

# **EU stance and reactions to the war in Ukraine: an actor-constructivist approach**

**Workshop on EU Foreign Policy**

# EU as a non-unitary actor

## ACTOR-BASED CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACH

- DEFINING and IDENTIFY the role of specific actors
- TIME-FRAME: February- April 2022
- Mapping intra-institutional and inter-institutional networks (Ukraine - Russia - Belarus)
- Describing KEY IDEAS and TOOLS
- SOURCES: EU official web pages, interviews and declarations

## HOW DO IDEATIONAL FACTORS INFLUENCE POLITICAL ACTIONS?

- ‘Strategic framing’: EU values, objectives and policy tools

# Key actors



**European Commission**

Pres. Commission *Von der Leyen*  
HR/VP *Borrell*



**Council of the EU**

Pres. *Macron* (France)  
HR/VP *Borrell*  
FAC, GAC, JHAC



**European Parliament**

Plenary  
EP Pres. *Metsola*  
Committees  
Interparliamentary delegations



**European Council**

HoS/G of MS  
EUCO Pres. *Michel*  
Pres. Commission *Von der Leyen*

# Research questions

1. What role did each actor play?
2. What actions did each different actor undertake?
3. What have been the main policy changes in terms of perceptions, policy objectives and tools?



# Before the war: EU-Ukraine relations

- Ukraine declared integration to the EU as a major foreign policy objective in 1993
- Several summits and initiatives to foster closer cooperation in 1990s and early 2000s; results after the Orange Revolution (2004-05)
- Ukraine-EU Association Agreement: approved by the Ukrainian parliament but not by government » Euromaidan uprising (2013-14) & signing of Association Agreement in 2014
- Stronger economic and trade relations, political relations, financial assistance, civil society engagement and humanitarian assistance
- **Ukraine as a priority partner for the EU**



# Ukraine



EU values	Objectives/goals	Policy tools
<p>Support for democracy, respect of human rights and fundamental principles</p>	<p>Support to the Ukrainian path toward democracy and protection of Ukrainian sovereignty on its territory</p>	<p>Support and acknowledgement of efforts made by the Ukrainian authorities</p>
		<p>Condemnation of Russian interference (incl. cancellation of a planned EU-Russia summit by EUCO and of regular bilateral summits with Russia)</p>
		<p>Electoral monitoring missions</p>
		<p>Civil society engagement</p>
		<p>Humanitarian assistance</p>

EU values	Objectives/goals	Policy tools
Support for Ukraine's European choice and promotion of deeper political and economic ties	Achievement of a higher level of closeness based on shared values Provision of frameworks for the modernization of Ukraine's economy and trade relations	Ratification of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement including a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA) (2014)
	Officialization of closer ties to Ukraine	Signing of the Cooperation Agreement with the Ukrainian parliament (2015)
	Strengthening relationship and integration into European context	Regulation on visa-free travel
		Regular EU-Ukraine summits
		Inclusion of Ukraine in the Eastern Partnership
Tied to structural reforms aimed at solving problems which contributed to the crisis Show of long-term commitment to supporting Ukrainian reforms in view of integration into the EU	Yearly funds mobilized from the bilateral pillar of the European Neighborhood Instrument and other sources (Financial Institutions, Eastern Partnership...)	

## Before the war: EU-Russia relations

- After the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, a **Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA)** was signed in 1994 between the EU and Russia, and it still represents the legal basis for the EU-Russia relations
- Historically, the EU has always labelled Russia as a **strategic partner**
- Tensions started to arise with the **2008 Russia-Georgia conflict**, in which the EU has intervened to negotiate a ceasefire
- **2009 Russia-Ukraine gas dispute**, after the signing of a deal between Ukraine and the EU to upgrade the latter's pipelines
- After the **2014 annexation of Crimea** and the military intervention in Donbas, the EU has applied severe sanctions on Russia



Russia



EU values	Objectives/goals	Policy tools
Respect of International Law and state sovereignty	-Condemnation of Russian military and political interferences in <b>Georgia</b> -Condemnation of Russian annexation of <b>Crimea</b> and military intervention in Donbas	-Adoption of severe economic <b>sanctions</b> against Russia -Coordinated response between the EU institutions: adoption of resolutions addressing Russia's violation of third countries' state sovereignty and territorial integrity -Implementation of the <b>Minsk Agreements</b>
Respect of democracy and protection of human rights	-Denunciation of repeated attacks against leading opposition figures and of the <b>limitation of fundamental freedoms</b>	-Call to release supporters of <b>Russia's opposition</b> -Awarding by the European Parliament of the <b>Sakharov Prize</b> to leaders of the Russian opposition <b>Sentsov</b> and <b>Navalny</b>

## Before the war: EU-Belarus relations

- Mutual relations started after the European Economic Community, the EU's predecessor, recognised Belarus' independence in 1991
- After the appointment of **Alexander Lukashenko** as leader of the country during the 2020 elections, the EU-Belarus relations have deteriorated significantly: exclusion from the ENP and non-recognition of Lukashenko
- The EU condemned the role of Belarus in the 2021 **Belarus-Poland migration** crisis



A nighttime photograph of the European Commission building, a large, curved, modern structure with a glass facade. The building is illuminated from within, with warm yellow lights visible through the windows. In the foreground, three European Union flags (blue with twelve gold stars) are flying on tall, thin poles. The flags are slightly blurred, suggesting a breeze. A bright yellow banner is overlaid across the middle of the image, containing the text "EUROPEAN COMMISSION" in bold, black, sans-serif capital letters.

**EUROPEAN COMMISSION**

# The European Commission



## STRUCTURE

### POLITICAL BRANCH

- President of the Commission
- Commissioners responsible for external relations:
  - Joseph Borrell: **A stronger Europe in the World**
  - Věra Jourová: **Values and Transparency**
  - Margaritis Schinas: **Protecting our European Way of Life**
  - Maroš Šefčovič: **Interinstitutional Relations and Foresight**
  - Dubravka Šuica: **Democracy and Demography**
  - Janez Lenarčič: **Crisis Management**
  - Olivér Várhelyi: **Neighbourhood and Enlargement**
  - Jutta Urpilainen: **International Partnerships**
  - Valdis Dombrovskis: **An Economy that works for People**

### ADMINISTRATIVE BRANCH

- Directorate Generals (DGs) responsible for external relations:
  - DG TRADE (**TRADE**)
  - DG INTERNATIONAL PARTNERSHIPS (**INTPA**)
  - DG EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY AND ENLARGEMENT NEGOTIATIONS (**NEAR**)
  - DG HUMANITARIAN AID AND CIVIL PROTECTION (**ECHO**)
- + SERVICE FOR FOREIGN POLICY INSTRUMENTS (FPI)

## FP ROLES AND TASKS

- Exclusive right of initiative (EU's external action and external dimension of internal policies)
- But largely sidelined in CFSP and CSDP (Declaration 14 TOL)
- The HR, “with the support of the Commission”, may refer any question relating to CFSP to the Council
- On behalf of the HR, the Commission can propose sanctions to be approved by the Council
- Represents the EU on the international level
- Negotiates treaties



# Key Actors

## PRESIDENT



- Gives political guidance
- Calls and chairs meetings of the College of the Commissioners
- Leads the implementation of EU policies
- Takes part in G7 meetings
- Contributes to major debates in the European Parliament and between EU Governments in the Council of the European Union

## HIGH REPRESENTATIVE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND SECURITY POLICY (HR/VP)

- Represents the EU externally
- Coordinates and carries out EU foreign and security policy
- Regularly visits non-EU countries to discuss their relationship with the EU
- Publicly expressing EU opinion on foreign policy issues
- In charge of promoting and protecting human rights externally



# During the War: Role of the President towards Ukraine

EU values	Objectives/goals	Policy tools
Mutual solidarity	<b>Strengthening the trans-Atlantic alliance</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Meeting with the Speaker of the House of Representatives; POTUS Biden; VPOTUS Harris</li> <li>NATO Summit</li> </ul>
Solidarity	<b>Upholding European Solidarity and Support</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Constant contact with Zelensky + Verbal support</li> <li>EU Solidarity Webpage</li> <li>G7 and EUCO Meetings</li> <li>Other meetings and speeches at various European fora</li> </ul>
Promote democracy and European values	<b>Offering political assistance</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Promoting Ukraine's accession in the EU. Reflections about an accelerated adhesion of Ukraine in the EU</li> </ul>
Respect of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms	<b>Ensuring humanitarian aid</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Proposal of temporary protection mechanism; safe humanitarian corridors; <i>"EU is providing a first tranche of €500 million to help refugees and is making sure that they get residency rights in the EU for at least a year"</i></li> </ul>
Protection of democracy and IL	<b>Ensuring defense aid</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>EU to finance the purchase and delivery of weapons and equipment to a country under attack</li> </ul>

# Role of the President towards Russia and Belarus

EU values	Objectives/goals	Policy tools
Respect of international law	<b>Hardening sanctions against Russia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "At light-speed, the EU adopted the largest sanctions package in its history"</li> <li>• Russia no longer a "most favored nation"</li> <li>• Removal from SWIFT (<i>European Commission, 26.02.2022</i>)</li> </ul>
Transparency and information	<b>Fighting disinformation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Banning of Kremlin's media machine in the EU, <i>Russia Today</i>, <i>Sputnik</i> and their subsidiaries</li> </ul>
Resilience and independence	<b>Reducing energy dependence on Russian fossil fuels</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "We need to shield the most vulnerable consumers and businesses and, more structurally, prepare for a massive increase of renewables in our electricity market".</li> <li>• Promoting RePowerEU (<i>European Commission, 8.03.2022</i>)</li> </ul>
Respect of IL, Human Rights and fundamental freedoms	<p><b>Condemnation of Belarus actions</b></p> <p>"The Commission will target it as the other aggressor in the war" (<i>Ursula Von Der Leyen, 27.02.2022</i>)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Suspension of Cross-Border Cooperation Programs of the European Neighborhood Instrument</li> <li>• Suspension of Interreg Program for the Baltic Sea Region (<i>European Commission, 04.03. 2022</i>)</li> <li>• Economic sanctions in addition to those of 2020</li> <li>• Import and export restrictions (<i>European Commission, 02.2022</i>)</li> <li>• SWIFT prohibitions similar to those for Russia</li> <li>• Suspension of any EU work related to the Belarus WTO accession process (<i>European Commission, 02.2022</i>)</li> </ul>


# Tenets of the HR/VP rhetoric

Audience	Objectives/goals	Policy tools
<b>European Union</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Emphasis on unity of member states</li> <li>- Crisis as an opportunity for further collaboration and integration</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Convening and participating in meetings</li> <li>- Promotion of the <b>Strategic Compass</b></li> </ul>
<b>Ukraine</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Need for absolute support and assistance</li> <li>- Strengthening of pre-existing bonds</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Supporting the <b>European Defence Fund</b> and the <b>European Peace Facility</b> to provide weapons to Ukraine (<i>EEAS, 3.03.2022</i>)</li> </ul>
<b>Russia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Absolute condemnation of its actions from the perspective of IL and its fundamental principles</li> <li>- Promise of accountability of leaders</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Working with the international partners to cut off Russia's banks from the financial system</li> <li>- Worked to achieve the condemnation of Russia's aggression in the UN General Assembly</li> </ul>
<b>Belarus</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Condemnation for its support of Russia's actions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Support for Belarusian civilians who oppose Lukashenko</li> </ul>
<b>Non-EU Allies</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Emphasizing need for support and closeness with allies</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Visits, meetings and phone calls with politicians</li> <li>- Particular focus on candidates for accession</li> </ul>
<b>General</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Conflict is framed as not only illegal, but also immoral</li> <li>- Need to justify EU's unprecedented use of hard power while maintaining its basis as a "peace project"</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Participation in meetings with major IOs and their leaders (UN, Council of Europe, OSCE, NATO, IAEA, etc.) and diplomatic conferences</li> <li>- Interviews, opinion pieces, guest articles, press statements and conferences</li> </ul>

# Role of Commissioners and DGs towards Ukraine

Commissioners	DGs	Policy tools
<p>Janez Lenarčič: <b>Crisis Management</b> portfolio</p> 	<p>DG European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (<b>ECHO</b>)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Coordinating its largest operation ever under the <b>EU Civil Protection Mechanism</b></li><li>- €10 million contribution from the <b>rescEU medical stockpiles</b> + <b>rescEU medical evacuation plane</b></li><li>- New logistics hub in Slovakia fully operational</li></ul>
<p>Olivér Várhelyi: <b>Neighbourhood and Enlargement</b></p> 	<p>DG European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations (<b>NEAR</b>)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- The Support Group for Ukraine (<b>SGUA</b>)- together with the EU Delegation to Ukraine have been working to coordinate support for Ukraine and rapidly mobilize emergency assistance to the country</li><li>- Working to advance Ukraine's accession</li></ul>

# Role of Commissioners and DGs towards Russia

Commissioner	DG	Policy tools
<p data-bbox="98 336 397 445">Valdis Dombrovskis: <b>An Economy that works for People</b></p> 	<p data-bbox="477 336 755 369">DG Trade (<b>TRADE</b>)</p>	<ul data-bbox="832 336 1769 773" style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Sanctions on targeted people and entities: travel bans, asset freeze, prohibition to provide funds</li><li>- Cutting Russia's access to capital markets of the EU and increasing borrowing costs for the sanctioned entities</li><li>- Blocking Russia's EU-held foreign exchange reserves by excluding key Russian banks from the SWIFT system</li><li>- Energy/Transport sector sanctions</li></ul>





# EUROPEAN COUNCIL

# Main Actors

- Charles Michel, current president of the European Council
- Member states
- President of the European Commission



European Council

# Tasks & Functions

- Intergovernmental body
- It is responsible for the conduction of CFSP and CSDP, the main tools of the European Union to practice its Foreign Policy
- Pivotal role in the strategic direction and main decisions of the Union's FP: it provides broad general FP guidelines
- Establishes priorities after identifying the Union's strategic interests and objectives (Article 22(1) TFEU)



# Key Member States

- Countries bordering Ukraine: Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Hungary (but also Slovenia and Czech Republic)
- Countries bordering Russia: Finland, Sweden, Baltic Republics
- Western countries: Italy, Germany, France

# European Council Response

February 24th – *Special* meeting of the European Council

## EUCO Conclusions

- Condemned Russia's unprovoked and unjustified military aggression
- Condemned the involvement of Belarus
- Expressed full solidarity with Ukraine
- Acknowledged Ukraine's European aspirations
- Main decision: 1st package of sanctions against Russia
- Call for further sanctioning packages, also covering Belarus

March 10th-11th – ***Informal*** meeting

**EUCO Conclusions: Versailles Declaration**

- Bolster EU defence capabilities
- Reduce energy dependencies
- Build a more robust economic base



March 24th-25th – European Council  
***(formal)*** meeting

**EUCO Conclusions:**

- Russian military aggression against Ukraine
- Ukrainian Solidarity Trust Fund
- Security & Defence
- Strategic Compass
- Economic issues
- Other matters

# EUCO President Charles Michel

## KEY ROLE IN FINDING COMPROMISE AMONG THE STATES:

- Energy issues: prices
- Defense issues: “Europe’s naivety in that regard needs to end”
- Food security: FARM initiative

## SUPRANATIONAL ROLE IN HANDLING THE DIVERGENCES IN:

- Sanctions
- Admission
- Military aid



# Points of contention: sanctions

- First three packages of sanctions (travel ban, assets freezing, trade sanctions)
- Agreement on closing of airspace and interdiction of EU ports to Russian ships
- Sanctions on bank accounts, ban of cryptovalues, stricter limits to the financial operations of most important Russian banks
- SWIFT system exclusion
- Oil, Coal and Gas Embargo

# Points of contention: admission of Ukraine into EU

## IS UKRAINE GOING TO BE AN EU MEMBER STATE?

On April 17th, Ukrainian Government handed in the legislative questionnaire to start the admission Procedure.

EU Members states have split over the theme:

- **Poland, Slovakia and Hungary** are pushing to grant the status of candidate and to follow an “accelerated” procedure to confer full membership
- **Spain, Germany, Austria and the Netherlands** are currently opposing the idea: there are rigid parameters to be respected and there are longer-time candidate countries



## Points of contention: military aid

**There is not unfettered consensus of which weapons to be sent to Ukraine**

Few countries opposed completely to provide weapons and logistical support, or selected a thin number of types of armaments to be sent on the frontline:

- **Hungary** completely refused to provide owned weapons stockpile and banned the transfer of allied weapons on its territory
- **Germany** withhold to give heavy equipment till the NATO summit at the Ramstein Air Force Base on April 26th
- **Italy's** supplies are still limited to light weapons due to internal debate





# THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION



# Council of the EU



Council of the  
European Union



## STRUCTURE:

Member States' ministers

Presidency of the Council

10 sectorally specialised formations  
(Configurations)



Foreign Affairs Council, General Affairs Council,  
and Justice and Home Affairs Council.

COREPER II and I

Committees

Working Groups

## TASKS:



Main decision making body

Legislative Power and annual EU budget (jointly with the  
Parliament)

Draw up agreements between the EU and third countries

Coordinate EU countries' policies

# Foreign Affairs Council

- Composed by the **ministers of foreign affairs**
- Ensuring the **unity, consistency** and **effectiveness** of EU's external action
- Defining and implementing EU's foreign and security policy, based on the guidelines set by European Council » it can also adopt measures such as **sanctions**

EU values	FAC objectives/goals	Policy tools
The universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms Respect for human dignity	Protection of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine. Deepening the political association and economic integration with Ukraine <i>(Council of the EU, Press release, 03.03.22, F, G, H)</i>	For the first time in history, the EU will provide 500 million euros under the European Peace Facility, to finance military supplies to Ukraine. <i>(Council of the EU, Press release, 28.02.22, D)</i>
Mutual solidarity and equality	Deepening dialogue and cooperation for security and defence with Ukraine <i>(Council of the EU, Press release, 09.03.22, I)</i>	Suspension of most-favoured-nation treatment for Russia, Belarus application to WTO is suspended
The rule of law and security	Respect of human rights and civilians in wartime, independence and sovereignty of Ukraine ICJ for Russian war crimes Independence from Russian gas <i>(Council of the EU, Press release, 15.03.22, J, K, L)</i>	Ban on purchase, import or transfer of coal and other solid fossil fuels into the EU

# General Affairs Council



- Composed by **European affairs ministers**
- Among its tasks:
  - **EU enlargement** and accession negotiations;
  - **multiannual financial framework**;
  - cohesion policy

EU values	GAC objectives/goals	Policy tools
Respect of International Law Territorial integrity Sovereignty	Strengthening the partnership between Ukraine and the EU	Council invited the Commission to submit its opinion on this application in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Treaties ( <a href="#">EC, Press Release, 11 March 2022</a> )
The universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms Respect for human dignity  Mutual solidarity and equality	Emergency support to refugees and Member States receiving them	Approval of EC's Cohesion Action for Refugees in Europe (CARE) ( <a href="#">EC, Press release, 16 March 2022</a> ) additional €3.5 billion in total for MSs based on the numbers of refugees arriving from Ukraine ( <a href="#">EC, Press Release, 12 April 2022</a> )

# Justice and Home Affairs Council

- Composed by justice and home affairs ministers of EU member states; main tasks:
  - Asylum and immigration policies;
  - Judicial cooperation in civil and criminal matter
  - Civil protection

EU values	JHAC objectives/goals	Policy tools
Respect of International Law & Democracy	Condemnation of Russian actions as an “unjustifiable act of aggression”.	Suspension of visa policy with Russia.
The universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms  Respect for human dignity	Protection and solidarity to Ukrainian citizens.	Humanitarian support towards Ukraine.  Unprecedented mobility of reception capacities within the EU.
Mutual solidarity and equality	Maintain coordinated and share-burden action among MSs.	Activation of the Integrated Political Crisis Response: support to MSs for refugees’ reception and external borders’ management.

# French Presidency of the Council



Rotating mechanism (6 months): guarantee power balance among MSs

The initial programme was distressed by the invasion of Ukraine, yet the priorities are consistent with the situation:

**recovery, strength, sense of belonging**, with the aim of building *“une Europe puissante dans le monde, pleinement souveraine, libre de faire ses choix et maître de son destin”* (Emmanuel Macron)



In this crisis, France has emerged as **Europe’s leader**

- holding the Presidency of the Council and filling the void left by UK and Germany
- promoting the idea that **France has a key role in the world stage**, reinforcing France’s position in Europe, as well as President Macron’s in France
- **Necessity of a EU common defence and the Strategic Compass** (idea historically put forward by France)



**Jean-Yves Le Drian**  
French minister of Europe and Foreign Affairs

## FRENCH ROLE OF MEDIATOR

1. Initially: **humanitarian and military support to Ukraine**; Coordinating the protection of baltic states and Romania
2. Later: communication channel with Putin within the EU, stressing the **necessity of dialogue for negotiations.**



## Key ministers



**Annalena Baerbock**  
German Foreign Affairs minister

## GERMAN MINISTER LEADING ROLE IN FACING THE CRISIS

1. Stopping the work on Nord Stream
2. Strong commitment against Russia: *"Mr Lavrov, you can deceive yourself, but you won't deceive us and you won't deceive our people, and you won't deceive your people."* (UN)

**Zbigniew Rau**  
Polish Foreign Affairs minister

## POLAND AS EUROPE'S FRONT LINE

1. Assistance and humanitarian aid to refugees
2. Expanding Poland's role as a regional hub for security cooperation between Nato and Ukraine
3. Supporting Ukraine's bid to join the EU





A photograph of the European Parliament building in Brussels. The building's facade is a grid of glass windows. In the foreground, several European Union flags (blue with twelve yellow stars) are flying on tall silver poles. The flags are partially obscured by a yellow banner with the text 'EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT'. The sky is clear and blue.

# EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

# European Parliament



## Task:

- Co-legislator
- Budgetary power
- Consultative role in CFSP/CSDP
- Important role in **shaping ideas of other institutions**

## Main actors:

1. Plenary
2. President (Metsola)
3. Committees
4. Interparliamentary delegations





# Ukraine and the EP



EU values	EP objectives/goals	Policy tools
<p><b>Respect of IL</b> (infringement= violation of territorial integrity)</p> <p><b>Democracy, RoL</b></p> <p>Defend <b>EU values</b> and <b>world order</b></p> <p><b>Resilience</b></p>	<p>Divulgence of information vs. fake news</p> <p>Raise awareness</p> <p>Ukraine at the center of the agenda</p>	<p>Creation of the <a href="#"><u>#Stand with Ukraine website</u></a></p>



# EP plenary and Ukraine



EU values	EP objectives/goals	Policy tools
<p><b>Resilience</b> in the eventuality of war</p> <p><b>Democracy and rule of law</b></p> <p><b>Respect of international law</b></p> <p>Defend <b>EU values</b> and <b>world order</b></p>	<p>Support Ukraine and its resilience through the provision of financial assistance due to the “<i>prolonged security threats at its border with Russia</i>”</p>	<p><b>Macro financial assistance</b> to Ukraine through <b>EP Budgetary power</b></p> <p>Plenary session and <a href="#">Resolution 16/02/2022</a></p>
<p><b>Principled Pragmatism</b></p> <p>Mutual solidarity and fair sharing of responsibilities (Art 80 and 67 TFEU)</p>	<p>The EP has expressed its deep concerns with regard to human rights and in particular the willingness to prioritize human rights over economic interests</p> <p>Shape other institutions’ ideas</p>	<p>Strong stances taken through Plenary Debates and Parliamentary Questions</p> <p><i>“We should never sacrifice Human rights for gas”</i> (<a href="#">Plenary debate 09/03/2022 , Perez</a>)</p>

# EP President Metsola



- **EU values & ideas**
  - Democracy, rule of law
  - Defend EU values and world order
- **Objectives**
- **Policy tool:** Visit to Rada and delivery of a [speech on April 1st](#)

Deliver strong message



First institution to visit Kyiv after the war started

Support Ukraine's resilience



**"We are with you"**

Support the European path of Ukraine



Welcoming Ukrainian application as candidate country: **"Ukraine is Europe"**

# European Parliament vs Russia

Key Actor	EU values	Objectives/ goals	Action/policy tool
<p><b>Plenary of the EP</b></p> <p><b>Roberta Metsola</b></p>	<p>ROL: respect for international law (UN Charter, Helsinki Final Act)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- respect for other states sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity</li> </ul>	<p>Condemn Russian and Bielorussian actions</p>	<p>-1st of March: EP resolution on the Russian aggression against Ukraine</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Condemn the violation of Ukrainian sovereignty and territorial integrity</li> <li>• Condemn the participation of Belarus in the Russian military operations</li> </ul> <p>-Metsola: “A war we did not provoke, an outrageous invasion of an independent State”; “we will hold him (putin) accountable...will do the same with Lukashenko”</p>
<p><b>Plenary of the EP</b></p>	<p>Principled pragmatism: a case where interests and principles are aligned</p>	<p>Make weaker Russian economy and its military-industrial capabilities</p>	<p>-1st of March: EP resolution on the Russian aggression against Ukraine</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Request to other EU institutions to implement harsher sanctions against Russia</li> <li>• Ask the same sanctions to be applied also over Belarus</li> <li>• Ask to radically reduce Oil and Gas imports and the recognition by MSs governments that some domestic negative economic effects are inevitable</li> </ul>

# European Parliament vs Russia

Key Actor	EU values	Objectives/ goals	Action/policy tool
<b>Plenary of the EP</b>	Inviolability of human dignity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Respect and protection of human dignity and fundamental rights</li> </ul>	Condemn the war crimes  Make Russia accountable for crimes against humanity	7th April 2022: <b>resolution</b> on EU's <b>protection of children and young people fleeing the war</b> in Ukraine <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Call for a <b>special UN tribunal</b> for the crimes in Ukraine</li> <li>• Condemn the atrocities committed by the Russian army in Bucha</li> </ul>
<b>Plenary of the EP</b>	Protection of human rights <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- solidarity and eradication of poverty</li> </ul>	Make aware public opinions of a possible global food crisis  Underline the necessity to find policy solutions	24th March 2022: on the need for an urgent EU action plan to ensure food security inside and outside the EU in light of the Russian invasion of Ukraine <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Express concerns over the effects of the militarization of the Black Sea over global food security</li> <li>• Condemn Kremlin action and ask to the Council and the Commission to study possible solutions</li> </ul>



**Ideas: the change in the perception of  
Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus**

# Ideational shifts in EU FP objectives and solutions: Ukraine

## PAST

### Perception of Ukraine

- A target for the promotion of democracy and EU values

### Policy objectives

- Institutional, political, and economic cooperation, to bring Ukraine closer to EU values

### Policy tools

- European Neighborhood Policy, Association Agreement

## PRESENT

### Perception of Ukraine

- A country that is defending EU fundamental values, with a fundamental role for EU and global security

### Policy objectives

- Defending Ukrainian independence is a common struggle to protect common values
- Defending Ukraine's sovereignty as the security priority

### Policy tools

- Potential candidate status
- Greater economic, financial support, humanitarian and refugee assistance
- Intelligence and military support



# Ideational shifts in EU FP objectives and solutions: Russia

## PAST

### Perception of Russia

- “Strategic partner” but also competitor and security threat in many scenarios

### Policy objectives

- After Crimea, condemnation but still maintenance of cooperation in some areas

### Policy tools

- Sanctions, but “selective engagement” (cross-border cooperation, the environment, health, terrorism, trade)
- Support for people-to-people contacts

## PRESENT

### Perception of Russia

- A threat to EU security, and its understanding of the world order

### Policy objectives

- Condemning Russian actions as breach of IL law
- Isolating Russian from the international community
- Induce Russia to stop all military operations

### Policy tools

- Unprecedented sanctions packages
- Stop of visa policy
- Call for suspension of Russian participation in IOs

# Ideational shifts in EU FP objectives and solutions: Belarus

## PAST

### Perception of Belarus

- Criticism of the regime, but still margin for cooperation

### Policy objectives

- Promotion of democracy, rule of law to bring Belarus closer to EU values
- Condemnation of authoritarianism, HR violations, political exploitation of migrants

### Policy tools

- “Critical engagement”
- ENP (but so far no development)
- Sanctions

## PRESENT

### Perception of Belarus

- A vassal state of Russia, lacking independence and autonomy

### Policy objectives

- Condemning Belarus support of Russian actions and inducing it to stop

### Policy tools

- Suspension of all cooperation programs
- New sanctions packages

**The sudden shift in the EU FP programmatic ideas derived from a shift in the perception of the three countries’ as actors within EU FP**

# CONCLUSION: All the actors involved



# Conclusion

Prompt response of MS and EU leaders

Unanimity in the decisions

Unwavering support to Ukraine

Strong condemnation of Russia and Belarus actions

International coordination with other IO

Internal coordination within the EU institutions

Ambiguity of the responsible institution for each decision

Unclear course of action at first

EU sometimes not effective enough due to other issues (i.e. energetic independence)

EU measures sometimes defined too soft compared to other international actors

# Conclusion

## Factors that favor the work of the EU FP-related institutions:

- ideational unity
- threat to the existing international relations system in Europe
- first major armed conflict in Europe since the WWII

## States that are the most active:



## Factors that constrain the work of the EU FP-related institutions:

- Energetic dependance on Russia
- Bigger economic & political ties of some MS to Russia
- Lack of common military policy

## States that are the least active:



## Conclusion

A faster-than-usual shift in the ideational factors happened

## What happens next?

A new way of  
decision- making?

Ukraine, Georgia &  
Moldova become  
candidate countries?

A new “political”  
union?

A new “Iron Curtain”  
between Russia and the  
West?

The EU begins  
cooperating in  
military sector in a  
more intense way?



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