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Briefing Note to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development

Export of Russian Gazprom Turbines

Recommendation

The Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC) calls on the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development to urge the Government of Canada to revoke the permit issued on July 9, 2022 by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which allows for the repair and transport of six Siemens Nord Stream 1 turbines over a period of two years to the Russian state gas monopoly Gazprom.

August 4, 2022

Executive Summary

1. On February 24, 2022, the Russian Federation launched a full-scale war against Ukraine, attacking on multiple fronts.
2. On April 27, Canada's House of Commons unanimously recognized that the Russian Federation is committing acts of genocide against the Ukrainian people.
3. In response to Russia's full-scale invasion, Canada has significantly increased economic and military support to Ukraine and strengthened sanctions against Russia. The Government of Canada has declared a policy of unequivocal political support for Ukraine and the Ukrainian people.
4. In June, German news reports stated that the Government of Canada was considering circumventing its own sanctions on Russia and would issue an exemption to permit the return of a turbine to Gazprom and the Nord Stream 1 pipeline, which connects Russia to Germany.
5. The Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC) wrote to Minister of Foreign Affairs Mélanie Joly and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau noting our deep concern about the possibility that Canada would circumvent Russia sanctions and appease Russia, thereby undermining Ukrainian, European and Canadian security.
6. On July 9, Minister of Natural Resources Jonathan Wilkinson announced that Canada had issued a permit circumventing Canadian sanctions on Russia's Gazprom and permitting the return of turbine(s) to same.
7. Subsequently it became known that the waiver applies to as many as six turbines over a period of up to two years.
8. Both the Canadian and German governments acknowledge that the return of the turbine(s) is not necessary to ensure the proper functioning of the Nord Stream 1 pipeline.
9. The arguments made by representatives of both the German and Canadian governments as to the necessity of returning the turbine are specious. It also appears that neither seriously explored any of the

alternatives available to assuage German concerns about access to energy resources that would have allowed Canada to keep its sanctions regime intact.

10. Predictably, following the sanctions waiver, Russia's state monopoly Gazprom did not restore gas flows and Russia is using the waiver of Canadian sanctions to demand even more concessions on sanctions.
11. **The UCC calls on the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development to urge the Government of Canada to revoke the permit issued on July 9, 2022 by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which allows for the repair and transport of six Siemens Nord Stream 1 turbines over a period of two years to the Russian state gas monopoly Gazprom.**

1. Russia's genocidal war against Ukraine

On February 24, 2022, Russia launched a full-scale war against Ukraine, attacking on multiple fronts – from the east, north and south.

As of July 17, Russia had launched more than 3000 cruise missile attacks against Ukraine,¹ in addition to massive artillery, rocket artillery and air attacks on Ukrainian cities, towns and villages.

According to the United Nations, August 1, over 5300 civilians – over 350 children – have been killed. Over 7200 civilians – 571 children – have been injured.²

These horrifying figures represent only the civilian casualties that have been confirmed. The actual number of civilian victims of Russia's war are far higher.

Ukrainian military casualties are in the thousands of lives lost; Ukraine's Defence Minister has stated that in May 2022, up to 100 Ukrainian soldiers were being killed in action each day and 300 to 400 were wounded in action.³

The Russian Federation is committing war crimes and crimes against humanity on a massive and systemic scale in Ukraine. Russian invaders are committing murders, rape, torture, and are bombarding civilian infrastructure – schools, hospitals, apartment building, shopping centres, markets on a daily basis.

The names of cities such as Bucha, Mariupol, Kremenchuk, Kharkiv, Mykolaiv, Odesa, Vinnytsia – and countless other places in Ukraine – have become synonymous in the world's consciousness with the systemic crimes against humanity that Russia is committing daily in its genocidal war on Ukraine.

On the night of July 28-29, Russia murdered over 50 Ukrainian POWs at a penal colony in Russian-occupied Olenivka, likely in an attempt to cover up the torture and maltreatment to which the Ukrainian POWs – defenders of the Azovstal plant in Mariupol – had been subjected by their Russian captors.⁴

¹ <https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/diyi-ta-bezdiylnist-kozhnoyi-posadovoyi-osobi-v-sektori-bez-76529>

² <https://www.ohchr.org/en/news/2022/08/ukraine-civilian-casualty-update-1-august-2022>

³ <https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/features-62176090>

⁴ A Joint Statement by Ukraine's Armed Forces, Security Service, Intelligence Directorate of the Ministry of Defense and the Verkhovna Rada's Human Rights Commissioner stated, "The committed explosion is a cynical terrorist act of the Russian Federation, a military provocation and a typical false flag operation, the purpose of which is to cover up war crimes, discredit the Armed Forces of Ukraine, disrupt the supply of Western weapons and increase social tension in Ukrainian society."

<https://ssu.gov.ua/en/novyny/spilna-zaiava-shchodo-masovoho-vbyvstva-ukrainskykh-viiskovopolonenykh-29-lypnia-2022-roku-u-smt-olenivka-na-tymchasovo-okupovanii-terytorii-donetskoj-oblasti>

Russia has also forcibly deported thousands of Ukrainian citizens to Russia, where “filtration camps” have been set up.⁵

On April 27, 2022, Canada’s House of Commons unanimously recognized that “the Russian Federation is committing acts of genocide against the Ukrainian people.”⁶

2. Canada’s economic and military support for Ukraine prior to and during Russia’s full-scale invasion

Since Russia’s invasion and occupation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea in February 2014, and the subsequent invasion and occupation of parts of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts, Canada provided approximately \$890 million in assistance to Ukraine, which included development, humanitarian and financial assistance, and security assistance.⁷

From February 2015 to February 2022, Canada’s military training mission in Ukraine, Operation UNIFIER, provided training to over 33,000 members of Ukraine’s Security Forces.⁸ The mission was suspended days before Russia’s full-scale invasion, and has not been restarted, despite the fact that NATO allies such as the UK have resumed training programs for Ukrainian forces outside of Ukraine.⁹

In the months leading up to the full-scale invasion by Russia, the UCC urged Canada and other allies to supply Ukraine with lethal military aid so as to deter an invasion by Russia.¹⁰ Unlike other allies – principally the United States and the UK – Canada

⁵ Office of the US Director of National Intelligence. *Unclassified Assessment on Russian Filtration Camps*. <https://www.dni.gov/index.php/newsroom/reports-publications/reports-publications-2022/item/2312-unclassified-assessment-on-russian-filtration-camps>

⁶ The motion, moved by Heather MacPherson (MP, Edmonton-Strathcona) and adopted unanimously, reads, in full:

That, given that:

(a) there is clear and ample evidence of systematic and massive war crimes and crimes against humanity being committed against the people of Ukraine by the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation, directed by President Vladimir Putin and others within the Russian Parliament; and

(b) the crimes committed by the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation include:

(i) mass atrocities in the invaded and occupied Ukrainian territories,

(ii) systematic instances of willful killing of Ukrainian civilians and the desecration of corpses,

(iii) forcible transfer of Ukrainian children to the Russian territory,

(iv) torture and the imposition of life conditions causing grave suffering,

(v) widespread instances of physical harm, mental harm and rape,

the House recognize that the Russian Federation is committing acts of genocide against the Ukrainian people.

⁷ <https://www.international.gc.ca/country-pays/ukraine/relations.aspx?lang=eng>

⁸ <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/services/operations/military-operations/current-operations/operation-unifier.html>

⁹ <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/defence-secretary-ben-wallace-visits-armed-forces-of-ukraine-as-training-programme-starts-across-the-uk>

¹⁰ <https://www.ucc.ca/2022/01/26/canada-needs-to-arm-ukraine/>

refused to supply Ukraine with lethal defensive weapons and provided Ukraine only with non-lethal military equipment until mere days before the full-scale Russian invasion. It was not until February 14, 2022, that the Government of Canada announced that it would provide Ukraine with \$7 million in lethal military assistance.¹¹

Since Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022, Canada's economic assistance for Ukraine has expanded significantly, principally through government-to-government loans.¹²

Military aid from Canada to Ukraine has also increased since the beginning of 2022, with approximately \$625 million in military aid committed or delivered.¹³

3. Canada's Sanctions Policy

In February 2014 Canada implemented a series of sanctions in response to Russia's invasion of Crimea and the Donbas.¹⁴

However, neither Canada nor the allies implemented sanctions against Russia at a pace or severity that would have effectively deterred Russia's full-scale invasion in February 2022.

As the UCC has argued consistently since 2014,¹⁵ and most recently before this Committee on February 10, 2022 – two weeks before Russia's full-scale invasion – “Stronger sanctions will deprive the Russian state of revenue with which to continue to wage war, and it will reinforce the message to the Russian government that the West is

¹¹ <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/news/2022/02/canada-commits-lethal-weapons-and-ammunition-in-support-of-ukraine.html>

¹² As of May 2022, Canada had provided \$1.87 billion in loans to Ukraine's government. <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-finance/news/2022/05/canada-provides-additional-financial-support-to-ukraine.html>

¹³ <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/campaigns/canadian-military-support-to-ukraine.html>

¹⁴ Canadian sanctions related to Russia. https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/international_relations-relations_internationales/sanctions/Russia-Russie.aspx?lang=eng

¹⁵ See for example:

UCC Brief to FAAE Subcommittee on International Human Rights, 2018.

<https://www.ucc.ca/2018/06/08/ucc-briefing-note-subcommittee-on-international-human-rights/>

UCC Brief to Members of Parliament. The Situation in Ukraine. Policy Recommendations for Canada. 2018.

<https://www.ucc.ca/2018/02/21/february-2018-ucc-briefing-note-for-members-of-parliament/>

UCC Brief to the Government of Canada, 2021. Human Rights Violations in Russian-occupied Crimea and Canada's Sanctions Policy.

<https://www.ucc.ca/2021/03/03/ucc-brief-human-rights-violations-in-russian-occupied-crimea-and-canadas-sanctions-policy/>

resolute in countering Russian aggression. War must be demonstrated to the Kremlin to be more expensive than peace.”¹⁶

Unfortunately, these warnings went unheeded by Canada and allies, and strong sanctions were implemented only following the full-scale invasion, rather than prior to the invasion, when they may have served as a deterrent.

The European Union and Germany were especially reticent to implement strong deterrent sanctions on Russia, with Germany’s Bild newspaper reporting that as late as January 2022, German Chancellor Scholz was seeking “‘a new start’ in relations with Moscow.”¹⁷

The naïveté of Germany’s Russia policy reached its apogee with the insistence by successive German administrations that the Nord Stream 2 pipeline was a commercial venture that had nothing to do with geopolitics. The construction of NS2 was launched in 2015, *after* Russia’s invasion of Ukraine in 2014, and if operationalized, would have increased Germany’s reliance on Russian energy and allowed Russia to bypass Ukrainian pipelines.¹⁸

The UCC joined both Ukraine and the United States in strongly opposing the construction and operationalization of the Nord Stream 2 pipeline, a geopolitical project which would have made Germany and the EU more reliant on Russian gas. As the UCC stated in June 2021, “The Nord Stream 2 pipeline is an enormous threat to transatlantic security, and its completion would make a further Russian invasion of Ukraine far more likely.”¹⁹

Following the waiver of Congressionally mandated NS2 sanctions by the Biden administration in May 2021, the German government sought to license and operationalize NS2.

German Chancellor Scholz allowed the completion of the construction of the NS2 pipeline, and only suspended the certification process on February 22, two days before Russia launched its full-scale invasion of Ukraine.²⁰ The US State Department terminated its sanctions waiver on February 23.²¹

¹⁶UCC Brief to the FAAE Committee. February 10, 2022. Deterring a further Russian Invasion of Ukraine

<https://www.ourcommons.ca/Content/Committee/441/FAAE/Brief/BR11570954/br-external/UkrainianCanadianCongress-e.pdf>

¹⁷ Smaller European Nations Uneasy as Germany’s Scholz Plans to Meet Putin

<https://www.voanews.com/a/smaller-european-nations-uneasy-as-germany-scholz-plans-to-meet-putin/6379981.html>

¹⁸ <https://www.dw.com/en/nord-stream-2-pipeline-angela-merkels-biggest-mistake-says-donald-tusk/a-59963553>

¹⁹ <https://www.ucc.ca/2021/07/21/stop-nord-stream-2/>

²⁰ <https://www.rferl.org/a/russia-putin-nord-stream-2-pipeline-ukraine-scholz/31716191.html>

²¹ <https://www.state.gov/sanctioning-ns2ag-matthias-warnig-and-ns2ags-corporate-officers/>

Since February 2022, Canada has expanded sanctions against Russia significantly. On February 24, 2022, Canada implemented sanctions against Gazprom, Gazpromneft and Gazprombank²² under the Special Economic Measures (Russia) regulations.

4. Canada's political support for Ukraine and the Ukrainian people

In response to Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, the Government of Canada has declared a policy of unequivocal political support for Ukraine and the Ukrainian people.

On February 24, Chrystia Freeland, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, stated,

"Russia has launched a brutal and unprovoked attack on Ukraine — a country of more than 40 million people who have sought nothing but peace and freedom. [...] The response by Canada and our allies will be swift and it will bite. This barbaric attack cannot — and will not — be allowed to succeed. [...] Canada understands what is at stake. We know that the people of Ukraine, in fighting for their lives, for their sovereignty, are fighting for us, too. They are fighting for democracy, and we stand with them."²³

Addressing European Parliament on March 23, Justin Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, stated,

"We can not let Ukraine down. They are counting on us. So let's use all the tools we have at our disposal. [...] We must all continue to send military equipment and lethal aid to help Ukrainians in their heroic defence, not just of their lands, but of all the principles that defend ours. And we must continue to impose unprecedented sanctions on Putin and his enablers in Russia and Belarus, increasing the pressure, as much as we can. We must ensure that the decision to invade a sovereign, independent country is understood to be a strategic failure that carries with it ruinous costs for Putin and Russia. Putin's attack on Ukraine is an attack on the values that form the pillars of all democracies. We have a responsibility to make the case to people about why these values matter so much—not just to Ukrainians but to us all."²⁴

Speaking about Canadian sanctions, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mélanie Joly stated on February 27, 2022,

"Our goal, and I'll be very blunt, is to suffocate the Russian regime."²⁵

²² Regulations Amending the Special Economic Measures (Russia) Regulations: SOR/2022-29
<https://gazette.gc.ca/rp-pr/p2/2022/2022-03-16/html/sor-dors29-eng.html>

²³ <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-finance/news/2022/02/remarks-by-the-deputy-prime-minister-and-minister-of-finance-concerning-russias-invasion-of-ukraine.html>

²⁴ <https://pm.gc.ca/en/news/speeches/2022/03/23/prime-ministers-remarks-addressing-european-parliament>

²⁵ <https://www.ctvnews.ca/politics/suffocate-the-russian-regime-joly-says-swift-decision-puts-pressure-on-putin-1.5797985>

5. Canada's Russian Turbine Sanctions Waiver

Given the clearly stated condemnation by Parliament of Russia's (second) genocide against the Ukrainian people, and the clearly stated policy position of the Government of Canada of support for Ukraine and the Ukrainian people, the UCC was surprised and troubled to learn from German media in June 2022 that the Government of Canada was considering circumventing its own sanctions on Russia and would issue an exemption to return a turbine to Gazprom and the Nord Stream 1 pipeline.

The UCC wrote to Minister Joly on June 15²⁶ and Prime Minister Trudeau on July 6²⁷ noting our deep concern about the possibility that Canada would circumvent Russia sanctions and appease Russia, thereby weakening Canada's policy of support for Ukraine, emboldening Russia to further aggression, and undermining Ukrainian, European and Canadian security.

The UCC also noted that other options were available to both Germany and Canada that would assuage German concerns about energy without circumventing Canadian sanctions.

On July 9, Minister of Natural Resources Jonathan Wilkinson announced in a tweet that Canada had issued a permit circumventing Canadian sanctions on Russia's Gazprom and permitting the return of turbine(s) to same.²⁸

Subsequently, from media reports it became clear that the Government of Canada's permit was far more wide-reaching than previously communicated – and that it applied to up to six turbines over a period of two years.²⁹

6. Justification of Canada's waiver of Russia sanctions

Both the Canadian and the German authorities acknowledge that the demand for the return of the turbine(s) is a political ploy by the Russian regime.

Neither the Canadian Government nor the German government believe that the circumvention of Canadian sanctions will actually guarantee that Gazprom will honour its contractual obligations.

On July 14, German Foreign Minister Annalena Baerbock acknowledged that if Germany were to ease sanctions, Germany would be "would be doubly subject to

²⁶ <https://www.ucc.ca/2022/06/15/ucc-letter-to-minister-joly-re-gazprom-nord-stream-1-turbine-and-canadian-sanctions-on-russia/>

²⁷ <https://www.ucc.ca/2022/07/06/ucc-letter-to-pm-trudeau-re-canadian-sanctions-on-nord-stream-1-turbine/>

²⁸ <https://twitter.com/JonathanWNV/status/1545933060129951747>

²⁹ <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/politics/article-canadas-deal-to-allow-repair-of-sanctioned-russian-turbines-covers/>

blackmail" and that this would be "an invitation to all those who trample on human rights, freedom and democracy," as Russia had broken international law "in the most brutal way."³⁰

Both the Canadian and German governments acknowledge that the return of the turbine(s) is not necessary to ensure the proper functioning of the Nord Stream 1 pipeline.

While support for allies is important, it is difficult to understand why Canada would undermine its own sanctions in these circumstances.

Furthermore, the arguments made by representatives of both the German and Canadian governments as to the necessity of returning the turbine are specious.

Germany's Foreign Minister revealed that Germany had threatened to cut off aid to Ukraine, stating on July 21, "if we don't get the gas turbine, then we won't get any more gas, and then we won't be able to provide any support for Ukraine at all, because we'll be busy with popular uprisings."³¹

In fact, public opinion polling shows that a strong majority of Germans want to continue to support Ukraine even if doing so would mean a rise in energy prices. A recent survey by German broadcaster ZDF found that, when asked, "Should we continue to support Ukraine despite high energy prices," – 70% of those polled responded "yes." The number was even higher among the supporters of the SPD (83%) and Green (95%) governing coalition.³²

Nor do the potential deleterious economic effects of a shutdown of Russian deliveries to Germany bear out the German Foreign Minister's claims of "popular uprisings," nor Minister Wilkinson's claims that "We are talking about people not being able to heat their homes, not being able to continue to have an economy that functions."³³

According to the International Monetary Fund, a complete shut-off of Russian gas deliveries to Germany "would reduce GDP by 1.5 percent in 2022, 2.7 percent in 2023 and 0.4 percent in 2024."³⁴ While this is a significant impact on the German economy; it does not, however, mean that the German economy will no longer "function."

³⁰ <https://www.dw.com/en/ukraine-british-man-held-by-russia-backed-separatists-dies-as-it-happened/a-62479923>

³¹ <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/politics/article-germany-warns-canada-it-may-cut-off-aid-to-ukraine-without-pipeline/>

³² <https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/politik/220715-politbarometer-ukraine-energiekosten-100.html?slide=1657819866003>

³³ Minister Wilkinson on CBC Power and Politics, July 13, 2022, at approx. 04:03 of recording. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kC3NinVdu2s>

³⁴ International Monetary Fund. The Economic Impacts on Germany of a Potential Russian Gas Shutoff <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WP/Issues/2022/07/18/The-Economic-Impacts-on-Germany-of-a-Potential-Russian-Gas-Shutoff-520931>

Moreover, the day of reckoning when the German economy must function without the heavily discounted Russian gas it has relied on for decades, must come sooner or later.

7. Pursuing other options

It appears that neither Canada nor Germany seriously explored any of the alternatives available to assuage German concerns about access to energy resources that would have allowed Canada to keep its sanctions regime intact:

1. Germany could have demanded from Russia that instead of using the Nord Stream 1 pipeline, that Russia use transit capacity through Ukraine that Gazprom has already paid for, less than 40% of which is being used, and which could fully replace the NS1 capacity.³⁵
2. A pipeline route through Poland with excess capacity, is available.³⁶
3. The German government continues to insist on shuttering all of its nuclear plants. While keeping the plants that have not yet closed open would not solve Germany's energy needs, doing so would alleviate some of the negative impact of a Russian gas shutdown.³⁷
4. The purchase of natural gas in other markets could have been pursued by Germany.
5. Finally, a combination of some or all of these four options could have been attempted.

8. The dangerous precedent of waiving Russia sanctions

The decision by the Government of Canada to circumvent its own sanctions on Russia is dangerous for three principal reasons:

1. It provides Russia with additional funds from energy exports that will be used to prosecute Russia's war against Ukraine. Germany, through its reliance on Russian energy, is, in part, financing Russia's genocide.³⁸

³⁵ <https://mfa.gov.ua/en/news/zayava-mzs-ukrayini-u-zvyazku-iz-rishennyam-kanadi-povernuti-do-nimechchini-vidremontovani-turbini-pivnichnogo-potoku-1>

³⁶ <https://mfa.gov.ua/en/news/zayava-mzs-ukrayini-u-zvyazku-iz-rishennyam-kanadi-povernuti-do-nimechchini-vidremontovani-turbini-pivnichnogo-potoku-1>

³⁷ The three remaining nuclear plants generate about 5% of Germany's electricity while gas-fired plants generate about 15% of Germany's electricity.

<https://www.politico.eu/article/politics-behind-germany-refusal-reconsider-nuclear-phaseout/>

³⁸ From February 24, 2022 through June 3, 2022, Germany paid Russia 12.1 billion Euros for fossil fuels – trailing only the Peoples' Republic of China (12.6 billion Euros). See CREA Report. *Financing Putin's war: Fossil fuel imports from Russia in the first 100 days of the invasion*

2. A precedent has been set, wherein Russia has been shown that at the first sign of discomfort for Canada and allies, its demands will be acquiesced to. It is inevitable that this precedent will be exploited by the Russian regime – leading to more pressure, and coercion. A blackmailer, once paid, does not stop blackmailing. To the contrary – he raises the stakes.
3. A second precedent has been set wherein the Russian Federation has seen that it is advantageous to search out and exploit potential weak spots in Western sanctions regimes. This will inevitably lead to further probing and provocations by the Russian Federation and could lead to further weakening of sanctions.

9. The Russian response

Predictably, the waiver of Canadian sanctions has done nothing to return the flow of natural gas to Germany through the NS1 pipeline. Following the sanctions waiver, Russia's state monopoly Gazprom did not restore gas flows and is using the waiver of Canadian sanctions to demand even more waivers on sanctions.

On July 24, Gazprom stated:

Gazprom received from Siemens documents issued by the Canadian authorities. However, after studying the documents Gazprom had to conclude that they do not eliminate the previously identified risks and give rise to additional questions. In addition the issues regarding the sanctions imposed by the EU and the UK remain unsolved for Gazprom, although the resolution of such issues is important for delivering the engine to Russia and performing urgent major repair of other turbine engines for the Portovaya CS. In these circumstances, Gazprom has again requested that Siemens provide prompt support in obtaining the required documents and clarifications so that the pending issues can be solved.³⁹

10. Conclusion

Canada has issued a permit that circumvents Canadian sanctions, weakens our sanctions regime, and undermines Ukrainian, European and Canadian security.

Canada's decision to waive its sanctions on the turbines, and Germany's pressure on Canada to do so, have created a slippery slope where Russia has been emboldened, no guarantees of secure gas deliveries to Germany from Russia have been achieved, and Russia has seen that, no matter the outlandishness of its claims, it can expect that Western countries will succumb to pressure. Canada and Germany have thus made an already dangerous security situation in Europe even more dangerous.

https://energyandcleanair.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Financing-Putins-war-100-days_20220613.pdf

³⁹ <https://twitter.com/GazpromEN/status/1551545217983078400/photo/1>

The Governments of Canada and Germany state that they support Ukraine unequivocally. Both Governments have taken significant action in support of Ukraine. However, both Governments continue to believe, mistakenly, that costs can be imposed solely on Russia without western nations bearing any costs themselves.

If it is Canada's stated policy goal, as Minister Joly has said, to "suffocate the Russian regime," and if, as Deputy Prime Minister Freeland has said, "we know that the people of Ukraine [...] are fighting for us, too," then both Canada and Germany must be prepared to bear some of those costs.

As NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg recently told the European Parliament's Foreign Affairs and Security and Defence Committees –

If Ukraine loses this, that's a danger of us. That will make Europe even more vulnerable for Russian aggression. [...] So, even if you don't care about the moral aspect of this, supporting the people of Ukraine, you should care about your own security interest. So therefore, you have to pay; pay for the support, pay for humanitarian aid, pay the consequences of the economic sanctions, because the alternative is to pay a much higher price later on. [...] Yes, we pay a price, but the price we pay, as the European Union, as NATO, is a price we can measure in currency, in money. The price they pay is measured in lives lost every day.⁴⁰

The UCC submits that the issuance of the July 9 permit by the Government of Canada, circumventing Russia sanctions, will have serious, deleterious effects on Ukrainian, European and Canadian security.

However, as the Canadian Government has stated, the permit is revocable.

11. UCC Recommendation

The UCC calls on the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development to urge the Government of Canada to revoke the permit issued on July 9, 2022 by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which allows for the repair and transport of six Siemens Nord Stream 1 turbines over a period of two years to the Russian state gas monopoly Gazprom.

⁴⁰ https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_197902.htm