrajna és Oroszország között. Elítélem az orosz agressziót, amelynek minél előbb véget kell vetni. Minden erőfeszítést, minden olyan lépést támogatnunk kell, amely a mielőbbi békét segíti elő, és sürgetnünk kell a feleket, hogy az emberi életek védelmében szülessen végre döntés. Az ukrajnai lakosság rettegett időket él, segítenünk kell azokat, akik az országban maradtak, és azokat is, akik kénytelenek voltak elhagyni szülőföldjüket! Fontos, hogy a humanitárius segélyek minél gyorsabban és egyszerűsített procedúrával el tudjanak jutni Ukrajnába, ez elengedhetetlen és sürgető.

Az Európai Unió határait pedig továbbra is nyitva kell tartani, hogy az emberek menedékre és biztonságra leljenek. Továbbá óriási aggodalmat kelt a Magyarország és a kárpátaljai magyarok ellen irányuló dezinformációs kampány, mely az ország legnyugatibb régiójában élő magyar kisebbség biztonságát veszélyezteti. Mindent meg kell tennünk, hogy ezt megszüntessük, ne veszélyeztesse senki a többetnikumú térség belső békességét! Akárcsak Magyarország, a kárpátaljai magyarok is támogatják Ukrajna szuverenitását és területi integritását, a békét szorgalmazzák és segítő kezét nyújtanak a régióba érkező menekülteknek nemzetiségétől függetlenül!

**Joachim Stanisław Brudziński (ECR)**, *na piśmie*. – 24 lutego rozpoczęła się rosyjska inwazja na Ukrainę. Tym samym Federacja Rosyjska, ze swoim prezydentem Władimirem Putinem na czele, zakwestionowała prawo tego państwa do niepodległości i złamała wcześniejsze gwarancje nienaruszalności jej granic. To pierwsza taka agresja od końca II wojny światowej. Pod sztandarem pokojowej interwencji Rosja atakuje obiekty i ludność cywilną, niemającą nic wspólnego z armią, która bohatersko broni ojczyzny. Rosyjskie rakiety ostrzeliwują nawet szpitale, szkoły czy konwoje sanitarne. Dobrze, że świat wreszcie te zbrodnie dostrzegł i odpowiada na nie. Oby nie skończyło się tylko na deklaracjach państw zachodnich, np. co do konieczności uniezależnienia się energetycznego od Rosji. Apelowaliśmy o to od dawna, ale ten głos był co najmniej ignorowany. Protestowaliśmy na długo przed uruchomieniem gazociągu Nord Stream w 2010 r., ostrzegaliśmy przed strategicznym niebezpieczeństwem, jakie stwarza dla Europy. Dziś Niemcy wciąż wahają się, czy porzucić projekt Nord Stream 2! Miejmy nadzieję, że ostatecznie rozwiane zostały wątpliwości, czyje zbrodnicze plany sponsoruje zakup rosyjskiego gazu, a potrzeba przemyślonej dywersyfikacji źródeł energii jest strategiczną koniecznością dla całej Unii Europejskiej. Dziś otwieramy szeroko granice Polski dla wszystkich szukających schronienia przed barbarzyństwem rosyjskiej armii, chylimy czoła przed bohaterskimi obrońcami ojczyzny i dokładamy wszelkich starań, by nie byli osamotnieni w swej walce o życie i wolność!

**Sara Cerdas (S&D)**, *por escrito*. – O agravamento das hostilidades por parte do Presidente Vladimir Putin, que levaram à agressão militar pela Federação da Rússia, após as várias tentativas da comunidade internacional e da União Europeia de obter uma solução diplomática de diálogo, é absolutamente condenável. Verifica-se um total desrespeito pela soberania e integridade territorial da Ucrânia, colocando em causa os valores que subscrevemos na Carta das Nações Unidas de garantia da paz e segurança internacionais, consolidados pelo direito internacional e pelos direitos humanos.

Se, por um lado, devemos estar unidos na resposta aos ataques flagrantes que colocam em causa estes valores, por outro, devemos apoiar a Ucrânia a defender-se deste ataque injustificado. Precisamos de apoiar a crise de refugiados que aí se avizinha, nas fronteiras UE/Ucrânia, através de uma posição forte, coordenada e solidária, que ponha a vida das pessoas em primeiro lugar.

A UE e os seus Estados-Membros devem, por isso, demonstrar total apoio às comunidades ucranianas e luso-ucranianas, tal como já reagiu Portugal. O despoletar de uma guerra terá um grande impacto na nossa sociedade e economia, em diferentes setores, como é o caso do turismo, motivo pelo qual a UE deve antecipar o apoio aos setores que serão mais afetados.

**Josianne Cutajar (S&D)**, *in writing*. – The unprovoked invasion of Ukraine by the Russian Federation casts a dark shadow from the past over Europe; a shadow we must counter. Mr Putin thought the EU would be paralysed by its internal divisions. This was not the case. We are responding united, backed by the free world. We are responding without violence but with sanctions. War cannot lead to anything good! The protests throughout Russian cities show that this war is the desire of few against the will of many. By all means, Europe needs to support Ukrainian and innocent Russian people. Let us back them however we can. Let us not forget about them when the novelty of the news fades in a month or two. Human rights and international law and order must be respected and defended.

**György Hölvényi (PPE)**, *írásban*. – Tisztelt Képviselőtársaim! Az álhírek és félreértések elkerülése érdekében fontosnak tartom, hogy tények alapján értelmezzük az ukrajnai háborús helyzetet. Magyarország teljességgel elítéli Ukrajna megtámadását és kiáll az ország szuverenitása mellett. Hazánk az EU és a NATO tagjaként támogat a béke helyreállítását célzó minden közös uniós erőfeszítést. Magyarország hozzájárult az Európai Békekeret aktiválásához, amely lehetővé teszi az Ukrajnának történő fegyverszállítást.

A magyar Kormány továbbá egyetértett az Oroszországgal szembeni összes közös uniós szankcióval. Mindemellett Magyarország támogatja, hogy Ukrajna mielőbb kapjon tagjelölt státuszt az Unióban. A humanitárius helyzetet tekintve a hivatalos adatok szerint eddig több mint 80 ezer menekült érkezett Ukrajnából Magyarországra. Minden idők egyik legnagyobb humanitárius csomagját mozgósítva, Magyarország 600 millió forint értékű segélyt, köztük vizet, élelmi-szert, babaápolási és higiéniai termékeket küldött Ukrajna kárpátaljai régiójába, hogy segítsen elkerülni a humanitárius katasztrófát. Az első magyar segélyszállítmány Ukrajnába már a hétvége folyamán megérkezett, amely 28 tonna élelmi-szert és 100 ezer liter járműüzemanyagot tartalmazott.

A Magyar Honvédség előreljelzései szerint akár 600 ezer menekült érkezésére is számíthatunk a magyar-ukrán határon. A hatóságok a humanitárius szervezetekkel és a polgárokkal karöltve folyamatosan gondoskodnak a napi több ezer ukrajnai menekültől. Az egység és a befogadási kultúra példátlan idejét éljük tehát a térségünkben. Köszönet minden ebben résztvevőnek.

**Patryk Jaki (ECR)**, *na piśmie*. – Polska od początku jednoznacznie popierała Ukrainę. Nie mieliśmy nigdy wątpliwości, jak należy postępować. Polacy w takich przypadkach nie kalkulują, nie trzeba na nas wywierać presji. Przyzwoitość nakazuje w takich sytuacjach przeciwstawić się niczym nieuzasadnionej agresji. Od wielu lat rząd Zjednoczonej Prawicy ostrzegał zachodnie państwa przed uzależnieniem od surowców z Rosji. Federacja Rosyjska w ostatnim czasie zaczęła to uzależnienie wykorzystywać politycznie, ograniczając dostawy gazu i windując jego ceny. Wiele państw UE na początku bało się stanowczo zareagować na rosyjską agresję na Ukrainę. Cieszę się, że dzisiaj jesteśmy zjednoczeni. Zdecydowanie, jako Unia Europejska, potępiamy zbrodnie wojenne popełniane przez rosyjskie wojska oraz ataki na infrastrukturę i ludność cywilną, ale przede wszystkim wspieramy Ukrainę nie tylko słowami i hełmami – również w formie amunicji, broni oraz sprzętu bojowego, a także pomocy humanitarnej. Polska przyjęła już setki tysięcy uchodźców z Ukrainy i przyjmie z otwartymi rękami kolejnych, jako naród pamiętamy, czym jest wojna i staniemy na wysokości zadania. Mam także nadzieję, że obecna sytuacja doprowadzi UE do refleksji i ograniczy nieuzasadnione ataki na mój kraj.

**Krzysztof Jurgiel (ECR)**, *na piśmie*. – W dniu 24 lutego 2022 r. rosyjskie wojska zaatakowały Ukrainę. Jest to kolejny tragiczny dzień, który na zawsze zapisze się w historii Europy, będącej przez wieki obszarem licznych wojen i konfliktów. Tym razem wróg ponownie natarł ze Wschodu, zupełnie jak w 1920 roku, kiedy to heroizmem wykazała się ludność Polski walczącej z bolszewikami o niepodległość Europy. Dziś naród ukraiński, wykazując się ogromną odwagą oraz bohaterstwem, podobnie jak kiedyś Polacy, walczy nie tylko o przyszłość swoją, ale całej Europy.

Ważne są deklaracje Unii Europejskiej. Popieram działania mówiące o przyjęciu surowych sankcji przeciwko systemowi finansowemu Rosji, jej przemysłowi oraz skorumpowanym elitom finansowym. Popieram odłączenie kluczowych rosyjskich banków od sieci SWIFT, zablokowanie transakcji rosyjskiego banku centralnego, co sparaliżuje miliardy rosyjskich rezerw walutowych. Również zamrażanie miliardowych majątków nieuczciwie zdobytych przez rosyjskich oligarchów uważam za niezbędne, a środki te powinny być przeznaczone na odbudowę zniszczonej Ukrainy. Ważne są zapowiedzi Ursuli von der Leyen zmierzające do zmniejszenia zależności od importu rosyjskich surowców (w tym gazu) oraz do przemyślanej dywersyfikacji dotychczasowych źródeł importu, dzięki czemu putinowski reżim straci ogromne środki finansowe, które dotychczas przeznaczał na zbrojenia. Budowany przez Polskę gazociąg Baltic Pipe pokazuje, że uniezależnienie od rosyjskiego gazu jest możliwe, potrzeba jedynie mądrych i zdecydowanych decyzji.

**Elżbieta Kruk (ECR)**, *na piśmie*. – Dziś, kiedy bomby spadają na Ukrainę w wyniku barbarzyńskiej napaści Rosji, wypada zadać pytanie: czy Zachód wyciągnął właściwe wnioski z historii?

Kiedy w 2008 roku Rosja zaatakowała Gruzję prezydent Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej Lech Kaczyński przybył 12 sierpnia tamtego roku do stolicy Gruzji Tbilisi. Sprzeciwił się w ten sposób rosyjskiej agresji, a jego przemówienie okazało się prorocze dla późniejszych losów wschodniej części Europy. „I my świetnie wiemy, że dziś Gruzja, jutro Ukraina, pojutrze państwa bałtyckie, a później może i czas na mój kraj, na Polskę” przestrzegał.

1 września 2009 roku prezydent Lech Kaczyński wziął udział w obchodach 70. rocznicy wybuchu II wojny światowej na Westerplatte. Wśród gości byli między innymi Władimir Putin, premier Federacji Rosyjskiej, i Angela Merkel, kanclerz Niemiec. „Imperializmowi nie wolno ustępować, nie wolno ustępować nawet skłonnościom neoimperialnym” podkreślił prezydent Lech Kaczyński. Przypomniał również o porozumieniu zawartym podczas konferencji w Monachium. Kraje zachodnie zgodziły się wtedy na przyłączenie części ziem Czechosłowacji do granic III Rzeszy.

Z Monachium trzeba wyciągnąć wnioski, imperializmowi nie wolno ustępować. Czy Donbas i Krym to nie drugie Monachium? Najwyższa cena, którą dziś płaci Ukraina, to jednak konsekwencja ustępstw i kunktatorskiej polityki Zachodu, polityki igrania z diabłem. Teraz musimy po prostu wygrać tę wojnę.

**Eva Maydell (PPE)**, *in writing*. – Information is power, and whoever controls the narrative controls the people. I call on the Commission to convene a summit between social media platforms and regulators from both sides of the Atlantic to discuss further actions that platforms could take to tackle disinformation surrounding the Russian invasion.

However, with the stakes being as high as they can get during a war, the Kremlin's cyber army is likely to go beyond spreading fear and confusion online. We cannot exclude a full-scale online attack on critical European infrastructure – energy, financial, defence, transport and telecommunications – aiming to wreak havoc and kill. Are we ready to protect our power plants and energy transmission network, our banking or transport navigation systems from a complex outright cyberattack? We should come with initiatives at EU level to take the cyber threats as serious as those from tanks and missiles.

**Alin Mituța (Renew)**, *în scris*. – Trăim momente cum nu credeam că vom mai trăi în Europa. O țară suverană este invadată brutal de un alt stat în numele revizionismului istoric și al dorinței unui despot de a controla destinele unor oameni care își doresc să fie liberi. Nu putem să stăm deoparte când vedem victimele nebuniei criminalului de război Vladimir Putin. Trebuie să facem tot ce depinde de noi pentru a sprijini rezistența admirabilă a poporului ucrainean în fața agresiunii Kremlinului. De aceea susțin rezoluția PE privind agresiunea Rusiei în Ucraina și acceptarea cererii Ucrainei de a adera la Uniunea Europeană, și deci acordarea rapidă a statutului de stat candidat la aderarea la Uniunea Europeană. Pe lângă asta, este nevoie de sancțiuni severe pentru a afecta suficient economia Rusiei, pentru a gripa mașinăria de război dezlanțuită de Moscova. De asemenea, Uniunea Europeană trebuie să protejeze oamenii care fug din calea războiului. De aceea este foarte importantă activarea Directivei privind protecția temporară a refugiaților, astfel încât cetățenii ucraineni să beneficieze de acces imediat la protecție europeană.

**Janina Ochojska (PPE)**, *na piśmie*. – Ukraińcy pokazali całemu światu swoją odwagę i determinację w bronienu swojej ziemi, rodzin i dzieci. Większość z nas jest zgodna co do tego, że Ukraina potrzebuje naszego wsparcia. Zgadzam się, ale jednocześnie chciałabym doprecyzować, jakiego rodzaju pomoc jest potrzebna i absolutnie niezbędna.

Przede wszystkim przestaniemy kupować rosyjski węgiel, z zakupu którego finansowana jest wojna przeciwko Ukrainie. Następnie przerwijmy swoją zależność energetyczną od Rosji. Każdego dnia miliony euro z zakupu gazu trafiają do budżetu Federacji Rosyjskiej. Ostatnie dni wyraźnie pokazały, że nie możemy polegać na współpracy i deklaracjach Putina, bo one bardzo często pozostają bez pokrycia. Europa musi pokazać, że jest niezależna i nie będzie szantażowana.

Dodatkowo wzywam do całkowitego zamknięcia przestrzeni powietrznej nad Ukrainą. Wzywam do umożliwienia dostarczenia pomocy humanitarnej cywilom, którzy znaleźli się w strefie okupacji i od kilku dni nie mają dostępu do wody, elektryczności i podstawowych produktów spożywczych. Następnie wspierajmy Ukraińców i osoby, które chcą wydostać się z piekła wojny, uciekając przed bombami, niezależnie od wyznania, pochodzenia czy koloru skóry. Wojna przeraża wszystkich niezależnie od wyglądu czy przynależności.

**Urmas Paet (Renew), kirjalikult.** – Venemaa sõda Ukraina vastu on sõjakuritegu. Venemaa kasutab Ukrainas kõikvõimalikke sõjarelvil ning ähvardab maailma tuumapommiga, sihtmärgiks on lisaks strateegilistele rajatistele ja Ukraina sõjaväele veel elumajad, lasteasutused ja muud tavarajatised. Euroopa Liit, USA ja paljud teised demokraatlikud riigid otsustasid kehtestada isiklikud sanktsioonid Vene sõjalaagatajast presidendi Putini ja tema välisministri Lavrovi vastu. Neid peetakse üheselt ja isiklikult vastutavaks rahvusvahelise õiguse ränga rikkumise eest Ukrainas. Tugevate sanktsioonide all on Venemaa tippjuhtkond. Rubla on drastiliselt kaotanud väärtust ning pikas perspektiivis saab vene majandus tugeva löögi.

Lukašenka Valgevene on kaotanud igasuguse iseseisvuse – Lukašenka teeb, mida Putin tahab. Täna alustasid ka Valgevene väed rünnakut Ukraina vastu. Sisuliselt on Putin saavutanud Valgevene režiimi üle täieliku kontrolli. Demokraatlik maailm peab veel oluliselt rohkem pingutama, et see putinism läbi ei läheks. Lähipäevadel saab peamiseks sihtmärgiks Kiiev ja selle vallutamine. On selge, et see nõuab palju tsiviilohvreid ja Ukraina vastupanuvõime kestus on teadmata. Euroopa julgeolekus on saanud alguse uus ajastu.

**Ivan Štefanec (PPE), písomne.** – Európska únia sa dnešným hlasovaním rozhodla jednoznačne preukázať svoju pozíciu v otázke ruskej agresie. Ukrajina ako samostatný, zvrchovaný štát nemôže byť napádaná svojím susedom, bez ohľadu na jeho domnelé teritoriálne nároky. Taktiež je neprijateľné, aby táto agresia bola ospravedlňovaná a to pod akoukoľvek zámienkou, ktorú Kremľ ponúka. Jednota a solidarita, ktorú ponúka EÚ svojmu susedovi, vysíla jasný signál v podobe výrazného posilnenia sankcií, odpojenia kľúčových ruských bánk od platobného systému SWIFT a predovšetkým udelením štatútu kandidátskej krajiny na vstup do EÚ. Je potrebné zdôrazniť, že Ukrajina v súčasnej dobe odvážne bojuje nielen za slobodu a demokraciu vo svojej krajine, ale aj v celej Európe.

**Bettina Vollath (S&D), schriftlich.** – Die russische Aggression gegen die Ukraine ist ein sehr trauriger Moment unserer Geschichte. Sie verstößt nicht nur gegen das Völkerrecht, sondern auch gegen die Würde und das Recht auf ein Leben in Frieden der ukrainischen Bevölkerung. Als Europäer\*innen ist es unsere Verantwortung, die Ukraine im bestehenden Rahmen bestmöglich zu unterstützen. Meine Kolleg\*innen im Europäischen Parlament und ich schicken daher eine klare Nachricht: Die Aggressionen Russlands müssen konsequent bestraft werden. In der verabschiedeten Entschließung des Sonderplenums des Europäischen Parlaments betonen wir, dass die Invasion Russlands in die Ukraine für die Europäische Gemeinschaft inakzeptabel ist und nun alle Register zu ziehen sind. Wir unterstützen wirksame Sanktionen, die Putin zeigen, dass seine völkerrechtswidrigen kriegerischen Handlungen sofort zu beenden sind. Dies beinhaltet auch den sofortigen Ausschluss von Russland vom SWIFT-Zahlungssystem. Die Menschen in der Ukraine müssen wissen, dass wir bedingungslos auf ihrer Seite stehen und sie nicht alleine lassen. Die Aufnahme von Geflüchteten dürfen keine leeren Worte bleiben, sondern sie ist sofort und für alle Menschen zu organisieren. Zu lange haben wir bezüglich Russlands gezögert, nun muss es darum gehen, uns von Abhängigkeiten zu lösen und damit auch die Destabilisierung unserer europäischen Werte Demokratie, Freiheitsrechte und Rechtsstaatlichkeit nicht länger zuzulassen.

**Anna Zalewska (ECR), na písme.** – W Europie, w XXI wieku trwa wojna. To, co jeszcze kilka dni temu było niewyobrażalne, stało się faktem. Rosyjski agresor zabija ludzi, w tym matki i dzieci, niszczy miasta, grozi i szantażuje. Żąda, by Ukraina przestała być niepodległym państwem. Świat stanął w obronie demokratycznego kraju. To nie tylko sankcje, broń, ale również wsparcie na arenie międzynarodowej. Polska w ciągu kilku dni przyjęła około 400 tysięcy osób uciekających przed śmiercią.

Musimy słuchać Ukrainy i przygotować się do nowej geopolitycznej rzeczywistości już dzisiaj. Nie tylko powinniśmy rozpocząć procedury włączające Ukrainę do struktur Unii Europejskiej, ale również na nowo ustalić politykę energetyczną Europy. Trzeba natychmiast zatrzymać prace nad pakietem „Fit for 55”, którego osią jest Nord Stream II i Nord Stream I. Po odrzuceniu tej koncepcji konieczne jest wspólne działanie wszystkich państw członkowskich na rzecz bezpieczeństwa energetycznego, które, jak boleśnie się dzisiaj okazało, jest gwarantem pokoju.

**Carlos Zorrinho (S&D), por escrito.** – A invasão da Ucrânia pela Federação Russa, para além da anexação territorial, é uma anexação político-ideológica intolerável, como aquela que já foi consumada noutros territórios limítrofes e tem sido tentada noutras latitudes através da desinformação, dos ciberataques e do financiamento de forças políticas extremistas e desestabilizadoras.



A sessão plenária do Parlamento Europeu e a resolução nela debatida e aprovada reforçam a ação das instituições europeias e dos seus Estados-Membros, que têm sido firmes a apoiar a Ucrânia de forma articulada, unida e proporcionada, enviando equipamento de defesa, retaliando sobre o invasor de forma a atingir os principais responsáveis, evitando escalar a guerra para patamares em que já não há vencedores nem vencidos e reforçando as suas redes de segurança e defesa, em cooperação com a NATO e outros países aliados e garantindo o apoio humanitário, incluindo o acolhimento e inserção dos refugiados de guerra.

Realço que o povo português e o seu Governo têm estado na primeira linha da solidariedade com o povo ucraniano, uma solidariedade que cresce por toda a Europa e pelo globo e alimenta a esperança de que se encontre uma solução de paz para a brutal ameaça com que o mundo está confrontado.

## 12. Druga część głosowania

*(The vote opened at 15.30)*

**President.** – The vote is already open and will be open until 16.15.

I now invite all colleagues to ensure there are many people in the esplanade for our address. I am looking forward to that.

*(The sitting was suspended at 15.51)*

## 13. Wznowienie posiedzenia

*(The sitting resumed at 17.17)*

## 14. Ogłoszenie wyników głosowania

**President.** – Good afternoon, I would like to announce the result of the vote on the resolution on Russian aggression against Ukraine.

In the vote on the resolution as a whole, 676 Members voted. 637 Members voted in favour. There were 13 votes against and 26 abstentions. So the resolution is adopted.

## 15. Wyjaśnienia dotyczące stanowiska zajętego w głosowaniu: patrz protokół

## 16. Korekty i zamiary głosowania: patrz protokół

## 17. Zatwierdzenie protokołu bieżącego posiedzenia i przekazanie przyjętych tekstów

**President.** – The minutes of today's sitting will be submitted to Parliament for approval at the beginning of our next sitting.

If there are no objections, I shall forward the resolution adopted to the persons and bodies named in the resolution.

**18. Kalendarz następnych posiedzeń: patrz protokół****19. Zamknięcie posiedzenia**

*(The sitting closed at 17.19)*

**20. Przerwa w obradach**

**President.** – I declare adjourned the session of the European Parliament.

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*Skróty i symbole*

*	Procedura konsultacji
***	Procedura zgody
***I	Zwykła procedura ustawodawcza, pierwsze czytanie
***II	Zwykła procedura ustawodawcza, drugie czytanie
***III	Zwykła procedura ustawodawcza, trzecie czytanie

(Typ procedury zależy od podstawy prawnej zaproponowanej w danym projekcie aktu.)

*Rozwinięcia skrótów nazw komisji parlamentarnych*

AFET	Komisja Spraw Zagranicznych
DEVE	Komisja Rozwoju
INTA	Komisja Handlu Międzynarodowego
BUDG	Komisja Budżetowa
CONT	Komisja Kontroli Budżetowej
ECON	Komisja Gospodarcza i Monetarna
EMPL	Komisja Zatrudnienia i Spraw Socjalnych
ENVI	Komisja Środowiska Naturalnego, Zdrowia Publicznego i Bezpieczeństwa Żywności
ITRE	Komisja Przemysłu, Badań Naukowych i Energii
IMCO	Komisja Rynku Wewnętrznego i Ochrony Konsumentów
TRAN	Komisja Transportu i Turystyki
REGI	Komisja Rozwoju Regionalnego
AGRI	Komisja Rolnictwa i Obszarów Wiejskich
PECH	Komisja Rybołówstwa
CULT	Komisja Kultury i Edukacji
JURI	Komisja Prawna
LIBE	Komisja Wolności Obywatelskich, Sprawiedliwości i Spraw Wewnętrznych
AFCO	Komisja Spraw Konstytucyjnych
FEMM	Komisja Praw Kobiet i Równych Szans
PETI	Komisja Petycji
DROI	Podkomisja Praw Człowieka
SEDE	Podkomisja Bezpieczeństwa i Obrony
FISC	Podkomisja do Spraw Podatkowych

*Rozwinięcia skrótów nazw grup politycznych*

PPE	Grupa Europejskiej Partii Ludowej (Chrześcijańscy Demokraci)
S&D	Grupa Postępowego Sojuszu Socjalistów i Demokratów w Parlamencie Europejskim
Renew	Grupa Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	Grupa Zielonych/Wolne Przymierze Europejskie
ID	Grupa Tożsamość i Demokracja
ECR	Grupa Europejskich Konserwatystów i Reformatorów
The Left	Grupa Lewicy w Parlamencie Europejskim - GUE/NGL
NI	Niezrzeszeni