



TEXTS ADOPTED

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The human cost of Russia's war against Ukraine and the urgent need to end Russian aggression: the situation of illegally detained civilians and prisoners of war, and the continued bombing of civilians

European Parliament resolution of 9 July 2025 on the human cost of Russia's war against Ukraine and the urgent need to end Russian aggression: the situation of illegally detained civilians and prisoners of war, and the continued bombing of civilians (2025/2710(RSP))

The European Parliament,

- having regard to its previous resolutions on Ukraine and on Russia,
- having regard to the Hague Conventions, the UN Charter, the Geneva Conventions and their additional protocols, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the European Convention on Human Rights, the UN Convention Against Torture, the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the UN Convention on the rights of the child,
- having regard to the Association Agreement between the European Union and its Member States, of the one part, and Ukraine, of the other part¹, and to the accompanying Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area between the European Union and Ukraine, signed in 2014,
- having regard to all relevant resolutions by the UN General Assembly and Security Council, in particular UN General Assembly Resolution ES-11/7 adopted on 25 February 2025,
- having regard to the NATO Washington Summit Declaration of 10 July 2024 and the Hague Summit Declaration of 25 June 2025,

¹ OJ L 161, 29.5.2014, p. 3, ELI:
http://data.europa.eu/eli/agree_internation/2014/295/oj.

- having regard to Rule 136(2) of its Rules of Procedure,
- A. whereas Russia has been waging a brutal, illegal, unprovoked and unjustified full-scale war of aggression against Ukraine since 24 February 2022;
- B. whereas Russia's aggression against Ukraine did not begin in February 2022, but in 2014, with the illegal occupation and annexation of Crimea and parts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, with severe humanitarian, economic and ecological consequences and resulting in regional instability; whereas Russia could stop the brutal and unjustified war of aggression at any time;
- C. whereas the UN General Assembly, in its resolution of 2 March 2022, immediately qualified the Russian war against Ukraine as an act of aggression in violation of Article 2(4) of the UN Charter, and, in its resolution of 14 November 2022, recognised the need to hold Russia accountable for its war of aggression and legally and financially responsible for its internationally wrongful acts, including by making reparation for the injuries and damage caused;
- D. whereas thus far in 2025, Russia has deployed over 20 000 drones against Ukraine, or around 3 500 per month, representing a 350 % increase compared to the 2024 monthly average; whereas Russia has killed over 1 050 civilians and injured 4 300 more, constituting clear evidence that it actively targets civilians, including ambulances and rescue personnel, in contrast to Ukraine's defensive actions; whereas the recent attacks on Kyiv and Dnipro were the second deadliest and the deadliest attacks on these cities since the start of Russia's invasion, starkly conflicting with Russia's claims that it is interested in peace;
- E. whereas, as a reaction to Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine, the EU has adopted 17 sanctions packages of unprecedented scope against Russia and continues to adopt sanctions against Russia with a view to definitively undermining its capacity to continue waging its illegal war of aggression against Ukraine; whereas the circumvention of sanctions, including through Russia's shadow fleet and the incomplete implementation of sanctions, remain a major enabler of Russia's war of aggression; whereas despite these and other sanctions, Russia continues to wage its war of aggression against Ukraine;
- F. whereas the US has again halted supplies of crucial military assistance to Ukraine;
- G. whereas Russia's aggression against Ukraine has caused the largest forced displacement of civilians in Europe since the Second World

War, with 10 million Ukrainians – mostly women and children – displaced, including 7 million who have found refuge abroad¹;

- H. whereas Russia continues unabated to commit heinous war crimes against innocent civilians; whereas according to the Ukrainian authorities, approximately 16 000 Ukrainian civilians are known to be currently detained in Russia and the temporarily occupied Ukrainian territories, although the real figures are likely to be significantly higher; whereas more than 70 000 Ukrainians – including civilians, children, and military personnel – are officially listed as missing;
- I. whereas the Russian authorities have systematically carried out enforced disappearances against large numbers of Ukrainian civilians, detaining individuals with no military affiliation on baseless and fabricated charges, with their fate and whereabouts remaining unknown, leaving their families in agonising uncertainty; whereas enforced disappearances by Russia are part of a widespread, systematic and coordinated assault on Ukraine's civilian population;
- J. whereas, according to the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, at least 29 civilians have died in custody in Russian detention facilities, and 170 have been executed in areas under Russian control since February 2022;
- K. whereas throughout the process of enforced disappearances, the Russian authorities have consistently failed to inform the families of the fate or location of their loved ones; whereas multiple responses from various authorities have likewise failed to provide any meaningful information;
- L. whereas the Russian authorities have systematically employed torture and other forms of inhumane and degrading treatment against numerous illegally detained Ukrainian civilians; whereas the UN Independent International Commission of Inquiry on Ukraine has found evidence of Russia using rape and sexual violence as means of torture against both male and female detainees;
- M. whereas Russia refuses to disclose the number of Ukrainian prisoners of war (POWs) it currently holds; whereas the Russian authorities are blatantly failing to meet their obligations under the Geneva Conventions to allow international representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to visit prisoners and to transmit the relevant information to the ICRC, state authorities and the families of POWs;
- N. whereas Ukrainian POWs and civilian captives are subjected to torture, including starvation, beatings, various types of coercion,

¹ <https://www.peopleinneed.net/the-ukrainian-refugee-crisis-current-situation-9539gp>.

physical, sexual and psychological violence and denial of medical care and legal representation;

- O. whereas Ukraine and international bodies have documented hundreds of executions of Ukrainian POWs by Russian forces since February 2022; whereas the Office of the Prosecutor General of Ukraine is investigating the execution of 268 Ukrainian POWs (208 on the battlefield and 59 in the 'Olenivka' prison); whereas the increasing number of executions and available evidence suggests that these crimes are not isolated incidents but part of a systematic and deliberate policy, constituting serious violations of international law and human rights, and war crimes under the Geneva Conventions and the Rome Statute;
- P. whereas Ukraine and Russia have conducted 65 prisoner exchanges since February 2022, resulting in the release of 5 757 people, including three large-scale exchanges in May 2025, with an additional 469 individuals released outside formal exchange mechanisms;
- Q. whereas since the occupation and annexation of Crimea in 2014, Russia has systematically targeted Crimean Tatars with politically motivated prosecutions, enforced disappearances, intimidation and harassment; whereas Crimean Tatar leaders, journalists, civil society activists and religious figures have faced disproportionate repression, including under the guise of anti-extremism and anti-terrorism charges; whereas these actions amount to violations of international human rights and humanitarian law and aim to erase the identity and presence of the indigenous Crimean Tatar people;
- R. whereas Russia, while posturing as a defender of the Christian faith and values, has been conducting mass and systematic violations of religious rights in occupied Ukrainian territories, with the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church banned outright, at least 47 Ukrainian religious leaders killed and more subjected to torture, and religious property willingly targeted and destroyed by Russian forces; whereas in parallel Russia weaponises the Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate as a tool to tyrannise and control religious communities and the Ukrainian population more broadly;
- S. whereas the torture and killing of Ukrainian journalist Viktoriia Roshchyna in Russian captivity highlights the grave and growing dangers faced by Ukrainian journalists held by Russian forces; whereas others, including Iryna Danylovyh, Dmytro Khyliuk, Iryna Levchenko and Heorhiy Levchenko, remain in detention under life-threatening conditions;
- T. whereas according to the 'Bring Kids Back UA' initiative and the Yale Humanitarian Research Lab (HRL), since February 2022 around at least 20 000 and possibly up to 35 000 Ukrainian children have been

forcibly deported to Russia and Belarus or detained in temporarily occupied Ukrainian territories, with only 1 366 returned and 637 confirmed dead; whereas the real figures are assumed to be much higher, as these transfers and deportations continue; whereas the HRL's Ukraine Conflict Observatory has had its funding cut as of 1 July 2025 by the Trump administration, jeopardising the continuation of its work;

- U. whereas the ICC has been conducting an investigation into the situation in Ukraine since 2 March 2022 and on 17 March 2023 issued arrest warrants for Vladimir Putin, President of the Russian Federation, and Maria Lvova-Belova, so-called Commissioner for Children's Rights in the Office of the President of the Russian Federation, for the war crime of unlawful deportation of Ukrainian children, followed up by additional arrest warrants against Russian officials issued on 24 June 2024; whereas the EU supports the Special Tribunal for the Crime of Aggression that is being established in the framework of the Council of Europe;
1. Condemns, in the strongest possible terms, Russia's unprovoked, illegal and unjustified war of aggression against Ukraine; demands that Russia immediately cease all military activities in Ukraine, fully withdraw from Ukraine's internationally recognised territory, end forced deportations, release all detained and deported Ukrainians and compensate Ukraine and victims of war crimes; reiterates its condemnation of Belarus's direct involvement in Russia's brutal war of aggression against Ukraine;
 2. Confirms its unwavering commitment to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine, within its internationally recognised borders and reiterates its policy of non-recognition of Ukrainian territories temporarily occupied by Russia; strongly underlines Ukraine's inherent right to self-defence, in line with Article 51 of the UN Charter, which entails the right to strike military targets on Russian soil;
 3. Reaffirms its unwavering solidarity with the people of Ukraine in their heroic defence of their nation, their land, and our shared European values; reiterates its belief that a strong, independent and democratic Ukraine is vital for Europe's security, stability and prosperity; calls for the EU and all its 27 Member States to substantially enhance the effectiveness and accelerate the delivery of military support to Ukraine in order to allow Ukraine to legitimately defend itself against Russia's escalating attacks on cities and civilian infrastructure across the country, and to put Ukraine in the strongest possible position for negotiations;
 4. Condemns Vladimir Putin's ongoing revisionist and imperialist rhetoric and ideology, and treacherous propaganda; denounces the systematic attempts by the Russian Government to erase Ukraine's

history, culture, language and identity; in this regard strongly condemns the persecution of Ukrainian artists, as exemplified by the imprisonment and torture of Mariupol military orchestra members and their being subjected to inhuman treatment, and calls for their immediate and unconditional release;

5. Stresses that Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine has shattered peace and stability in Europe and gravely undermined global security; underscores that Russia remains the most significant and direct threat to European security;
6. Strongly condemns the execution of Ukrainian POWs by Russian forces, constituting war crimes and grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions; is appalled by the abduction, incommunicado detention, torture, and killing of Ukrainian journalist Viktoriia Roshchyna by the Russian Federation, illustrating the extreme brutality and systematic cruelty perpetrated by Russians against Ukrainian civilians and POWs; demands that the Russian Federation immediately cease the mutilation and removal of organs from the bodies of deceased civilians and POWs;
7. Reiterates that Russia bears sole responsibility for its war of aggression and that there can be no impunity for violations of human rights, war crimes, or other breaches of international law committed by Russian forces and officials; expresses deep outrage at Russia's brutal attacks on civilians and the indiscriminate targeting of civilian infrastructure; stresses that the systematic and deliberate targeting of civilians and, in particular, the deportation of children may constitute a genocidal strategy orchestrated and executed by the Russian Government;
8. Fully supports the ICC's ongoing investigations into the war crimes and crimes against humanity committed by Russia; welcomes the recent agreement between the Council of Europe and Ukraine on the establishment of a Special Tribunal for the Crime of Aggression against Ukraine; emphasises that all those responsible for war crimes perpetrated in Ukraine must be held accountable and stresses that justice is essential for any sustainable peace; expresses its utmost concern about the US sanctions on the ICC and its prosecutors, judges and staff, which undermine all its ongoing investigative and prosecutorial work and constitute a serious attack on the system of international justice; calls on the Commission to urgently activate the Blocking Statute and on the Member States to urgently step up their diplomatic efforts in order to protect and safeguard the ICC as an indispensable cornerstone of the system of international justice;
9. Reiterates its condemnation of Russia's forcible deportation, illegal detention and inhumane treatment of countless Ukrainian civilians; demands that Russia immediately provide families with accurate

information regarding the whereabouts and state of health of detainees and calls for the immediate release of all the Ukrainian civilians currently held captive by the Russian authorities; underscores that the forced displacement, unlawful detention and mistreatment of Ukrainian civilians exemplify the intrinsic brutality of the Russian regime and its flagrant disregard for human life; strongly condemns the gruesome tactics deployed by the Russian authorities against both Ukrainian civilians and prisoners of war; deplores the wide and systematic use of terror in Ukraine's occupied territories, aimed at intimidating the civilian population, stifling resistance and political dissent, suppressing civic activism and eradicating the Ukrainian language and national identity;

10. Condemns the ongoing persecution of Crimean Tatars in illegally occupied Crimea, including politically motivated detentions, torture, enforced disappearances and restrictions on freedom of religion, expression and association; calls for the immediate release of all Crimean Tatars imprisoned on political grounds and urges the EU and international organisations to enhance monitoring and advocacy on behalf of the indigenous people of Crimea;
11. Urges Russia to immediately agree to and implement a comprehensive 'all-for-all' exchange of POWs with Ukraine, in accordance with its obligations under international humanitarian law and the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War;
12. Strongly condemns Russia's violent actions and the complicity of Belarus in the mistreatment of Ukrainian children, including murder, torture and criminal prosecution, forced transfer and deportation, sexual abuse and exploitation, forced Russification and militarisation; denounces the forced imposition of Russian citizenship on deported children and their state-sponsored adoption by Russian families as part of a deliberate policy of forced assimilation; regrets that the EU was unable to help Yale's HRL secure sufficient funding; calls on its Member States to closely cooperate with and support the Ukrainian authorities and local and international non-governmental organisations in their efforts to document all missing and deported Ukrainian children, determine their whereabouts and repatriate them in order to promptly reunite them with their parents or legal guardians; reiterates that the deportation of Ukrainian children is a grave violation of international humanitarian law, in particular of Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, and constitutes a war crime; urges the EU to hold those responsible to account and to sanction individuals and entities implicated in these crimes;
13. Demands that, in line with its obligations under the respective Geneva Conventions, Russia grant the ICRC immediate access to POW camps and other sites where Ukrainian soldiers or civilians are being held captive; notes the marked difference in the way Ukraine

and Russia have treated the POWs they hold, with Ukrainian military personnel having been severely tortured, maltreated and malnourished, in violation of the laws of war and international humanitarian law;

14. Reiterates its call for the EU and its Member States to increase humanitarian and rehabilitation assistance for victims of Russian captivity, including access to medical and psychological care, reintegration services and legal assistance; commends Ukrainian and international civil society organisations for supporting families of abducted Ukrainian children, POWs and illegally detained civilians;
15. Reaffirms the EU's steadfast commitment to the reconstruction of Ukraine and reiterates its readiness to contribute to rebuilding Ukraine's economy and infrastructure; stresses the strategic importance of the Ukraine Facility in reinforcing Ukraine's resilience, accelerating its recovery, and supporting its path towards sustainable development and EU membership; reiterates its firm conviction that Russia must pay for the massive damage caused in Ukraine and therefore calls for the confiscation of Russian state assets immobilised under EU sanctions or otherwise for their use to support Ukraine's defence and reconstruction; underlines its conviction that various legal pathways to do so are available and that lack of action is an inexcusable failure on the part of European governments;
16. Condemns the Russian State Duma's protocol adopted on 24 June 2025 allowing the member states of the Collective Security Treaty Organization to deploy their troops on the territory of other members in the event of armed conflict, threats, crisis situations and military exercises; condemns this step as a clear attempt by Russia to further scale up its relentless attacks on Ukraine by forcibly mobilising troops from neighbouring and allied states;
17. Strongly condemns the recruitment and deployment of Cuban soldiers in addition to the involvement of North Korean troops;
18. Urges all Member States to immediately provide further military assistance and to engage in joint procurement of additional capabilities, in particular air defence, long range strike and artillery systems and ammunition; in that regard, urges all Member States to devote a significant part of their SAFE Defence Investment Plans to assistance for Ukraine; urges the Member States and their defence industries to invest in and partner with the Ukrainian defence industry, including through additional investments and setting up joint ventures, in order to maximise the full potential of its production capabilities to produce critical equipment in the most efficient way;

19. Recalls the bold statements by several EU Heads of State and Government that Russia's failure to agree to the US-proposed 30-day ceasefire would be met with severely enhanced sanctions and therefore urges the Council, the Commission and the Member States to follow-up on their declarations and substantially increase the effectiveness and impact of sanctions on Russia; welcomes the seventeenth sanctions package of 20 May 2025 but urges the Member States to adopt the next sanctions package without further delay; underlines that there is a current strategic imperative to act boldly now; stresses that the negative global security and economic consequences of any future Russian aggression far outweigh the military and financial commitment needed today to definitively end Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine, to deter further Russian aggression and achieve a just, fair and lasting peace; resolutely calls on the EU Member States to stop their shameful business as usual approach and instead act with a renewed sense of urgency and purpose;
20. Reminds the Hungarian and Slovak Governments of the principle of sincere cooperation, which requires that Member States refrain from any measures that could jeopardise the attainment of the EU's objectives; urges the Hungarian and Slovak Governments, therefore, to realign their foreign policy with EU positions and principles and cease their repeated obstruction of EU efforts to strengthen the sanctions on Russia;
21. Believes that in order to pressure Russia to end its war of aggression, beginning with a sustained ceasefire, substantially more effective military, economic, political and diplomatic efforts and measures must be applied by the EU and like-minded partners; calls for all necessary steps to be taken to avoid the circumvention of sanctions, in particular by targeting Russia's 'shadow fleet' vessels; calls for a full ban on Russian liquefied natural gas (LNG), oil and raw materials, and interim measures to minimise Russia's ability to pay for its war of aggression through energy exports, including a lower oil price cap and the introduction of an LNG price cap; underlines the importance of adopting the 18th sanctions package without further delay; calls on the Member States that are blocking the adoption of the latest sanctions package to follow other Member States, which have successfully found alternative sources for oil and gas deliveries; underlines that it is unacceptable that, in the fourth year of Russia's full-scale war against Ukraine, Russian missiles and unmanned aerial vehicles used in attacks continue to rely heavily on Western-manufactured components;
22. Recalls that the overall support for Ukraine must be sufficient to stop Russia's war of aggression and allow Ukraine to liberate all its people, re-establish full control over its territory within its internationally recognised borders and deter any further aggression by Russia; recalls that Europe has already supported Ukraine with

EUR 50 billion in military aid, but underlines that further assistance is required and that such support now depends largely on Europe itself; urges the Member States to provide more arms and ammunition to Ukraine before any negotiations are concluded; denounces any attempts to pressure Ukraine to cede occupied territory, in which the population is exposed to continued repression, violence, forced disappearances, illegal detentions, deportations and other forms of systematic terror;

23. Calls on the EU to impose personal sanctions against Russian officials responsible for violence and torture against imprisoned and detained Ukrainians;
24. Expresses its full support for a just and lasting peace in Ukraine, based on terms determined by Ukraine and acceptable to its people; stresses that any agreement must uphold Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity, prevent Russia from rearming and guarantee Ukraine's long-term security; insists on accountability for war crimes and on reparations; underlines that peace negotiations must be preceded by an unconditional ceasefire;
25. Stresses that in the light of the shift in the US stance on Russia's war of aggression, the EU and its Member States must remain Ukraine's primary strategic allies and should reinforce their leadership role in supporting Ukraine's struggle for sovereignty, peace and justice; calls for the EU and its Member States to work towards maintaining the broadest possible international support for Ukraine, including through building coalitions with like-minded non-EU partners; reiterates its calls for the immediate delivery of long-overdue, previously announced, and badly needed weapons systems, such as Taurus missiles, as committed by the new German leadership, in significant quantities;
26. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, the Council, the Commission, the governments and parliaments of the Member States, the Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the President, Government and Parliament of Ukraine, and to the authorities of Russia and Belarus.