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COUNCIL OF EUROPE
CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE

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(Final version)

Consequences of the Russian Federation's aggression against Ukraine

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A. Draft Opinion

1. Since 24 February 2022, the Russian Federation has been waging war on Ukraine, provoking thousands of civilian casualties, displacing millions of people and devastating the country, in a continuation of the war of aggression which started already in February 2014. In launching this further military aggression, the Russian Federation has chosen recourse to force over dialogue and diplomacy to achieve its foreign policy objectives, in violation of the legal and moral norms that govern the peaceful coexistence of States. This conduct shows disregard for the very essence of the Council of Europe as enshrined in its Statute (ETS No. 1), which is the conviction that the pursuit of peace based upon justice and international co-operation is vital for the preservation of human society and civilisation.

Amendment 5
Tabled by Ms Lesia VASYLENKO, Mr Claude KERN, Ms Boriana ÅBERG, Mr Jacques LE NAY, Ms Jennifer DE TEMMERMAN, Mr Emanuelis ZINGERIS, Ms Anne Sophie CALLESEN, Ms Catherine KAMOWSKI, Ms Nicole TRISSE, Ms Inese LĪBIŅA-EGNERE, Ms Alexandra LOUIS, Ms Martine LEGUILLE BALLOY, Ms Elena-Simona SPĂTARU, Ms Yelyzaveta YASKO, Mr Arminas LYDEKA, Mr Stanislav ANASTASSOV, Ms Yuliia OVCHYNNYKOVA, Ms Fiona O'LOUGHLIN, Mr Armin LASCHET, Mr Dara CALLEARY, Ms Annicka ENGBLOM, Mr Iulian BULAI, Ms Yevheniia KRAVCHUK, Ms Mariia MEZENTSEVA-FEDORENKO, Mr Theodoros ROUSOPOULOS, Mr Davor Ivo STIER, Ms Zdravka BUŠIĆ, Ms Marijana BALIĆ, Ms Maryna BARDINA, Ms Larysa BILOZIR, Mr Ondřej KOLÁŘ, Mr Aleksandar NIKOLOSKI, Mr Uldis BUDRIĶIS, Ms Olena KHOMENKO

In the draft opinion, paragraph 1, replace the first sentence with the following sentence:

"In continuation of the war of aggression waged by the Russian Federation against Ukraine since 20 February 2014, as of 24 February 2022, Russia has escalated its military activities against Ukraine to unprecedented levels, causing thousands of civilian casualties, displacing millions of people and devastating the country."

2. The Parliamentary Assembly condemns, in the strongest terms, the Russian Federation's aggression against Ukraine and stands in solidarity with Ukraine and the Ukrainian people, reaffirming its unwavering support for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognised borders.

Amendment 17
Tabled by Mr Emanuelis ZINGERIS, Mr Pieter OMTZIGT, Ms Ria OOMEN-RUIJTEN, Mr Aleksander POCIEJ, Ms Annicka ENGBLOM, Ms Mariia MEZENTSEVA-FEDORENKO

In the draft opinion, at the end of paragraph 2, insert the following sentence:

"The Assembly stands in solidarity with its Ukrainian members in these dark hours."

3. The Assembly considers that the Russian Federation's armed attack on Ukraine is in breach of the Charter of the United Nations and qualifies as "aggression" under the terms of Resolution 3314 (XXIX) of the United Nations General Assembly adopted in 1974. It is a violation of the Helsinki Final Act and the Charter of Paris for a New Europe.

Amendment 9
Tabled by Ms Anne Sophie CALLESEN, Mr Eerik-Niiles KROSS, Mr Iulian BULAI, Ms Maria JUFEREVA-SKURATOVSKI, Mr Claude KERN, Mr Dara CALLEARY, Ms Krista BAUMANE, Ms Fiona O'LOUGHLIN, Ms Yuliia OVCHYNNYKOVA, Mr Stanislav ANASTASSOV, Mr Arminas LYDEKA, Ms Elena-Simona SPĂTARU, Ms Martine LEGUILLE BALLOY, Ms Nicole TRISSE, Ms Alexandra LOUIS, Ms Catherine KAMOWSKI, Ms Jennifer DE TEMMERMAN, Mr Jacques LE NAY, Ms Yevheniia KRAVCHUK, Ms Lesia

VASYLENKO, Sir Christopher CHOPE, Mr Arkadiusz MULARCZYK, Ms Jane STEVENSON, Mr Richard HOLDEN, Mr Paul HOWELL, Ms Laima Liucija ANDRIKIENĖ, Ms Maryna BARDINA, Ms Yuliia OVCHYNNYKOVA, Mr Raivo TAMM, Ms Larysa BILOZIR

In the draft opinion, paragraph 3, after the words "Charter of the United Nations" insert the following words:

",qualifies as crime against peace under Nuremberg Charter"

4. It is also a serious breach of Article 3 of the Statute of the Council of Europe and a violation of the obligations and commitments that the Russian Federation accepted upon becoming a member of the Organisation, including the commitments to settle international and internal disputes by peaceful means, rejecting resolutely any threats of force against its neighbours, and to denounce the concept of treating neighbouring States as a zone of special influence called the “near abroad”.

5. The Assembly deplores that, despite the many appeals to cease the hostilities and to comply with international law, the Russian leadership has persisted in its aggression, escalating the violence in Ukraine and making threats should other States interfere. Through its attitude and actions, the leadership of the Russian Federation poses an open menace to security in Europe, following a path which also includes the act of military aggression against Georgia and subsequent occupations of its two regions in 2008, the illegal annexation of Crimea, and its role in eastern Ukraine, which culminated in the illegal recognition of the self-proclaimed republics of Donetsk and Luhansk as “independent States”.

Amendment 6
Tabled by Mr Titus CORLĂŢEAN, Mr Viorel-Riceard BADEA, Mr Iulian BULAI, Ms Elena-Simona SPĂTARU, Mr Andi-Lucian CRISTEA, Ms Diana STOICA, Mr Claude KERN, Mr Jacques LE NAY, Ms Lesia VASYLENKO, Ms Maria JUFEREVA-SKURATOVSKI, Ms Yevheniia KRAVCHUK, Ms Maria-Gabriela HORGA, Mr Cristian-Augustin NICULESCU-ȚÂGÂRLAȘ, Mr Corneliu-Mugurel COZMANCIUC, Ms Dumitrina MITREA, Mr Sorin-Titus MUNCACIU, Sir Tony LLOYD, Mr Irakli CHIKOVANI, Mr Ahmet Ünal ÇEVİKÖZ, Ms Thórhildur Sunna ÆVARSDÓTTIR

In the draft opinion, paragraph 5, second sentence, after the words "a path which also includes" insert the following words:

"the act of military aggression against the Republic of Moldova and respectively the occupation of its Transnistrian region,"

6. The Assembly is deeply disturbed by evidence of serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law by the Russian Federation, including attacks against civilian targets, indiscriminate use of artillery, missiles, and bombing – including cluster bombs –, attacks on humanitarian corridors intended to allow civilians to escape from besieged towns and cities and hostage taking. It notes with shock the reckless attacks by Russian armed forces on nuclear facilities in Ukraine.

7. The Assembly supports all efforts aimed at ensuring accountability, including the decision by the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC) to investigate the situation in Ukraine and the establishment of a special investigation commission by the United Nations Human

Amendment 18
Tabled by Mr Pieter OMTZIGT, Mr Emanuelis ZINGERIS, Ms Mariia MEZENTSEVA-FEDORENKO, Ms Ria OOMEN-RUIJTEN, Mr

Rights Council. It also welcomes other efforts to document possible crimes under international law committed in Ukraine, including through the publication of commercial satellite imagery, the analysis of this imagery and other forms of open-source intelligence by private actors. Similarly, it takes note of the application filed by Ukraine before the International Court of Justice (ICJ) instituting proceedings against the Russian Federation concerning a dispute relating to the interpretation, application and fulfilment of the United Nations Genocide Convention.

Aleksander POCIEJ, Ms Annicka ENGBLOM, Ms Mariia MEZENTSEVA-FEDORENKO

In the draft opinion, paragraph 7, at the end of the first sentence, insert the following words:

"as well as the proposals to establish a special international criminal tribunal for war crimes committed during the war in Ukraine started by the Russian military aggression."

Sub-amendment 1 to amendment 18
Tabled by the Committee on Political Affairs and Democracy

In amendment 18, replace the words "as well as the" with the following words:

"and will evaluate"

8. The Assembly regrets that the Russian Federation has failed to implement numerous decisions of the European Court of Human Rights, including its interim measures, asking the Russian Federation to refrain from military attacks against civilians and civilian objects, including residential premises, emergency vehicles and other specially protected civilian objects such as schools and hospitals, and to immediately ensure the safety of the medical establishments, personnel and emergency vehicles within the territory under attack or siege by Russian troops.

9. The Assembly is deeply concerned at the situation of Ukrainians who have been forced to flee their country for fear of their lives, in the biggest refugee exodus seen in Europe since the Second World War. The Assembly applauds the generosity and solidarity shown by neighbouring countries, who continue to take in hundreds of thousands of refugees, most of them women and children: Poland has so far welcomed 1 700 000 refugees, Hungary 250 000, the Republic of Moldova 110 000, Romania 85 000, and the Slovak Republic 200 000. In this context, the Assembly welcomes the decision by the European Union to implement the temporary protection directive while calling for further support in response to this unprecedented humanitarian crisis, including through resettlement programmes.

Amendment 2
Tabled by Mr Titus CORLĂŢEAN, Mr Viorel-Riceard BADEA, Mr Iulian BULAI, Ms Elena-Simona SPĂTARU, Mr Andi-Lucian CRISTEA, Ms Diana STOICA, Mr Claude KERN, Mr Jacques LE NAY, Ms Maria JUFEREVA-SKURATOVSKI, Ms Maria-Gabriela HORGA, Mr Cristian-Augustin NICULESCU-ȚÂGÂRLAȘ, Mr Corneliu-Mugurel COZMANCIUC, Mr Sorin-Titus MUNCACIU, Ms Dumitrina MITREA

In the draft opinion, paragraph 9, in the second sentence replace the words "Romania 85 000" with the following words:

"Romania 415 000"

Sub-amendment 1 to amendment 2
Tabled by the Committee on Political Affairs and Democracy

In amendment 2, before the words "Romania 415 000" insert the following words:

"The Republic of Moldova 330 000"

10. The Assembly notes that the unfolding Russian aggression on Ukraine has been very widely condemned by the international community, in particular by States and international organisations. A strong critical stance has also been taken by other actors, from international sports

administration bodies to private companies to prominent cultural figures and sports personalities.

11. In the Russian Federation, however, anti-war protests are stifled. The Assembly condemns the actions taken by the Russian authorities to further curtail freedom of expression and freedom of assembly, through the closure of almost all remaining independent news organisations, the intensifying crackdown on civil society, the harsh repression of peaceful protests, and severe restrictions on access to social media. It deplores the fact that, as a result, the Russian population is deprived of information from independent sources, instead being exposed only to State-controlled media that amplify a distorted narrative of the war.

12. These tragic events confirm the relevance and continuous necessity of the Council of Europe as a value-based intergovernmental organisation working to promote democracy, human rights and the rule of law. Through its numerous bodies and institutions, and in the respect of its remit and mission, the Council of Europe should be on the frontline in providing assistance and expertise to support Ukraine and Ukrainians.

Amendment 15
Tabled by Mr Momodou Malcolm JALLOW, Mr George KATROUGALOS, Mr Andrej HUNKO, Ms Barbara NOWACKA, Mr Krzysztof ŚMISZEK, Ms Kamila GASIUK-PIHOWICZ, Mr Hişyar ÖZSOY, Ms Pero DÜNDAR, Ms Mai KIVELÄ

In the draft opinion, after paragraph 12, insert the following paragraph:

"The Assembly condemns all forms of racism and discrimination perpetrated against African and Middle Eastern students in their pursuit to seek refuge and asylum."

13. In light of the above, the Assembly calls on the Russian Federation to:

13.1. cease hostilities against Ukraine and immediately, completely and unconditionally withdraw its military forces from the territory of Ukraine within its internationally recognised borders;

13.2. comply strictly with its obligations under human rights and international humanitarian law;

13.3. refrain, in all circumstances, from attacks against civilians and ensure the opening of and respect for humanitarian corridors to allow the evacuation of civilians to safe regions within Ukraine or safe countries outside Ukraine;

13.4. comply with the interim measures indicated by the European Court of Human Rights;

13.5. not to hinder the prompt delivery of humanitarian assistance to the Ukrainian population, or the effective access of humanitarian agencies to Ukraine and within Ukraine;

13.6. co-operate with the investigations and proceedings that have been set up by the International Criminal Court, the International Court of Justice and the special commission to be constituted by the Human Rights Council;

13.7. ensure the safety and security of Ukraine's nuclear facilities, including by refraining from making them the target of any military activity, and co-operate fully with the International Atomic Energy Agency;

13.8. immediately release and reinstate the mayor of Melitupol, Ivan Fyodorov;

13.9. ensure full respect for freedom of expression and association, media freedoms and access to the internet, in accordance with international legal obligations.

14. The Assembly calls on Council of Europe member States to:

14.1. further increase humanitarian assistance to Ukraine and to ensure the safe and effective functioning of the humanitarian corridors;

Amendment 3
Tabled by Sir Christopher CHOPE, Mr Paul HOWELL, Mr Richard HOLDEN, Mr Arkadiusz MULARCZYK, Ms Jane STEVENSON, Ms Olena KHOMENKO

In the draft opinion, before paragraph 14.1, insert the following paragraph:

"provide all possible assistance to the citizens of Ukraine in the defence of their country;"

Amendment 12
Tabled by Mr Emanuelis ZINGERIS, Ms Krista BAUMANE, Mr Iulian BULAI, Mr Arminas LYDEKA, Mr Lukas SAVICKAS, Ms Maria JUFEREVA-SKURATOVSKI, Mr Uldis BUDRIĶIS, Ms Laima Liucija ANDRIKIENĖ, Ms Inese LĪBIŅA-EGNERE

In the draft opinion, paragraph 14.1, replace the words "humanitarian assistance" with the following words:

"their assistance"

Amendment 7
Tabled by Sir Christopher CHOPE, Mr Richard HOLDEN, Mr Paul HOWELL, Ms Olena KHOMENKO, Ms Jane STEVENSON, Ms Yevheniia KRAVCHUK, Mr Eerik-Niiles KROSS, Mr Uldis BUDRIĶIS, Mr Raivo TAMM, Ms María Valentina MARTÍNEZ FERRO, Ms Lesia VASYLENKO, Ms Inese LĪBIŅA-EGNERE, Mr Emanuelis ZINGERIS, Ms Khatia DEKANOIDZE, Mr Ondřej KOLÁŘ, Ms Maryna BARDINA, Mr Aleksandar NIKOLOSKI, Mr Aleksander POCIEJ, Mr Pablo HISPÁN, Ms Mariia MEZENTSEVA-FEDORENKO, Ms Larysa BILOZIR, Ms Yelyzaveta YASKO

In the draft opinion, after paragraph 14.1, insert the following paragraph:

"consider increasing their assistance to Ukraine in its efforts to strengthen the protection of its territory, including its airspace, in order to reduce the severe human cost and the tragic humanitarian consequences of the ongoing Russia's war of aggression;."

14.2. step up support for Council of Europe States which have received large numbers of Ukrainian refugees;

14.3. contribute to the Ukraine Flash Appeal launched by the United Nations as well as by other organisations such as the International Red Cross;

14.4. establish schemes to facilitate access to their territories and grant protection status to persons fleeing the war in Ukraine including, when applicable, by applying the European Union's temporary protection directive;

14.5. avoid discrimination against refugees on any basis while taking into account the needs of vulnerable refugees fleeing Ukraine, including children, victims of gender-based violence or trauma, persons with disabilities and the elderly;

Amendment 16
Tabled by Mr Momodou Malcolm JALLOW, Mr Andrej HUNKO, Mr George KATROUGALOS, Mr Hişyar ÖZSOY, Ms Pero DÜNDAR, Ms Barbara NOWACKA, Mr Krzysztof ŚMISZEK, Ms Kamila GASIUK-PIHOWICZ, Ms Mai KIVELÄ

In the draft opinion, paragraph 14.5, after the words "on any basis" insert the following words:

",in particular ethnicity and national origin,"

14.6. devise strategies and measures aimed at the integration refugees, in a long-term perspective;

14.7. develop and implement programmes to resettle from neighbouring countries persons who fled the war in Ukraine;

14.8. consider further strengthening the resources of the Council of Europe Development Bank, with a view to improving its capacity to address emergency needs through targeted grant support and to reinforce its long-term ability to finance social infrastructure investments in countries hosting large numbers of Ukrainian refugees;

14.9. step up voluntary contributions to ensure that the Council of Europe can offer a package of priority measures for Ukraine, to be implemented as soon as conditions allow;

14.10. show their continued trust in the Organisation by ensuring its financial sustainability, should the Russian Federation fail to meet its financial commitments to the Council of Europe or cease to be a member of the Organisation.

15. As regards the role of the Council of Europe, the Assembly:

Amendment 4
Tabled by Sir Christopher CHOPE, Mr Arkadiusz MULARCZYK, Mr Richard HOLDEN, Mr Paul HOWELL, Ms Jane STEVENSON, Ms Olena KHOMENKO

In the draft opinion, before paragraph 15, insert the following paragraph:

"The Assembly calls on the United Nations to follow the precedent which it set in Bosnia-Herzegovina and declare a no-fly zone in Ukraine."

15.1. invites the Commissioner for Human Rights to continue her efforts aimed at raising awareness about the situation of those fleeing Ukraine and those who remain in Ukraine, and to support initiatives aimed at documenting human rights violations and breaches of international humanitarian law in Ukraine, including through regular

contact with her network of human rights defenders and civil society;

15.2. invites the Secretary General of the Council of Europe to ask her Special Representative on Migration and Refugees to give priority, in her activities, to the situation of refugees and displaced persons fleeing the war in Ukraine, also relying on the Network of Focal Points on Migration and in the framework of the Action Plan on Protecting Vulnerable Persons in the Context of Migration and Asylum in Europe (2021-2025).

Amendment 8
Tabled by Mr Rik DAEMS, Mr Jacques MAIRE, Mr Dara CALLEARY, Ms Fiona O'LOUGHLIN, Ms Yuliia OVCHYNNYKOVA, Mr Stanislav ANASTASSOV, Mr Arminas LYDEKA, Ms Elena-Simona SPĂTARU, Ms Martine LEGUILLE BALLOY, Ms Nicole TRISSE, Ms Alexandra LOUIS, Ms Catherine KAMOWSKI, Ms Anne Sophie CALLESEN, Ms Jennifer DE TEMMERMAN, Mr Jacques LE NAY, Mr Claude KERN, Ms Yevheniia KRAVCHUK, Ms Lesia VASYLENKO, Ms Maria JUFEREVA-SKURATOVSKI, Mr Iulian BULAI

In the draft opinion, after paragraph 15.2, insert the following paragraph:

"invites the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, the chairperson of the Committee of Ministers and the President of the Parliamentary Assembly - associating other bodies of the Council of Europe if need be - to put into place a special task force to assess the needs, design, accompany and put into practice concrete additional measures and actions to be taken by the Council of Europe and its bodies, and such at all times in a coordinated and synchronized fashion, strictly within the competencies of the Council of Europe."

Amendment 20
Tabled by Mr Pieter OMTZIGT, Mr Emanuelis ZINGERIS, Ms Ria OOMEN-RUIJTEN, Mr Aleksander POCIEJ, Ms Annicka ENGBLOM, Ms Mariia MEZENTSEVA-FEDORENKO

In the draft opinion, after paragraph 15.2, insert the following paragraph:

"encourages the European Court of Human Rights to consider giving priority to applications brought by Ukrainian citizens against the Russian Federation for acts committed in the temporarily occupied areas of Ukraine, taking into account the fact that they have no access to effective remedies against such acts at national level."

16. In the event that the Russian Federation ceases to be a member of the Organisation, the Council of Europe should envisage initiatives to be able to continue to support and engage with human rights defenders, democratic forces, free media and independent civil society in the Russian Federation.

Amendment 10
Tabled by Mr Emanuelis ZINGERIS, Mr Iulian BULAI, Mr Arminas LYDEKA, Mr Lukas SAVICKAS, Ms Maria JUFEREVA-SKURATOVSKI, Mr Uldis BUDRIĶIS, Ms Laima Liucija ANDRIKIENĖ, Ms Krista

BAUMANE, Ms Inese LĪBIŅA-EGNERE, Sir Tony LLOYD, Lord George FOULKES

In the draft opinion, before paragraph 16, insert the following paragraph:

"The Assembly calls for the establishment of an international criminal tribunal for war crimes committed during Russia's war against Ukraine."

Amendment 11
Tabled by Mr Emanuelis ZINGERIS, Ms Krista BAUMANE, Mr Iulian BULAI, Mr Arminas LYDEKA, Mr Lukas SAVICKAS, Ms Maria JUFEREVA-SKURATOVSKI, Mr Uldis BUDRIĶIS, Ms Laima Liucija ANDRIKIENĖ, Ms Inese LĪBIŅA-EGNERE

In the draft opinion, before paragraph 16, insert the following paragraph:

"The Assembly calls for immediate release of the mayor of Melitopol, Ivan Fyodorov and the mayor of Dniprorudne, Eugene Matveev, activist Olga Gaisumova, Chairman of the district council Serhii Prima."

17. In light of the broader impact of the Russian Federation's aggression against Ukraine on European co-operation and security, the Assembly invites the Committee of Ministers to open an in-depth reflection on the means to strengthen the indispensable role of the Council of Europe in the European institutional architecture as the guardian of democracy, human rights and the rule of law and a forum for co-operation and dialogue between peaceful, independent democratic States. In this context, the Assembly reiterates its support for the organisation of a Fourth Summit of Heads of State and Government of Council of Europe member States, which would chart the way forward for the Organisation, to make it more effective and better equipped to promote democratic security and tackle the challenges ahead.

Amendment 1
Tabled by Ms Selin SAYEK BÖKE, Ms Thórhildur Sunna ÆVARSDÓTTIR, Mr Andi-Lucian CRISTEA, Mr Christophe LACROIX, Mr Simon MOUTQUIN

In the draft opinion, paragraph 17, second sentence, replace the words "make it more effective and better equipped" with the following words:

"better equip it"

18. As regards its own work, the Assembly:

18.1. should continue to follow closely the consequences of the Russian Federation's aggression against Ukraine;

18.2. in view of the participation of Belarus in the Russian Federation's aggression against Ukraine, recommends that its Bureau suspend relations between the Assembly and the Belarusian authorities in all its activities.

19. As regards the request to provide an Opinion to the Committee of Ministers pursuant to Statutory Resolution (51) 30, the Assembly is convinced that the gravity of the actions committed by the Russian Federation and the profound breach of trust caused by them fully justify the further recourse to Article 8 of the Statute. Taking into account all of the above and that the Russian Federation committed grave violations of the Council of Europe Statute, incompatible with the status of a Council of Europe member State, does not bear its undertakings before the Council of Europe and does not comply with the commitments before it, the Assembly considers that

the Russian Federation can therefore no longer be a member State of the Organisation.

20. The Assembly, therefore, is of the opinion that the Committee of Ministers should request the Russian Federation to withdraw from the Council of Europe. If the Russian Federation does not comply with the request, the Assembly suggests that the Committee of Ministers envisages the immediate possible date from which the Russian Federation would cease to be a member of the Council of Europe.

Amendment 19
Tabled by Mr Pieter OMTZIGT, Mr Emanuelis ZINGERIS, Ms Ria OOMEN-RUIJTEN, Mr Aleksander POCIEJ, Ms Annicka ENGBLOM, Ms Mariia MEZENTSEVA-FEDORENKO

In the draft opinion, paragraph 20, first sentence, replace the word "should" with the following word:

"must"

Amendment 14
Tabled by Ms Laima Liucija ANDRIKIENĖ, Mr Lukas SAVICKAS, Mr Arminas LYDEKA, Ms Yevheniia KRAVCHUK, Ms Maryna BARDINA, Ms Larysa BILOZIR, Mr Eerik-Niiles KROSS

In the draft opinion, paragraph 20, first sentence, after the words "request the Russian Federation to" insert the following word:

"immediately"

Amendment 13
Tabled by Ms Laima Liucija ANDRIKIENĖ, Mr Lukas SAVICKAS, Mr Arminas LYDEKA, Ms Yevheniia KRAVCHUK, Ms Yuliia OVCHYNNYKOVA, Ms Larysa BILOZIR, Mr Eerik-Niiles KROSS

In the draft opinion, paragraph 20, second sentence replace the word "envisages" with the following word:

"determines"