



C/2025/4946

11.9.2025

FULDSTÆNDIGT FORHANDLINGSREFERAT DEN 19. NOVEMBER 2024

(C/2025/4946)

EUROPA-PARLAMENTET

SESSIONEN 2024-2025

Mødeperioden den 19. november 2024

BRUXELLES

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IN THE CHAIR: ROBERTA METSOLA

President

1. Genoptagelse af sessionen

President. – I declare resumed the session of the European Parliament adjourned on 14 November 2024.

2. Åbning af mødet

(The sitting opened at 11:12)

3. Arbejdsplan: se protokollen

4. Tale af Volodymyr Zelenskyj, Ukraines præsident

President. – Dear Members and dear guests, today we mark 1 000 days since Russia's unprovoked and illegal invasion of Ukraine. To begin, I would like to invite you all to watch a short video showing how this European Parliament has stood with Ukraine for 1 000 days, and we will continue to do so – for as long as it takes.

(A short video was shown)

(Loud applause)

Now it is an honour to welcome the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelenskyy, joining us live.

(President Zelenskyy appeared on screen)

(The House rose)

(Loud and sustained applause)

Today, we mark 1 000 days since Russia unleashed its brutal invasion of Ukraine – 1 000 days of terror, suffering and unimaginable loss; 1 000 days of courage, resilience and unbreakable spirit.

For 1 000 days, the people of Ukraine and you, President Zelenskyy, have shown the world what true bravery looks like. You have stood up, refusing to break. Your people are an inspiration to all who value freedom around the world.

For 1 000 days, this European Parliament has stood shoulder to shoulder with the people of Ukraine and their representatives in the Verkhovna Rada, united and unwavering. And we will continue to stand with Ukraine today, tomorrow and every day – for as long as it takes.

This is an assault not only on Ukraine, but on the rules-based order, an assault on our values and on our way of life. Peace, democracy and freedom – this is what is at stake here. We know the sacrifice the Ukrainian people are enduring, not just for themselves, but for all of us.

I will forever be proud that this Parliament has led the charge in supporting Ukraine with political, financial, humanitarian and military assistance. We will always stand for peace – a real peace based on justice, dignity and the principle of 'nothing about Ukraine without Ukraine'.

(Applause)

This is why we have imposed tough sanctions on Russia, and we call to go even further to hit Russia's war machine. This is why we were the first to call for Ukraine's rightful place inside our European Union. And this is why we were there on the ground in Kiev just a couple of weeks after the invasion began.

Today we send a clear, simple message. We stand with Ukraine until freedom, until real peace – for as long as it takes. *Slava Ukraini!*

(Loud applause)

Now I give you the floor, dear President, dear Volodymyr. The floor is yours.

Volodymyr Zelenskyy, *President of Ukraine*. – Dear Roberta, Madam President, dear ladies and gentlemen, dear friends, our friends, friends of Ukraine, I thank you for supporting Ukraine.

Thank you, Roberta, for calling this extraordinary session of the European Parliament to mark one thousand days of full-scale war.

Thank you for ensuring that not a single one of the thousand days of this terrible war became a day of betrayal of our shared European values.

We've proven that these values are not just words – not something abstract. European values and the European way of life – when transformed into action – protect the lives of real people. Thank you so much.

Together – Ukraine, all of Europe, and our partners in America and around the world – we have succeeded not only in preventing Putin from taking Ukraine but also in defending the freedom of all European nations.

Even with North Korea's Kim Jong-un by his side, Putin remains smaller than the united strength of Europe. I urge you not to forget this. And do not forget how much Europe is capable of achieving. If we could stop Europe's way of life from falling, then we can surely push Russia towards a just peace.

Peace is what we desire most. Two years ago, we proposed the Peace Formula, and I am grateful to all of Europe and every partner who has supported it. You in the European Parliament were among the first to support the Peace Formula. The only one who opposes it is the one who started this war – it's Russia.

We must push Russia towards a just peace.

Every blow and every threat from Russia must be met with firm sanctions.

For a thousand days, it has been crucial to radically reduce Russia's ability to fund its war through oil sales. Oil is the lifeblood of Putin's regime, and the shadow fleet of tankers is what keeps it alive.

As long as these tankers operate, Putin continues to kill. Strong sanctions are essential.

I thank each of you – thank you Roberta again – who supports our people, our resilience, our ability to restore safety even after the most devastating mass attacks by Russia. Together, we have accomplished much. But we must not fear doing even more.

Now, Putin has brought 11 000 North Korean troops to Ukraine's borders. This contingent may grow to 100 000.

While some European leaders think about elections, or something like this, at Ukraine's expense, Putin is focused on winning this war. He will not stop on his own. The more time he has, the worse the conditions become.

Every 'today' is the best moment to push Russia harder. And it is clear – without certain key factors, Russia will lack real motivation to engage in meaningful negotiations: without fires in its ammunition depots on Russian territory, without disrupted military logistics, without destroyed Russian air bases, without its lost capabilities to produce missiles and drones, and without its assets being confiscated.

You know very well that Putin does not value people or rules; he values only money and power. These are the things we must take away from him to restore peace.

If anyone in Europe thinks they can sell Moscow Ukraine – or any other country, like the Baltic states, or the Balkans, Georgia, Moldova – and gain something in return, let them remember this simple truth – no one can enjoy calm waters amid a storm.

We must do everything to end this war fairly and justly, as you said, Roberta, and, of course, together. A thousand days of war is a tremendous challenge. Ukraine deserves to make the next year the year of peace.

Thank you, again! Thank you so much!

Thank you for your resolutions, your decisions, your principles, your visits to Ukraine during the war, during the first year of war especially, because you were here when it was so difficult, and thanks for your faith in Ukraine.

Thank you very much!

Slava Ukraini!

(The House rose and accorded President Zelenskyy a standing ovation)

President. – Thank you, President Zelenskyy.

5. 1000 dage efter Ruslands omfattende invasion af Ukraine (forhandling)

President. – The next item is the debate on Parliament's statement on 1 000 days of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine.

Manfred Weber, on behalf of the PPE Group. – Madam President, dear Commissioners, President Zelenskyy, Ukrainian people, first of all, I want to thank our President, because Roberta Metsola was the first European leader representing one of the European institutions to travel to Ukraine, to Kyiv, after the war started. Roberta, thank you so much for this kind of leadership. You made us, this institution, proud by doing so.

Today's debate with President Zelenskyy's presence: 1 000 days after Putin's war. Yes, we mourn the thousands of soldiers and civilians, including 600 children. Our first thoughts today go to all those who lost family members and friends and neighbours. The loss of any life is a tragedy. Putin's war is brutal terror. That's the first thing we have to recognise.

But there is a second reality behind the 1 000 days. Let's be honest: not so many observers thought that Ukraine would have resisted. Not so many experts thought that the Ukrainian forces would be able to regain occupied territory. Not so many observers thought that Ukraine would show a true European face. Yet, yes, you did it. Today, the Ukrainian people have all the right to say, 'We are Europeans.' Or, Mr President, as you said several times, the Ukrainians live, believe in and defend the essence of what makes us Europeans, and that's the European way of life. Congratulations and thank you so much.

What do we have to do now? First we have to talk with our American friends. The war in Ukraine is not a simple regional dispute. The war in Ukraine is a battle line between the free world and brutal dictatorship. Drones produced in Iran, North Korean soldiers fighting against Europeans on European soil. What else do you need as a proof for this geopolitical reality?

Second, Europe must prepare to take on more responsibility. We will do what is necessary to give you, Ukrainians, the financial stability you need. Whatever it takes, as Roberta said. Every euro invested in Ukraine is cheaper than, for example, funding more refugees coming to Europe.

Thirdly, Ukraine must win on the battleground. Joe Biden shows leadership, allowing Ukrainian forces to use all the weapons they have also on Russian territory. With this kind of leadership, it is up to the Europeans to do now the same. Chancellor Scholz said that he would take all the steps necessary together with our American friends. That's why, please, give now Ukraine the necessary Taurus missiles they need.

Fourthly, Ukraine will be a member of the European Union soon. I want to thank the Ukrainian Government and Parliament for all the reforms they have already implemented. You want to become a modern, a free and a democratic country. There is still a lot to do, but the efforts are clear and we as the European People's Party support you on this.

The fifth point, dear colleagues, what we have to do. Russia will not change. Russia will continue to be an imperialistic power, a security threat to all Europeans. That's why we need a long-lasting security architecture. And for us, as EPP, it's clear: Ukraine must become a member of NATO. All other security guarantees have not brought peace. Together with today's strongest army in Europe, that are the Ukrainian forces, we can build up a European pillar of defence to protect the European eastern border in the long term.

The only way is peace through strength, not concessions. We will not allow Putin to steal Ukraine's European future. We stand with Ukraine and yes, we will win.

Iratxe García Pérez, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señora presidenta, presidente Zelenski, bienvenido al Parlamento Europeo. Muchas gracias por acompañarnos en un momento tan difícil para Ucrania. Pese a la distancia, es un placer y un gran honor contar con su presencia en nuestra casa común, en la casa de la democracia europea.

Hoy se cumplen mil días desde la invasión de Rusia contra Ucrania, pero también hace cuatro mil días que empezó la agresión en 2014. Señor Zelenski, este año conmemoramos el décimo aniversario de la Revolución de la Dignidad (*hidnist*) y somos conscientes del terrible precio que todavía están pagando por defenderla.

El presidente Zelenski y el pueblo ucraniano no necesitan grandes aplausos ni ovaciones, tampoco solemnes palabras sobre su coraje y su resistencia, que ya conocemos. Ucrania necesita armas, porque las guerras no solo se ganan con el poder de la palabra, las guerras también se ganan con munición, con tanques y con defensas aéreas.

Seamos honestos con el presidente Zelenski. Si mañana la Unión Europea fuera atacada por Putin, ¿nos preguntaríamos si es legítimo golpear al enemigo desde donde nos golpean? ¿Nos preguntaríamos si es legítimo utilizar los activos congelados del agresor para armarnos y reconstruirnos? Con cada línea roja que nos autoimponemos, el pueblo ucraniano lo paga en vidas humanas y destrucción.

Presidente Zelenski, usted logró el despertar de la memoria europea. Usted nos recordó los peores horrores del siglo XX, desde el bombardeo de Guernica hasta el Muro de Berlín, pasando por el Holocausto. Ahora la masacre de Bucha, el asedio de Mariúpol o la batalla de Járkov demuestran que las peores pesadillas del siglo pasado han regresado al siglo - XXI.

Y el peor enemigo de las guerras es la indiferencia, la indiferencia de quienes piensan que la tragedia no les afecta. Nuestro apoyo a Ucrania no es solo una obligación moral con el agredido, el Derecho internacional y una paz justa. No hay mejor garantía para la seguridad del continente europeo que la victoria de Ucrania. Porque si Ucrania cae, el régimen nacionalista, autoritario y criminal de Putin no se detendrá.

Señorías, no solo se trata de ayudar a Ucrania el tiempo que sea necesario, sino de apoyar a Ucrania con todo lo que sea necesario. Venzamos el mensaje derrotista de quienes piensan que Ucrania no puede ganar la guerra. Rusia ha perdido muchas otras guerras en la historia y en el pasado ya hubo potencias que claudicaron frente a otros menos poderosos.

Señor Zelenski, hoy quiero reafirmarme en las palabras que pronuncié sobre Ucrania en el primer Pleno de la presente legislatura. Pasarán semanas, pasarán meses o años; costará sangre, sudor o lágrimas, pero el pueblo ucraniano ganará la guerra; porque la historia nos ha enseñado que en toda guerra siempre se libran dos batallas.

Una es la batalla de las ideas, y Ucrania ya la ha ganado, porque el pueblo ucraniano ha elegido la democracia frente a quienes la repudian; el pueblo ucraniano ha elegido la libertad y la apertura frente a quienes las temen; el pueblo ucraniano ha elegido ser independiente frente a quienes todavía sueñan con viejos imperios.

¿Y la otra batalla? La otra batalla tiene lugar en el campo de batalla. Y si en la Unión Europea siempre hemos dicho que ustedes están luchando por su libertad y también por la nuestra, tenemos la obligación de prestar a Ucrania toda la ayuda política, militar, financiera y humanitaria hasta la victoria final.

Señor Zelenski, nací en una España donde todavía un cruel dictador secuestraba el presente y el futuro del pueblo español. Para mi generación el proyecto europeo era faro de libertad, de progreso y justicia social. Quería estar en la Unión Europea como ustedes querían hacerlo hace diez años en el Maidán; como quieren estar hoy en la Unión Europea.

Les acompañaremos hasta que sus aspiraciones de ser un país libre y soberano que decida su propio destino en la familia europea sean realidad. Estaremos a su lado hasta que el azul y el amarillo de las banderas ucranianas ondeen junto con el azul y el amarillo de las banderas europeas. *Mui Yevropa! Slava Ukraini!*

Kinga Gál, a P/E képviselőcsoport nevében. – Elnök Asszony! Ezredik napja tart a pusztító háború Ukrajnában, és nem látszik a vége. Az álláspontunk a háború kezdetétől fogva egyértelmű: elítéljük Oroszország katonai agresszióját, az erőszakot, amely nemcsak a nemzetközi jog alapján jelent súlyos sérelmet, de morális szempontból is igazolhatatlan. Együttérzünk az ukrán emberekkel, a kiállásukkal, elismerjük az ország önvédelemhez való jogát, kiállunk Ukrajna területi integritása és szuverenitása mellett.

Ahogy az Unió egésze, úgy Magyarország is erején felül segíti Ukrajnát. Országunk történetének legnagyobb humanitárius segítségnyújtási akcióját hajtja és hajtotta végre. A háború kitörése óta naponta tízezer menekült érkezik hazánkba, összesen több mint 1,4 millió ukrán menedékkérőt fogadtunk eddig. A Magyarországon lévő menekülteknek lakhatást, egészségügyi ellátást, a gyermekeknek anyanyelvi oktatást biztosítunk. Továbbra is mindent megteszünk az ukrán emberek megsegítése érdekében.

Az elhúzóódó harcok jóvátehetetlen károkat okoztak, százazrek veszték oda és sebesültek meg, családok szakadtak szét, váltak földönfutóvá. Négy fiúgyermek édesanyjaként különösen együttérzek az édesanyákkal. Én csak így tudom nézni az elmúlt ezer nap szörnyű pusztítását. Felfoghatatlan emberi tragédia és szenvedés. Minél tovább tart a háború, annál több lesz az áldozat, annál nehezebb lesz az emberi utánpótlás biztosítása Ukrajna számára.

A mi fájdalunkat fokozza, hogy egyre nagyobb számban vesznek oda a fronton – ukránok mellett – kárpátaljai magyarok, az ukrainai magyar kisebbség tagjai is. A háború a szomszédunkban zajlik, így számunkra a konfliktus eszkalációja drasztikus következményekkel járna. Ezért nem veszünk részt az Ukrajnába irányuló fegyverszállításokban, és ellenezzük azokat a javaslatokat, amelyek eszkalációhoz vezethetnek. Szembe kell nézni azzal, hogy az Unió eddigi Ukrajna-stratégiája nem váltotta be a hozzá fűzött reményeket, és nem hozta el a háború végét. Meggyőződésem, hogy egy háborús konfliktusban az életek mentése és a szenvedők megsegítése a legfontosabb. Ehhez mielőbb tűzszünetre és béketárgyalásokra van szükség, hiszen csak így lehet véget vetni a pusztításnak.

Jó, hogy egyre többen beszélnek a diplomáciai megoldás fontosságáról. Donald Trump megválasztásával most minden eddiginél jobb esélyünk nyílik erre. Ha pedig sikerül véget vetni a háborúnak, kell majd egy átfogó stratégia Ukrajna újjáépítéséről és az Unió ebben betöltött szerepéről is. Most mindenekelőtt a béketeremtésre kell összpontosítani.

Nicola Procaccini, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Madam President, a thousand days ago, what was disguised as a major Russian military exercise on the border with Ukraine turned out to be a full-scale invasion. The first in Europe after years of peace. A failed invasion, as this very moment of commemoration reminds us. Failed thanks to the strenuous defence of Ukrainian men and women. Failed thanks to the courage and determination of the Ukrainian President. He was surrounded, threatened, mocked by internet trolls, but he did not flee, neither to a remote dacha in the forest nor to a Manhattan hotel. He stood where he belonged: with his family, carrying out his duty.

The Putin regime was convinced that it would only take one night to take over Ukraine. It did not. Since that day, the Ukrainian people have been enduring under the weight of indiscriminate shelling, targeting civilians, critical infrastructure and everything essential for survival. Since that day, Ukrainian children have been going to school underground.

For 1 000 days, Ukraine has been forced to fight and die in order to continue to exist. What are the Ukrainian people teaching us? Three things, above all. That homeland is not a word that belongs to the past, but is still what holds the meaning of men and women in history. It teaches us that freedom is not a political slogan, but a necessity of the soul. Finally, it teaches us that Europe is not a treaty signed in the last century. It is not a set of – sometimes unjust – rules, a collection of *bureaux* and offices, but is a community of destiny to which we belong without having to choose it.

In a few hours there will be another anniversary. On the evening of 21 November 2013, some young people took to the main square of Kyiv. They were beaten and killed. They became thousands and gave rise to a popular revolution called Euromaidan. None of us western Europeans can imagine a generation of high-school kids and young workers defying death by colouring their faces in the blue and stars of Europe.

But in Ukraine it happened. They died wrapped in the bloody flags of the European Union. The flag that for us is not much more than an office object. They died like that under the bells of St Michael's Monastery, while someone played Chopin on a piano set up on a pile of snow soaked in the blood.

That is why we will continue to stand with Ukraine for as long as it takes. Not only because it represents the right side of history, but because we know that not defending the principles of freedom and human dignity today would mean accepting a future of chaos in which the law of force prevails over right and the weakest are destined to succumb.

Those watching this war in China, in Africa and Middle East, in Latin America are waiting to know whether the entire West still believes in its founding values. Among them, the value of peace, which is not an inescapable condition, unfortunately, but is a treasure to be protected with courage and sacrifice.

Winston Churchill wisely said that accepting peace on hard terms is like feeding a crocodile, hoping it will eat us last. Let us do what is right for as long as it takes.

Valérie Hayer, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Madame la Présidente, merci. Monsieur le Président Zelensky, c'est un immense honneur de vous compter parmi nous aujourd'hui. Cela fait mille jours. Mille jours que dure cette guerre forcenée. Mille jours que votre peuple résiste pour la liberté. Dans cette guerre, il y a un agresseur et un agressé. Il y a un dirigeant qui, depuis dix ans, s'attaque à votre territoire et qui, face à la bravoure des Ukrainiens, en est réduit à faire appel à d'autres pour poursuivre sa campagne meurtrière: drones iraniens, soldats nord-coréens ou encore sri-lankais. Il y a un agresseur, un seul, qui a ramené la guerre sur le sol de l'Europe.

Puis il y a votre peuple. Chaque jour, les soldats comme les civils d'Ukraine subissent des attaques d'une barbarie sans nom. Mais, malgré l'horreur, votre peuple tient bon, avec un courage hors du commun et avec l'Europe à vos côtés. Certains dans ce Parlement se prétendent pacifistes. Mais disons les choses clairement: ils sont les alliés de Vladimir Poutine, et ce qu'ils prônent sous couvert de la paix, ce n'est rien d'autre que la loi du plus fort. Car qui a déclenché cette guerre? Qui mène sa politique expansionniste? Qui est aujourd'hui poursuivi par la CPI? C'est M. Poutine et personne d'autre.

Alors, chers collègues, nous le savons: soutenir l'Ukraine, c'est soutenir aussi la sécurité de l'Europe, et cela passe par notre capacité à nous défendre nous-mêmes, à consolider notre marché européen de la défense et nos achats militaires communs, à investir pour que la menace s'éloigne. L'Europe doit être à la hauteur de ce point de bascule.

Monsieur le Président Zelensky, mille jours que vous vous défendez, et nous resterons à vos côtés. Nous avons soutenu l'Ukraine dans des proportions inédites: sur les plans militaire, humanitaire, financier, sur le plan des sanctions. Depuis mille jours, nous avons été d'une unité sans faille, à rebours des divisions espérées par le Kremlin, et le soutien de l'Europe ne flanchera pas. Alors que l'appui américain est plus incertain que jamais, nous devons, nous Européens, ne jamais nous habituer à cette guerre, qui est à nos portes. Mille jours et nous continuerons à vous soutenir, parce qu'il y aura toujours une majorité d'élus, dans ce Parlement, à vos côtés aussi longtemps que nécessaire, parce que l'unité de l'Europe est infiniment plus efficace que toutes les initiatives isolées.

Ces mille jours nous ont montré que le régime russe était capable du pire, que la paix ne serait durable qu'en tenant tête aux autocrates, qui ne comprennent que le rapport de force. Alors oui, nous devons renforcer notre soutien, chers collègues. Un soutien militaire au travers de systèmes de défense aérienne, de missiles, de drones, mais aussi de véhicules. Un soutien financier aussi, notamment par la mise en œuvre du programme de prêts de l'Union et de ses partenaires du G7 – lesquels prêts seront remboursés par les recettes provenant des avoirs russes gelés. Oui, il est légitime que l'Ukraine puisse frapper des cibles militaires sur le sol russe pour protéger son territoire. Oui, le détournement des sanctions par la Russie et par ses alliés est inadmissible, et nous devons d'urgence nous attaquer à toutes les brèches qui existent encore dans les pays tiers comme sur les navires fantômes. Et oui, Vladimir Poutine et son entourage devront répondre de leurs crimes et être traduits devant la justice internationale.

Oui, Monsieur le Président Zelensky, votre plan vers la victoire est le bon, parce qu'il vise avant tout la paix: durable, libre et juste. Rien, dès lors, ne doit être porté sans vous. Tout doit être fait avec vous, parce que c'est le destin de votre peuple qui se joue ici, et votre destin est lié au nôtre: à travers l'Union et à travers l'OTAN, il sera bel et bien européen.

Alors, Monsieur Zelensky, avec notre famille commune, Renew Europe, avec l'immense majorité de nos collègues dans ce Parlement et avec tous les peuples d'Europe, je vous le dis: nous vous soutiendrons jusqu'au bout. *Slava Oukraïni!*

Terry Reintke, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, dear President of Ukraine Zelenskyy, dear colleagues and, most of all, dear friends in Ukraine, it has been a thousand days since Putin's illegal and unprovoked full-scale invasion of Ukraine, which brought utter destruction and unbearable suffering to the people of Ukraine.

A thousand days, a sad milestone and at the same moment a reminder of our promise. We stand with Ukraine for as long as it takes: as long as it takes until peace finally becomes reality for Ukraine again. Trust me, it is us who are longing for peace, but the people who are longing for peace the most are the people in Ukraine. A peace on Ukraine's terms which allows the Ukrainian people to live in freedom and safety and not under the oppression of Russia's brutal colonial shackles.

Warmonger Putin will not stop this terror. He will send more soldiers to their death. He will use more weapons to bomb infrastructure, hospitals and schools. He will use the cold winter to try to freeze the Ukrainians into submission.

Putin does not obey international law. He is actually trying to move back to a time where Europe was ruled by empires, starting by building a Russian empire, threatening all those who want to live in peace and freedom in Europe. It's a weak man's big phantom pain of Russian tsars and Soviet rulers. Putin only recognises the right of the strongest, so we have to show him Europe's united strength.

The re-election of President Trump into the White House is another wake-up call for the European Union in this regard. We must move forward with renewed vigour. We have to step up our military support for Ukraine. Ukraine urgently needs credible security guarantees.

Also, the EU has to be able to defend itself and must become independent from dictators in terms of energy supply. We have paid a very high price on this continent because of our own short-sightedness in this regard. This is not just in our interest, but also in that of Ukraine. I'm speaking to our Ukrainian sisters and brothers, who are still suffering and who are not only defending their own freedom, but also our freedom here in Europe.

It might have been a thousand days, but be reassured: Europe will not let you down.

Martin Schirdewan, *im Namen der Fraktion The Left*. – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Präsident Selenskyj! Seit nunmehr 1 000 Tagen tobt der Angriffskrieg gegen die Ukraine, und weit mehr als 10 000 Zivilisten sind mittlerweile in Putins mörderischem Krieg getötet worden. Meine Solidarität und mein Mitgefühl gehört der notleidenden ukrainischen Bevölkerung. Deshalb ist es richtig, dass Millionen von kriegsgeflüchteten Frauen, Alten und Kindern für die Zeit des Krieges in der Europäischen Union humanitären Schutz gefunden haben. Denjenigen, die diesen Schutz jetzt hier infrage stellen – auch in diesem Haus –, möchte ich sagen: Ihr sollt euch schämen! Hunderttausende Soldatinnen und Soldaten sind in diesem Krieg getötet worden: ukrainische, die ihr Land zu Recht verteidigen, und russische, von denen viele – und auch das gehört zur Wahrheit – diesen Krieg nicht wollten und die ein imperialer Herrscher auf den von ihm geschaffenen Schlachtfeldern in einen grausamen Tod geschickt hat. Dieser Krieg muss schnellstmöglich enden.

Herr Präsident Selenskyj, unser Ziel ist ein gerechter und dauerhafter Frieden, ein Frieden, dem internationales Recht zugrunde liegt und der die Souveränität der Ukraine achtet. Russische Soldaten haben nichts in der Ukraine verloren. Selbstverständlich muss die Ukraine mit am Tisch sitzen, wenn dieser Frieden verhandelt wird. Das müssen alle Akteure – auch Putin und der kommende Präsident der USA – respektieren. Ein Siegfrieden Russlands, der der Ukraine aufgezwungen würde, stellt die internationale Ordnung insgesamt infrage, doch das internationale Recht kennt keine Doppelstandards. Das Recht des militärisch Stärkeren darf sich niemals durchsetzen, denn sonst werden Autokraten und imperiale Staaten immer wieder die territoriale Integrität anderer souveräner Staaten bedrohen und kriegserische Katastrophen heraufbeschwören. Doch dafür müssen wir den Weg aus der Sprache des Militärs und der Gewalt finden und Diplomatie erzwingen – durch internationale Kooperation, durch anhaltenden und verstärkten politischen Druck der Staatengemeinschaft auf Russland.

Da haben alle zu wenig gemacht: die EU-Kommission und die europäischen Regierungen, die USA und China. Und wir müssen andererseits den ökonomischen Druck erhöhen, durch gezielte und effektive Sanktionen gegen Putins Machtapparat, gegen den militärisch-industriellen Komplex, gegen seine Oligarchen und gegen seine Schattenflotte, mit deren Hilfe er die Sanktionen umgeht. Der Wiederaufbau der kritischen und zivilen Infrastruktur für die Menschen in der Ukraine muss jetzt beginnen. Ein internationaler Schuldenschnitt wäre dafür eine wichtige Hilfe.

Herr Präsident, ich möchte nicht, dass sich am Krieg und am Wiederaufbau der Ukraine vor allem große Konzerne und das internationale Kapital eine goldene Nase verdienen. Demokratische Rechte müssen auch in Kriegszeiten verteidigt werden, denn die Zukunft der Ukraine muss den Ukrainerinnen und Ukrainern gehören.

President. – Thank you, Mr Schirdewan. So I thank you all, dear Members, in the darkest of nights, Ukraine has shone as a beacon of courage, resilience and hope for all of us this week. As a symbol of our bond, the flags of Ukraine and the European Union fly together across Brussels, Strasbourg and Luxembourg, and the European Parliament is illuminated with the radiant blue and yellow of Ukraine – a vivid reminder that Ukraine's struggle is our struggle too!

So we stand with Ukraine, united, steadfast and unwavering for as long as it takes.

Thank you very much.

Written Statements (Rule 178)

Michał Dworczyk (ECR), *na piśmie*. – Dziś mija 1000 dni od brutalnej inwazji Rosji na Ukrainę. To już ponad dwa i pół roku cierpienia, walki i niewyobrażalnej determinacji narodu ukraińskiego, który broniąc swojej niepodległości, broni także podstawowych wartości wolnego świata. Rosyjska agresja od pierwszego dnia pokazała swoje prawdziwe oblicze – bombardowanie cywilnych obiektów, tortury i akty ludobójstwa. W obliczu takiego barbarzyństwa nie mogliśmy i nie możemy pozostać obojętni.

Polska od początku była przy Ukrainie. Polacy otworzyli swoje serca i domy dla milionów uchodźców uciekających przed rosyjskimi bombami. Polski rząd, organizacje pozarządowe i zwykli obywatele zorganizowali bezprecedensową akcję pomocową, która trwa do dziś. Polska stała się logistycznym centrum dostaw humanitarnych i wojskowych, wspierając Ukrainę bronią, amunicją, sprzętem medycznym i szkoleniami. W Polsce narodziła się idea sankcji i wywierania presji na Rosję, które osłabiają machinę wojenną Kremla.

Wspieranie Ukrainy nie zawsze było proste – nasza wspólna historia ma trudne i bolesne karty. Jednak dziś wiemy, że solidarność z naszym sąsiadem jest nie tylko moralnym obowiązkiem, ale przede wszystkim strategicznym interesem Polski. Wolna, silna Ukraina to gwarancja bezpieczeństwa dla naszej części Europy i tamy dla imperialnych zapędów Rosji. Szacunek należy się każdemu, kto przez tych 1000 dni pomagał Ukraincom. Wasze zaangażowanie jest dowodem na to, że naród polski zawsze stoi po stronie dobra.

Tomasz Froelich (ESN), *schriftlich*. – Nach 1000 Tagen droht der Krieg in der Ukraine zu eskalieren. US-Wahlverlierer Biden erlaubt der Ukraine Langstreckenraketen auf Russland abzufeuern. Auch Frankreich und Großbritannien geben grünes Licht. Polens Außenminister Sikorski hat das bereits vor Wochen gefordert. Und der potentielle Kriegskanzler Merz will Taurus nach Kiew liefern. All dies in einer Situation, in der die Siegeschancen der Ukrainer gegen Null tendieren. Die Lage in Europa wird ernster. Das müsste so nicht sein. Etwa wenn Figuren wie Boris Johnson Friedensbemühungen nicht torpediert hätten und der hiesige Moralismus nicht alle Medien dominieren würde. In diesem Krieg vermischen sich westliche Weltpolitik und kopflose russische Interessendurchsetzung zulasten der ukrainischen Nation, die ihre Jugend einem sinnlosen Krieg opfert. Es kann Frieden geben: Mit der Ukraine als neutralen Staat. Ohne angeblichen Vormarsch Putins bis nach Berlin. Ohne Stationierung von US-Atomwaffen in einer NATO-Ukraine. Die Ukraine könnte zu einer neutralen Schweiz des Ostens werden. Aber die Kriegstreiber machen sie zu einem zweiten Afghanistan. Ich respektiere den Blutzoll der Ukrainer. Und natürlich ist das Recht auf nationale Selbstverteidigung unantastbar. Aber nach 1 000 Tagen ist klar, dass hier ein Volk zwischen zwei Großmächten aufgerieben wird. Zelensky, Putin – sie werden wieder gehen. Aber die Ukrainer und die Russen werden und sollen fortbestehen. Und der Rest Europas auch.

Mariusz Kamiński (ECR), *na piśmie*. – Rosyjska inwazja na Ukrainę trwa już 1000 dni. Chociaż brutalne metody Rosji nie są niczym nowym, świat wciąż uczy się Kremla na nowo, popełniając te same błędy. Rosyjski imperializm nie znikł wraz z rozpadem Związku Sowieckiego. Czeczenia, Gruzja, Syria, Krym i wschodnia Ukraina to kolejne etapy prowadzące do tego, co widzimy od tysiąca dni za naszą wschodnią granicą.

Wspierając Ukrainę pamiętajmy, iż trzy lata temu Putin szantażował świat żądaniami fundamentalnej rewizji obecnej architektury bezpieczeństwa w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej. Uderzając zwłaszcza w bezpieczeństwo Polski, starał się narzucić prawną formalizację rosyjskiej strefy wpływów na obszarze posowieckim.

Pamiętajmy słowa Józefa Piłsudskiego: „Rosja obiecuje, gdy jest do tego zmuszona, i nie dotrzymuje swych obietnic z chwilą, gdy ma po temu siłę”. Pamiętajmy jego przestrogi: „bez względu na to, jaki będzie jej rząd, Rosja jest zaciekle imperialistyczna. Jest to zasadniczy rys jej charakteru politycznego. Mieliśmy imperializm carski; widzimy dzisiaj imperializm sowiecki”. Dziś imperializm Putina nie różni się niczym od imperializmu Michaiła Murawjowa czy Stalina. Dlatego polski rząd, w którym miałem okazję zasiadać, wspomagał Ukrainę od pierwszych kluczowych dni, oferując realną pomoc, która pozwoliła Ukrainie przetrwać najtrudniejsze chwile. Unia, państwa członkowskie wciąż mogą i muszą zrobić wiele, by realnie pomóc Ukrainie w tej walce.

Sebastian Tynkkynen (ECR), *in writing*. – Ukraine shares our European values. Russia clearly does not.

I agree that we must achieve peace but it needs to happen on Ukraine's terms. Russia must not be rewarded from its warmongering acts, and until peace is achieved, we must continue to support Ukraine to help them preserve their independence.

Even though this war is taking place on Ukraine's territory, and although it was initially conducted by Russia, the war also involves Belarus, Iran, China and many other dictatorial and undemocratic states. The current mobilisation of North Korean troops in Ukraine is a threat we must recognise.

As President Zelenskyy said, Putin alone will not end this war. The only things Putin desires are money and power and we all know that Putin does not care for the rules. He wants to win this war and if – God forbid – he succeeds, there will be another one. He will not stop until he is finished with his imperialistic desires.

As Europeans, we shall not grant him his wishes, and thus we must stop him. The war has now lasted for 1 000 days. We must continue to support Ukraine for as long as it takes.

Ukraine's fight is our fight.

6. Godkendelse af protokollen fra dette møde: se protokollen

7. Tidspunkt for næste møde

President. – The next part-session will take place from 25 to 28 November

8. Hævelse af mødet

(The sitting closed at 11:54)

9. Afbrydelse af sessionen

President. – The session of the European Parliament is adjourned.

Tegnforklaring

*	Høringsprocedure
***	Godkendelsesprocedure
***I	Almindelig lovgivningsprocedure (førstebehandling)
***II	Almindelig lovgivningsprocedure (andenbehandling)
***III	Almindelig lovgivningsprocedure (tredjebehandling)

(Proceduren afhænger af det retsgrundlag, der er valgt i udkastet til retsakt)

Forkortelser af udvalgenes navne

AFET	Udenrigsudvalget
DEVE	Udviklingsudvalget
INTA	Udvalget om International Handel
BUDG	Budgetudvalget
CONT	Budgetkontroludvalget
ECON	Økonomi- og Valutaudvalget
EMPL	Udvalget om Beskæftigelse og Sociale Anliggender
ENVI	Udvalget om Miljø, Folkesundhed og Fødevarer sikkerhed
ITRE	Udvalget om Industri, Forskning og Energi
IMCO	Udvalget om det Indre Marked og Forbrugerbeskyttelse
TRAN	Transport- og Turismeudvalget
REGI	Regionaludviklingsudvalget
AGRI	Udvalget om Landbrug og Udvikling af Landdistrikter
PECH	Fiskeriudvalget
CULT	Kultur- og Uddannelsesudvalget
JURI	Retsudvalget
LIBE	Udvalget om Borgernes Rettigheder og Retlige og Indre Anliggender
AFCO	Udvalget om Konstitutionelle Anliggender
FEMM	Udvalget om Kvinders Rettigheder og Ligestilling
PETI	Udvalget for Andragender
DROI	Underudvalget for Menneskerettigheder
SEDE	Underudvalget for Sikkerhed og Forsvar
FISC	Underudvalget om Skatteinliggender
SANT	Underudvalget om Folkesundhed

Forkortelser for de politiske grupper

PPE	Det Europæiske Folkepartis Gruppe (Kristelige demokrater)
S&D	Gruppen for det Progressive Forbund af Socialdemokrater i Europa-Parlamentet
PfE	Gruppen Patrioter for Europa
ECR	Gruppen De Europæiske Konservative og Reformister
Renew	Gruppen Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	Gruppen De Grønne/Den Europæiske Fri Alliance
The Left	Venstrefløjgruppen i Europa-Parlamentet — GUE/NGL
ESN	Gruppen Europa af Suveræne Nationer
NI	Løsgængere