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# VERBATIM REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS OF 16 JUNE 2025

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EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

2025-2026 SESSION

Sittings of 16 to 19 June 2025

STRASBOURG

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# VERBATIM REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS OF 16 JUNE 2025

**IN THE CHAIR: ROBERTA METSOLA**

*President*

## 1. Resumption of the session

**President.** – I declare resumed the session of the European Parliament adjourned on 22 May 2025.

## 2. Opening of the sitting

*(The sitting opened at 17:00)*

## 3. Statements by the President

**President.** – Dear colleagues, welcome back to Strasbourg for our plenary session. I'll start with a sad communication on what happened in Austria.

Last week, we learned of the horrific school shooting in Graz, where a former pupil killed 10 students and staff, and severely injured many others. This was a senseless act of violence that has deeply shaken Austria and all of Europe. Our thoughts are with the victims, their families and the entire school community. We stand with everyone in Austria at this terrible time.

That same day, we learned of another brutal attack, as a 31-year-old teaching assistant was stabbed to death outside a school in Nogent in France. *La victime et ses proches sont dans nos pensées.*

Violence and hatred, dear colleagues, have no place in Europe and no place in our schools. Schools must remain safe spaces of learning and growth – never of fear. So I ask you to please join me in observing a minute's silence in honour of the victims and all those affected.

*(The House rose and observed a minute's silence)*

## 4. Approval of the minutes of the previous sittings

**President.** – The minutes and the texts adopted of the sitting of 21 and 22 May 20205 are available.

Are there any comments? No?

The minutes are therefore approved.

## 5. Composition of Parliament

**President.** – Following the resignation of Ondřej Kovařík, and on the proposal of the Committee on Legal Affairs, Parliament takes note of the vacancy of his seat from 31 July 2025, in accordance with the Rules of Procedure, and will inform the national authority concerned thereof.

## 6. Requests for waivers of immunity

**President.** – I have received a request from the competent authorities in Poland for the parliamentary immunity of Grzegorz Braun to be waived.

This request is referred to the Committee on Legal Affairs.

## 7. Requests for the waiver of immunity – termination of procedure

**President.** – I have received a letter from the competent authorities in Belgium withdrawing the request for the waiver of the parliamentary immunity of our colleague Giusi Princi. The procedure is therefore closed.

## 8. Requests for the defence of the immunity of a former Member – termination of procedure

**President.** – The Committee on Legal Affairs has informed me that the request for defence of the parliamentary immunity of Helmut Geuking is inadmissible, so the procedure is therefore closed.

## 9. Composition of political groups

**President.** – Fernand Kartheiser is no longer a member of the ECR Group and sits with the non attached Members as of 4 June 2025.

## 10. Composition of committees and delegations

**President.** – The ECR Group has notified me of a decision relating to changes to appointments within delegations.

This decision will be set out in the minutes of today's sitting and take effect on the date of this announcement.

## 11. Interpretation of the Rules of Procedure

**President.** – The AFCO Committee has proposed interpretations of the first subparagraph of Article 3(5) and Article 8 of Annex I to Parliament's Rules of Procedure. The texts are available on the plenary webpage and will be published in the minutes of the sitting.

Pursuant to Rule 242(4), Members or a political group reaching at least the low threshold may contest the committee's interpretations within a period of 24 hours following this announcement. If the interpretations are not contested, they shall be deemed approved.

## 12. Negotiations ahead of Parliament's first reading (Rule 72)

**President.** – The LIBE Committee has decided to enter interinstitutional negotiations, pursuant to Rule 72(1) of the Rules of Procedure. The report which constitutes the mandate for the negotiations is available on the plenary webpage and the title will be published in the minutes of the sitting.

Pursuant to Rule 72(2), Members or political groups reaching at least the medium threshold may request in writing by midnight tomorrow, Tuesday, 17 June, that the decision be put to the vote. If no request for a vote in Parliament is made within the deadline, the committee may start the negotiations.

## 13. Negotiations ahead of the Council's first reading (Rule 73)

**President.** – The SANT Committee has decided to enter into interinstitutional negotiations ahead of Council's first reading, pursuant to Rule 73 of the Rules of Procedure.

The position adopted by Parliament at first reading, which constitutes the mandate for those negotiations, is available on the plenary webpage and its title will be published in the minutes of the sitting.

## 14. Delegated acts (Rule 114(6))

**President.** – I was informed that no objections have been raised within the Conference of Committee Chairs to the recommendation by the AGRI Committee not to oppose a delegated act, pursuant to Rule 114(6) of our Rules. The recommendation is available on the plenary webpage.

If no objections are raised by a political group or Members reaching at least the low threshold within 24 hours, the recommendation shall be deemed to have been approved.

## 15. Corrigenda (Rule 251)

**President.** – The ECON Committee has transmitted a corrigendum to a text adopted by Parliament. Pursuant to Rule 251(1), this corrigendum will be deemed approved unless, no later than 24 hours after its announcement, a request is made by a political group or Members reaching at least the low threshold that it be put to the vote.

The corrigendum is available on the plenary webpage. Its title will be published in the minutes of this sitting.

## 16. Signature of acts adopted in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure (Rule 81)

**President.** – I would like to inform you that, since the adjournment of Parliament's session on 22 May 2025, I have signed, together with the President of the Council, one act adopted under the ordinary legislative procedure, in accordance with Rule 81 of Parliament's Rules.

I would also like to inform you that tomorrow I shall sign, together with the President of the Council, five acts adopted under the ordinary legislative procedure.

The titles of the acts will be published in the minutes of this sitting.

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Now we move to the points of order. I have received 11, so we will go through them in the order that I received them.

As always, I ask you, please, dear colleagues, we know there's a little bit of flexibility on Mondays – and it's also been a few weeks since we met in Strasbourg – but it's becoming longer and longer. So, please, I ask you for responsibility.

**Γιάννης Μανιάτης (S&D).** – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, πριν από λίγες εβδομάδες, με απόφαση αιγυπτιακού δικαστηρίου, από την Ιερά Μονή της Αγίας Αικατερίνης του Σινά —που είναι το αρχαιότερο συνεχώς κατοικούμενο μοναστήρι στον κόσμο— αφαιρέθηκε η ιδιοκτησία του ίδιου του μοναστηριού, καθώς και των παρακείμενων γαιών. Έτσι, η λειτουργία της Μονής εξαρτάται αποκλειστικά από την καλή θέληση του αιγυπτιακού κράτους, το οποίο είναι πλέον ο ιδιοκτήτης. Οι μοναχοί είναι απλοί φιλοξενούμενοι, αφού σχεδόν όλοι τους βρίσκονται εκεί με άδειες παραμονής ενός έτους. Η απόφαση αυτή θέτει σε κίνδυνο τη βιωσιμότητα και τη λειτουργία αυτού του μοναδικού μοναστηριού, που έχει ιστορία 15 αιώνων.

Ως σοσιαλιστική ομάδα, καταθέσαμε αίτημα για να συζητηθεί στην Ολομέλεια του Κοινοβουλίου, αλλά αυτό δεν ήταν δυνατό για αυτήν την εβδομάδα. Θα επιμείνουμε, όμως, και στην Ολομέλεια του Ιουλίου, καθώς είναι ένα εξαιρετικά σημαντικό ζήτημα, ιδιαίτερα μάλιστα στο πλαίσιο της μακροοικονομικής βοήθειας προς την Αίγυπτο.

**President.** – Thank you, Mr Maniatis. This will be discussed within the Conference of Presidents, so it can also be done there.

**Michele Picaro (ECR).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, il 13 giugno scorso a Francavilla Fontana il brigadiere Carlo Legrottaglie è stato ucciso mentre inseguiva i responsabili di una rapina. Un colpo d'arma da fuoco lo ha strappato alla vita. Aveva 59 anni. Mancavano pochi giorni alla pensione, dopo oltre trent'anni di onorato servizio nell'arma dei carabinieri. Eppure, fino all'ultimo istante, Carlo ha fatto ciò che aveva sempre amato fare: servire lo Stato, proteggere i cittadini, onorare la divisa con disciplina, umanità e incrollabile senso del dovere.

Ma oggi il nostro pensiero va alla sua famiglia. A loro giunga da quest'Aula il nostro abbraccio più sincero e commosso. È tempo che l'Unione europea riconosca questi sacrifici.

Per questo chiedo l'istituzione di una Giornata della memoria per gli appartenenti alle forze dell'ordine caduti in servizio, affinché ogni Carlo, in ogni paese d'Europa, trovi posto nella coscienza collettiva delle nostre democrazie. Onore a Carlo Legrottaglie per sempre.

**Rima Hassan (The Left).** – Madame la Présidente, le 1er juin, j'ai été kidnappée dans les eaux internationales par l'armée israélienne alors que je me trouvais à bord d'un navire humanitaire en route vers Gaza. Nous étions douze à bord du navire, dont dix citoyens européens. Nous avons tous été enlevés, déportés de force par Israël, puis détenus illégalement pendant plusieurs jours dans le silence assourdissant de ce Parlement. Aucune condamnation, aucun appel à libération sans condition. J'ai été menottée, fouillée à nu, menottée aux mains et aux pieds, mise à l'isolement pour avoir inscrit «Free Palestine» dans ma cellule.

Je veux rappeler, au-delà de nos clivages politiques, chers collègues, que l'action de la flottille est parfaitement légale. Elle a été soutenue par dix rapporteurs spéciaux des Nations unies, des millions de citoyens européens, des centaines de parlementaires et des ONG internationales.

Non seulement Gaza a le droit de recevoir de l'aide humanitaire, mais les États et les responsables politiques ont le devoir moral et légal de faire cesser la famine et le génocide qui y sévit. Ce silence, Madame la Présidente, est une faute politique grave. Il alimente l'impunité d'Israël et compromet la crédibilité de cette institution. Tant que ce Parlement se taira, l'Europe ne sera plus une voix pour les droits humains, mais l'écho de sa propre complicité et de sa propre lâcheté politique.

**Jordan Bardella (PfE).** – Madame la Présidente, Mme Hassan vient de démontrer une fois de plus qu'elle n'était, dans cet hémicycle, pas une députée française au Parlement européen, mais bien l'ambassadrice du Hamas auprès de l'Union européenne. Je souhaiterais donc faire un rappel au règlement intérieur, s'il vous plaît, sur la base de l'article 10, paragraphe 7.

À l'occasion des Rencontres des jeunes européens qui se sont tenues dans ces murs le week-end dernier, le Parlement a reçu une fois de plus, Madame la Présidente, l'association Femyso. Cette officine s'est illustrée à de nombreuses reprises par des prises de position communautaristes, par des campagnes de promotion du voile islamique, le tout avec le financement public et l'argent des contribuables européens. Il y a quelques semaines, un rapport du ministère de l'Intérieur français identifiait cette association comme un proxy des Frères musulmans en Europe, décrivant cette organisation comme – je cite – une «structure de formation des cadres à haut potentiel de la mouvance».

Nous ne cessons de vous alerter, Madame la Présidente, sur l'influence grandissante des Frères musulmans au sein même des institutions européennes. Ma question est donc simple: combien de temps allons-nous encore tolérer, financer, légitimer les ennemis de la civilisation européenne?

**President.** – Thank you very much. This will be dealt with in the Bureau tonight.

**Saskia Bricmont (Verts/ALE).** – Madam President, colleagues, I refer to Rule 39.

Autocratic leaders and anti-democratic forces across our continent and worldwide are violently attacking minorities and vulnerable communities. There is no worse moment for the Commission to withdraw the Horizontal Anti-Discrimination Directive, key legislation to protect all Europeans – older people, people with disabilities, women, LGBTQIA+ people and the most vulnerable – from all forms of discrimination. Part of the EPP joined forces with the far-right to stop the European Parliament from contesting this withdrawal, going against the recommendation of the Conference of Committee Chairs and LIBE Committee.

Madam President, we urge you to preserve the integrity of our procedures, the reputation and fundamental rights agenda of Parliament. Prove to the Commission, civil society and EU citizens that the European Parliament remains committed to fight against all forms of discrimination.

**President.** – Thank you. This was addressed by the Conference of Committee Chairs and by the Conference of Presidents last week.

**Rihards Kols (ECR).** – Madam President, I would like to make a point of order under Rule 202.

The EU sanctioned Kremlin propaganda outlets like Russia Today and Sputnik, banning their broadcasts for spreading disinformation and justifying Russia's aggression. And yet, today, these same sanctioned outlets remain freely accessible inside this Parliament on the internal network, Wi-Fi and visitor devices.

After months of notification, letters and discussions to the President and Bureau, nothing has changed. This is not a technical issue. This is an institutional failure. When we demand sanctions enforcement across the EU but fail inside our own House, we move from double standards into complicity.

The legal basis is clear. The EU Court of Justice upheld the sanctions. National regulators have acted. The European Parliament must not be the last safe haven for sanctioned Kremlin propaganda. We call again for immediate action, a full blocking and compliance audit, binding internal guidelines and accountability.

**President.** – Thank you very much, Mr Kols. In fact, I can confirm that the link is no longer active. Following your letter, we just have to deal with the exact link.

**Assita Kanko (ECR).** – Madam President, Brussels – the capital of Europe – has been without a government for over a year now. In the meantime, gunfire echoes through the streets, the drug trade is thriving openly and the debt is piling up into a financial disaster. And yet they dare to send a pitiful letter to the EU: 'give us money', they say. Isn't that embarrassing and outrageous? You don't solve problems with begging letters, but with courage and leadership.

Brussels deserves leaders with backbones, not egos; real politicians who stop pointing fingers and start taking action. It is time to set arrogance aside and take back the future of the city that hosts the European institutions. That is why we must support the idea of the Belgian federal government taking over. Because, dear colleagues, we want you to feel always welcome and safe in Brussels, because Brussels must serve the citizens and the institutions and not the other way around.

**Miriam Lexmann (PPE).** – Madam President, dear colleagues, China has recently imposed new export controls on several minerals, misusing its dominance over rare earth. It's already causing disruptions in our supply chains. This is not the first time China has closed taps on critical minerals.

In order to secure the future of our industries, we have to address these actions in the context of competitiveness and economic security. For this reason, I am suggesting to pick up this point at our next session in July – not as part of the preparation for the EU-China summit, but as a separate point.

**Željana Zovko (PPE).** – Madam President, dear colleagues, while the world's attention is turned to conflicts shaking the foundation of our global order, another atrocity has unfolded almost unnoticed before our eyes.

In the early hours of Saturday, more than 200 people were brutally massacred in Yelwata, Nigeria, sheltered in a local Catholic mission, in a region already ravaged by religious violence. This is the single worst atrocity in recent times, part of an orchestrated militant campaign to forcibly uproot Christian communities from their ancestral land. Entire families were slaughtered. Militants attacked the displaced people, who had already fled violence, attempting to burn them alive. Over 6 500 people have been forced to flee again, many now without shelter or hope.

Freedom of religion is paid with blood across the world, and in Nigeria, Christians are the most persecuted group. Since 2009, over 52 000 Christians have been killed, 18 000 churches and 2 000 Christian schools destroyed. I think it is about time we do something for Christians who are being persecuted all around the world with the same effort that we have done for other persecuted religions.

**Αφροδίτη Λατινοπούλου (PfE).** – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, αύριο συμπληρώνονται επτά χρόνια από τη ντροπιαστική και μειοδοτική Συμφωνία των Πρεσπών, που υπέγραψαν χέρι-χέρι Τσίπρας και Καμμένος. Ως περήφανη Μακεδόνισσα, δεν έχω νιώσει μεγαλύτερη ντροπή απ' ό,τι με την αναγνώριση μακεδονικής γλώσσας και εθνότητας στους Σκοπιανούς —κάτι που ούτε καν η Βουλγαρία δεν δέχτηκε ποτέ.

Εμείς, επτά χρόνια τώρα, ανεκτικά και αδιαμαρτύρητα παρακολουθούμε τις συνεχείς προκλήσεις των Σκοπίων, που παραβιάζουν τη συμφωνία σε κάθε επίπεδο —πολιτικό, αθλητικό και ιστορικό. Ο Κυριάκος Μητσοτάκης είχε δεσμευτεί δημόσια πως, αν δεν τηρούνται τα συμφωνηθέντα, θα την καταργήσει. Έξι χρόνια τώρα, ούτε μία καταγγελία, ούτε μία λέξη. Σιωπή και από τον κύριο Δένδια. Και ο Άδωνις Γεωργιάδης, που κάποτε δήλωνε ότι δεν θα την αποκαλέσει ποτέ «Βόρεια Μακεδονία», σήμερα την αποκαλεί μόνον έτσι.

Δίνω τον λόγο μου, λοιπόν, στους υπερήφανους Μακεδόνες, πως όταν μας δοθεί η δύναμη, θα κάνουμε τα πάντα για να καταργηθεί αυτή η εθνικά ταπεινωτική συμφωνία. Η Μακεδονία είναι μία και είναι ελληνική.

**Sebastian Tynkkynen (ECR).** – Madam President, referring to Rule 10(3) of the Rules of Procedure, I would like to bring to your attention to the fact that equal treatment of Members was not upheld during the last plenary session concerning the Israel-Gaza debate.

My ECR colleague Kristoffer Storm had a very small pin removed from his jacket – a pin calling for the release of hostages kidnapped by Hamas who had been tortured and raped.

Meanwhile, when MEP Lynn Boylan from The Left Group approached the podium to deliver her speech wearing a Palestine lanyard, it was not removed. And this despite the fact that I had informed the President well in advance that the MEP in question would soon be speaking and was wearing that lanyard.

She was allowed to wear that political symbol throughout her entire speech and only after she had finished did the President simply remark that political symbols are not permitted while speaking.

How can it be that some MEPs are stripped of political expressions while others are not?

The plenary is the most sacred arena of democracy in the European Parliament. That is why I urge the President to ensure that Members are treated equally in the future and that such blatant double standards become a thing of the past.

**Benedetta Scuderi (Verts/ALE).** – Madam President, I would like to react to the unproved, serious allegation regarding a youth organisation that is fighting for social rights and inclusion. I think that should not be possible in this House, especially when allegations are so serious and completely unproved. It is unacceptable that we accept the silencing of the voice of young people just because of their religion, just because they are Muslims.

The harassment and discrimination that far-right groups carried out during the European Youth Event should be investigated by the Parliament and the Commission, as it made the event unsafe for a lot of young people. We ask for sanctions against Marion Maréchal Le Pen and her racist actions against the people, and for undermining the reputation of this Parliament.

**President.** – Thank you, Ms Scuderi. And as I told your colleague, Mr Bardella, this will be discussed in the Bureau tonight.

## 17. Order of business

**President.** – With the agreement of the political groups, I wish to put to the House the following proposal for a change to the final draft agenda.

On Tuesday, the Council and Commission statements on 'The assassination attempt on Senator Miguel Uribe and the threat to the democratic process and peace in Colombia' will be changed to a statement by the Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.

If there are no objections, the change is approved.

We now move to changes requested by the political groups.

For Tuesday, the EPP, S&D and Renew groups have requested that a joint debate on 'The situation in the Middle East', including a statement by the Vice-President / High Representative on 'Risk of further instability in the Middle East following the Israel-Iran military escalation' and a statement by the Vice-President / High Representative on 'Review of the EU-Israel Association Agreement and the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Gaza', be added as the ninth point in the afternoon, after the debate on air passenger rights.

I give the floor first to Mr Gahler to move the joint request.

**Michael Gahler (PPE).** – Madam President, as you rightly pointed out, there is a common proposal of the EPP and S&D, supported by Renew, and as the VP/HR can be present only in Parliament tomorrow from 18:30 onwards, we propose to reschedule this joint debate on the situation in the Middle East to after the debate on passenger rights.

I am aware that not everybody will feel comfortable with the joint debate; however, with our proposal, we aim at broadest possible support and show of unity for dealing with these sensitive topics at this important point in time.

You already read out the proposed title, so I do not need to repeat that.

I ask for your support.

**President.** – I have received an alternative proposal from the ECR Group that we would have Council and Commission statements on 'The future of Iran'.

I also received an alternative proposal from The Left Group that we would have Council and Commission statements on 'Israel's illegal and unprovoked aggression against Iran and the risk of further escalation in the region'. This would be added as the third point, after 'Review of the EU-Israel Association Agreement', and then the debate would be wound up with a resolution.

I don't see that there is any request to take the floor on this, so we will move immediately to a vote by roll call. Yes, Mr Botenga?

**Marc Botenga (The Left).** – Madam President, now we insist on having a vote on a resolution as well on this because Israel illegally and criminally attacked Iran this weekend.

Illegally because you cannot just attack another country. I know Israel is in the habit of doing it, but it's still illegal. Criminally because a lot of civilians, including children, were killed and nuclear power plants were deliberately targeted, creating in this way the risk of a nuclear catastrophe with mass civilian victims.

Now, this is terrible and so I was saying, like we did when Russia attacked Ukraine: the European Union will condemn this. But what do I see? No, Ursula von der Leyen even insists on the right of Israel to defend itself. To defend itself – what? They're the ones attacking. They're the ones having the news. They're the ones threatening to transform Tehran into Gaza.

So we need a vote on this. We cannot just not condemn this and keep on supporting criminal actions that are against international law and against human rights.

**President.** – Thank you Mr Botenga.

So does The Left Group ask that in any case the debate be wound up with a resolution? I see.

So first we will vote by roll call on the joint proposal by the EPP, S&D and Renew groups to add a joint debate on 'Situation in the Middle East' as a ninth point in the afternoon.

*(Parliament approved the request)*

Now we vote on the request by The Left Group to have a resolution.

*(Parliament rejected the request)*

Therefore, the agenda is adopted and the order of business is thus established. Thank you very much.

## 18. Resumption of the sitting

*(The sitting resumed at 17:28)*

## 19. Statement by the President - 40th anniversary of the Schengen area agreement

**President.** – The next item is a statement and a group of speakers on the 40th anniversary of the Schengen Agreement.

This past Saturday, 14 June 2025, marked 40 years since the signing of the agreement that established the Schengen area – a defining achievement of European unity, of cooperation and freedom. What began in 1985 with just five countries has grown into the largest free travel area in the world, making life easier for over 400 million people across the European Union, as well as in Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland.

This year, we warmly welcomed Bulgaria and Romania into our Schengen family, which is now made up of 29 countries. It was a long-awaited step towards a more united, prosperous and secure Union. And work continues to extend those same benefits to all Member States.

Today, the Schengen area allows 3.5 million people each day to cross internal borders freely – to live, love, work and explore Europe without barriers. It boosts our economy by making trade between countries easier, cutting red tape for businesses and helping our single market work better.

Schengen, as I'm sure we'll hear throughout this debate, also makes us safer. It helps to keep us safe through closer cooperation between police, customs and border authorities to protect our borders and fight crime.

Around the world, the Schengen area is looked at with admiration, and it's really a clear and tangible example of what European cooperation can achieve.

But we should never take it for granted, because the preservation and the strengthening of Schengen takes constant commitment and effort from all of us. So this Parliament will keep working with Member States and the other EU institutions to modernise and to reinforce the Schengen area so that it stays fit for the future and true to its promise: that we always achieve more together than alone.

**Tomas Tobé,** *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, colleagues, the Schengen Area is one of the EU's greatest achievements. For 40 years, it has meant freedom, prosperity and opportunity to millions of people in Europe. Schengen drives our economy and competitiveness and unites us as Europeans. Without it, we would be weaker and poorer. But let's be clear: the freedom of Schengen can only survive if we protect it, and the growing threats to our internal security needs a strong European answer.

The EPP Group calls for a pact for security. We see three major security challenges. Firstly, migration and border security: we need to regain control over our external border. This means fully implementing the migration pact and ensuring effective returns of those who do not have the right to stay in Europe. Secondly, the rise of cross-border organised crime: Schengen is for citizens, not for criminals. We cannot allow the freedom of Schengen to be exploited. Europol must be transformed into a truly operational police agency, with more tools and resources. Thirdly, we need to be ready to counter hybrid attacks from hostile actors.

We have seen how migration is being used as a weapon to undermine our borders and to destabilise our union, and here we need to face those threats and we need to do it together. Security must be a top priority – because a safe Europe is also a free Europe, with a strong Schengen.

**Birgit Sippel,** *im Namen der S&D-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin! 40 Jahre Schengen-Abkommen – wie kam es dazu, und warum ist das heute noch wichtig? Nach Jahrhunderten voller Kriege hat sich nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg endlich eine andere Idee in Europa durchgesetzt: miteinander reden und ja, auch miteinander streiten, um gemeinsame Interessen und Lösungen zu finden; das ist gerade angesichts der aktuellen Krisen und Kriege von unschätzbarem Wert. Zugleich war diese Zusammenarbeit dann die Grundlage für die größte Errungenschaft unserer Union: die Vereinbarung von Schengen, die Abschaffung von Schlagbäumen und Kontrollen an unseren Binnengrenzen. Das hat nicht nur den schnellen Austausch von Waren und Dienstleistungen befeuert und Vorteile gebracht. Es vereinfacht grenzüberschreitende Begegnungen von Menschen für Arbeit, Austauschprogramme, Freizeit, lässt gemeinsame Interessen konkret erkennen. Das wollen wir auch für die Mitgliedstaaten erreichen, die daran arbeiten, dem Schengen-Raum beizutreten, denn diese Begegnungen und ihre Folgen sind eine wichtige Voraussetzung für ein starkes Europa, das sich und seine Werte global selbstbewusst vertritt.

Aber die zunehmenden Grenzkontrollen in Mitgliedstaaten legen die Axt an bisherige Erfolge. Sie bauen neue Barrieren auf und können letztlich unser gemeinsames Europa zerstören. Dabei werden durch diese Kontrollen keine Probleme gelöst, im Gegenteil: Sie sind Vortäuschung einer Lösung auf der Basis von Hass, Ausgrenzung, Abschottung, sie sind das Ende der guten Nachbarschaft in Europa und kosten uns viel Vertrauen.

Deshalb ist es angesichts dieses 40. Jahrestages ganz klar: Wir müssen die echten Herausforderungen angehen, die Gründungsidee Europa neu stärken, uns Hass und Ausgrenzung entgegenstellen und Grenzkontrollen endlich beenden. Das wäre der beste Beitrag zur Feier von 40 Jahren Schengen.

**Fabrice Leggeri,** *au nom du groupe PfE*. – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, l'Union européenne célèbre en ce moment les 40 ans de l'accord de Schengen, mais que fête-t-on exactement? L'échec programmé d'un système incapable de protéger les peuples. Ce système, à l'origine fondé sur une coopération internationale, reposait pourtant sur une idée simple: la libre circulation ne pouvait exister qu'à condition de protéger strictement les frontières extérieures. Cette promesse n'a jamais été tenue.

La Commission s'est arrogé les pouvoirs au détriment des États et n'a jamais assuré sa mission. Depuis 2022, plus d'un million de franchissements illégaux des frontières extérieures ont été détectés, sans compter les vagues précédentes. Pendant ce temps, le nombre de retours de migrants illégaux dans leur pays d'origine est ridicule. Aujourd'hui, seuls les passeurs et les ONG complices ont de quoi se réjouir. En face, et face à cette submersion migratoire nourrie par l'idéologie pro-migrants de M^me^ von der Leyen, les États n'ont d'autre choix que de rétablir leurs frontières nationales. La Commission ose écrire – je cite – que «Schengen est devenu un système résilient […], fondé sur une gestion efficace des frontières extérieures».

Bruxelles vit hors sol. Mon groupe, les Patriotes pour l'Europe, exige le retour au réel. Nous voulons que les frontières extérieures de l'Union européenne soient enfin protégées strictement pour que la libre circulation soit véritablement possible, que les demandeurs d'asile soient renvoyés dans des centres situés à l'extérieur du continent, que les migrants illégaux soient renvoyés dans leur pays d'origine, que les ONG complices des passeurs soient sanctionnées, que la coopération policière à travers l'agence Europol soit renforcée et, enfin, que le pacte asile et migration soit abandonné. Si Bruxelles refuse de faire le travail, les électeurs peuvent compter sur mon groupe pour le faire.

**Nicola Procaccini,** *a nome del gruppo ECR*. – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, oggi celebriamo i quarant'anni di una grande vittoria europea. Schengen è la storia di un'Europa che ha rimosso le barriere interne per garantire a quasi mezzo miliardo di persone la libertà di viaggiare, vivere, lavorare e crescere oltre i propri confini nazionali. Ricordiamo le vicende, i volti dei primi pendolari transfrontalieri, delle famiglie non più divise da un passaporto, delle piccole imprese che hanno potuto allargare il loro mercato senza ostacoli.

Ma questa libertà non è un fatto acquisito: è il risultato di un patto fra popoli europei che va rispettato giorno dopo giorno. Questo patto, purtroppo, è stato già violato diverse volte. Per rispondere alle giuste proteste popolari di fronte alla pressione migratoria, alcuni governi hanno deciso di reintrodurre le dogane e i controlli alla frontiera. Paradossalmente, a farlo per primi sono stati quei governi che per anni hanno sostenuto politicamente ed economicamente le ONG immigrazioniste e l'ideologia *no borders*.

Si è voluto imporre agli Stati europei posti sul confine a sud e ad est del continente l'accoglienza indiscriminata dei migranti e contemporaneamente sono state chiuse le frontiere interne per impedire i movimenti secondari fra uno Stato europeo e l'altro. Una decisione ipocrita che ha scaricato tutto il peso dell'immigrazione sulle nazioni di primo ingresso, provocando poi una serie di analoghe decisioni da parte di mezza Europa.

Ora, io vi domando: si è mai vista nella storia un'entità politica aperta all'esterno e chiusa al suo interno? Questo approccio è stato un tradimento clamoroso non solo del trattato di Schengen, ma dell'idea stessa di Europa in senso politico e culturale. Io mi auguro che questa lezione sia stata appresa: senza il contrasto dell'immigrazione illegale, senza confini esterni solidi, la nostra libertà vacilla e con essa le ragioni del nostro stare insieme.

**Malik Azmani,** *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Madam President, colleagues, today in this House, we celebrate a milestone that defines the very essence of our European Union: the 40th anniversary of the Schengen Agreement.

40 years ago, the Schengen area was born out of a shared vision. A vision where borders would no longer divide us, where freedom of movement would be a fundamental right for every European citizen. This was not just a policy. It was a promise of unity, opportunity and peace.

And as a Member of Renew Europe, I stand before you proud of our commitment to this vision. We have championed the principles of openness, cooperation and mutual respect. However, we must also acknowledge the challenges that have tested this vision: security issues, migration pressure and the rise of nationalism.

Let us be clear, the answer is not to retreat behind walls. The answer is to strengthen our external border management, to enhance the cooperation among Member States and with third countries, and to modernise our systems to ensure that Schengen remains a beacon of what Europe can achieve when we stand together.

Let this anniversary remind us of our shared responsibility to protect and uphold the freedoms that Schengen has granted us. Let it inspire us to work towards a Europe that is not just united in policy, but also united in purpose.

**Terry Reintke,** *im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Schengen ist ein Versprechen – ein Europa ohne Mauern, weder auf der Straße noch in den Köpfen. Vor 40 Jahren haben wir gemeinsam beschlossen: Alle Europäerinnen und Europäer sollen sich frei bewegen können. Meine Generation und die Menschen, die noch jünger sind, können sich, ehrlich gesagt, gar nicht an eine andere Zeit erinnern. Es gab immer ein Europa ohne Grenzen, ein Europa der Freiheit, und Schengen war für uns ein Versprechen, auf das wir uns verlassen konnten.

Ich möchte das in der Vergangenheit sagen, denn gerade heute gibt es die eine oder andere Regierung – und ich möchte da insbesondere die deutsche Bundesregierung unter Kanzler Merz erwähnen –, die daran erinnert werden muss: Wer Grenzkontrollen wieder einführt, wer Notlagen erfindet und Gerichtsurteile ignoriert, der beschädigt Schengen und der beschädigt damit die europäische Einigung, der schikaniert Menschen auf dem Weg zur Arbeit, erschwert den Handel und belastet mutwillig die Beziehungen zu unseren Nachbarstaaten, und der bricht am Ende dieses europäische Versprechen.

Als jemand, der ohne Grenzen in Europa aufgewachsen ist, sage ich: Schluss damit! Wir wollen nicht zurück, nicht in die Kleinstaaterei der Schranken und nicht in die Vergangenheit des Stacheldrahts. Wenn wir heute 40 Jahre Schengen feiern, sollten wir das ernst meinen – und nicht nur dadurch, dass wir große Reden schwingen, während direkt nebenan hier an der Grenze zu Kehl Grenzstaus ganze Regionen lahmlegen.

Das Schengener Abkommen ist unsere Realität und unsere Zukunft. Lassen Sie uns feiern, dass wir vor 40 Jahren zusammengewachsen sind, und heute versprechen, dass dieses Europa ein Europa der Freiheit bleibt!

**Pernando Barrena Arza,** *en nombre del Grupo The Left.* – Señora presidenta, señorías, hace cuarenta años el Acuerdo de Schengen se presentó como el gran avance que iba a dar forma práctica al Derecho europeo de libre circulación de personas y mercancías y, de hecho, hoy en día los ciudadanos todavía consideran que la libre circulación de personas es uno de los logros más tangibles de la Unión Europea.

La realidad es que, cuarenta años más tarde, algunos Estados miembros —como Alemania, Francia, Austria, Dinamarca, Suecia, Eslovenia e Italia— establecen controles temporales fronterizos de carretera y dificultan el libre tránsito de personas. Son especialmente llamativos los casos de Alemania, que tiene en vigor controles fronterizos terrestres en nueve puntos hasta el 15 de septiembre, y Francia, que lleva comunicando de manera concatenada avisos de excepcionalidad en sus fronteras desde antes de la pandemia de COVID-19 y, la última vez, hasta octubre de este año.

Constatamos, por lo tanto, que hay Estados miembros que vienen abusando del Reglamento relativo a Schengen, que trasladan una situación de excepcionalidad permanente para controlar fronteras, lo que causa un grave perjuicio a las comunidades transfronterizas, que sufren retrasos innecesarios e incomodidades en su día a día, además de crear condiciones de inseguridad para los migrantes que desean acceder a la Unión Europea.

Es un abuso que, además de molestias, crea peligro y está costando vidas, como en la frontera del Bidasoa, donde han muerto ya diez personas migrantes.

**René Aust,** *im Namen der ESN-Fraktion.* – Frau Präsidentin! 40 Jahre Schengen-Abkommen bedeutet Rückkehr zur Normalität. Stefan Zweig sagte einmal: „Die Welt und Europa vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg gehörte jedem." Jeder sei gegangen, wohin er wollte, und blieb, solange er wollte. Tatsächlich, Grenzschutz und Passkontrollen im heutigen Verständnis gab es nur ausnahmsweise, nicht systematisch. Und wenn, dann gab es Warenkontrollen, nicht Personenkontrollen, mit dem Ziel, Zölle zu erheben. Aber diese Freiheit in Europa nach innen hatte zwei Bedingungen, die die Europäische Union heutzutage systematisch verletzt.

Erstens: Statt an der Staatsgrenze zu kontrollieren, galt früher die Kontrolle im Landesinneren. Städte und Gemeinden übten Niederlassungsrecht aus. Wer erwerbslos war, erhielt keine Sozialhilfe, sondern musste die Gemeinde verlassen. Im Kontrast dazu heute: Heute gilt aufgrund der naiven und viel zu weit ausgelegten Sozialrechtsprechung auf der europäischen Ebene und daraus abgeleiteten nationalen Rechtsprechung de facto ein Einwanderungsrecht in das deutsche Sozialsystem – das lehnen wir ab. Freizügigkeit für Erwerbstätige und Unternehmer – ja, innereuropäische Sozialmigration – nein.

Zweitens: Gegen äußere, historische Gefahren stand Europa immer zusammen. Ob es die Athener und Spartaner gegen die Perser waren oder die Franken gegen die Mauren bei Poitiers, und vor Wien verteidigten österreichische Milizen, deutsche Landsknechte und kroatische Adelsheere gemeinsam mit dem polnisch-litauischen König Sobieski Europa.

Die Freizügigkeit nach innen bedeutet, dass wir die Festung Europa nach außen brauchen. Wer Schengen erhalten möchte, der muss den Missbrauch nach innen vermeiden, und er muss Europa nach außen verteidigen.

**PRÉSIDENCE: YOUNOUS OMARJEE**

*Vice-Président*

## 20. State of play and follow-up two years after the PEGA recommendations and the illegal use of spyware (debate)

**Le Président.** – Mes chers collègues, l'ordre du jour appelle à présent le débat sur les déclarations du Conseil et de la Commission sur l'état des lieux et les actions de suivi deux ans après les recommandations de la commission d'enquête PEGA et l'utilisation illégale de logiciels espions [2025/2741(RSP)].

Je souhaite la bienvenue, au nom du Parlement, à Monsieur le ministre des affaires européennes, au nom du Conseil, Adam Szłapka, à qui je donne la parole immédiatement.

**Adam Szłapka,** *President of the European Council.* – Mr President, Madam Commissioner, honourable Members, let me start by thanking the Parliament for this debate.

The EU institutions and Member States have a joint responsibility to uphold the fundamental values on which the Union is based. It is clear that unjustified and disproportionate interference with individuals' fundamental rights are not acceptable. We need to ensure that any limitations of fundamental rights are applied under very strict conditions. Furthermore, democracy is based on the exercise of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, and the freedom of information. We must create an environment that protects journalists and media professionals in delivering on these rights.

The EU Media Freedom Act contributes to such an environment. The illegal use of spyware also highlights the importance of developing measures to protect our cybersecurity. The Cyber Resilience Act is an important step in this regard, but we also need preventive measures to ensure individual protection by raising awareness among individuals on the existing risks.

Enhancing democratic resilience has been one of the Polish presidency's priorities. The Council remains committed to tackling the current threats to our democratic institutions, as well as to strengthening the role of civil society in this process. This is an issue at the core of the recent presidential conclusions on strengthening EU democratic resilience. I am looking forward to the European Democracy Shield proposals to be put forward by the Commission later this year.

In conclusion, let me refer back to the joint responsibility which the EU institutions and Member States have on these issues. On the one hand, it is the responsibility of the Commission to oversee and assess the implementation of acceptable EU law. On the other, each Member State must also carry out investigations regarding possible illegal surveillance in accordance with Union and national law.

**Henna Virkkunen,** *Executive Vice-President of the Commission.* – Mr President, honourable Members, thank you for putting this very crucial issue on the plenary agenda.

The Commission strongly condemns any illegal access to interpersonal communications and other data stored on user devices. Any illegal access to the data of our citizens, including journalists and political opponents, is unacceptable. It undermines our core European values, such as the fundamental rights to privacy and data protection.

The Commission has been looking at the illegal use of spyware from various angles of the EU law. It is important to address spyware in a holistic way because it poses challenges in many ways. First, in terms of rule of law and fundamental rights, but also data protection, media freedom, trade, cybersecurity, foreign interference and manipulation of information.

Some of these issues have already been addressed through legislation adopted by the Parliament and the Council. Others are addressed through non-legislative tools. So what other existing measures do we have?

First, our data protection rules. They are very clear. They ensure that personal data is processed lawfully, fairly and in a transparent manner. They also limit personal data collection for specified, explicit and legitimate purposes.

Second, the European Media Freedom Act is another important part of our legal framework. It includes safeguards to protect journalists' sources and conventional communications against the illegal use of spyware. These rules on media freedom will enter into application this August.

They also include a general prohibition for intrusive surveillance software in devices used by media service providers, including journalists and related persons. We are currently working with Member States to ensure proper implementation of this and other provisions.

And third, in addition, we continue to report – when appropriate – on the issue of spyware, also in the annual Rule of Law report from the perspective of checks and balances and the protection of journalists.

In addition, the ePrivacy Directive prohibits the interception of communications as well as the access to and storage of information on user devices without their consent. Moreover, there is the Cyber Resilience Act, which sets cybersecurity requirements for hardware and software placed on the EU market. It introduces obligations for manufacturers, which will help to reduce system vulnerabilities often exploited by spyware.

It's also important to note that the investigations into the earliest misuse of spyware are a matter for national authorities, not for the Commission. And we expect, of course, national authorities to examine to the core any spyware allegations.

We have also been following with the European External Action Service the Pall Mall Process. This is an international initiative addressing various aspects related to the use of commercial cyber intrusion capabilities. We see this as a very important initiative, the first of its kind at international level and with a very broad scope. Many Member States have already committed to the Pall Mall Process. We are now carefully also exploring options for any further action to decide on the most appropriate way forward.

It's important to underline that we must, however, clearly separate the illegal use of spyware from the lawful access to data for law enforcement authorities. When law enforcement authorities use spyware for their purposes, the Law Enforcement Directive applies.

We must also acknowledge matters of national security, which are the responsibility of the Member States. However, in line with the case law of the Court of Justice, it is not possible for Member States to invoke national security in a general way. Member States must be able to demonstrate that national security would be compromised in the specific circumstances.

Furthermore, the legal use of spyware is only acceptable if it is non-discriminatory, justified by an overriding reason of public interest, proportionate and also in compliance with legal certainty and also our Charter of Fundamental Rights. And we expect, of course, national authorities to examine any allegations of illegal use of spyware as this is their responsibility.

So, honourable Members, the Commission and the co-legislators have in recent years addressed the multiple issues of spyware. This Parliament has played a key role in this process. The issue remains complex and further work is needed here, also in view of the changing security landscape and also the emergence of new technologies. The recommendations of the European Parliament's PEGA Committee have been very helpful to guide this work. I can assure you that the Commission is determined to protect the fundamental rights of our citizens to privacy, data protection and security.

**Jeroen Lenaers,** *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Mr President, Madam Executive Vice-President, imagine for a moment that someone is reading every message you've ever sent. Somebody is watching every video you've ever watched, listening into your private conversations with your children, your doctor, your partner. And this isn't fiction. It's happening also today. Also in Europe.

Spyware like Pegasus doesn't just intercept data, it invades our dignity. And yes, there can be, of course, exceptional circumstances where it can be used by authorities to fight terrorism, to fight serious organised crime. But what we've learned in this Parliament after speaking to over 200 people, numerous fact finding missions and several elaborate studies is that, also in the EU, it is abused by certain Member States to spy on opposition colleagues, to spy on journalists, and to spy on activists.

And it requires a strong response because this is not only about national security, it is also about protecting the rule of law and the EU and the European Commission. It has a role. It has competences when it comes to protecting the rule of law. Even better, we have a responsibility to do so.

And we also know what to do because our recommendations were very clear. Set up effective a democratic and judicial oversight mechanism, as well as provide citizens with access to legal remedies, regulate the trade in and the use of spyware based on the conditions that we have formulated together here, make sure that the invocation of national security is indeed always subject to independent review and oversight, and several more recommendations. They're all there.

What we need is action. And this is where I am a little bit disappointed in the European Commission. Two years ago, the Commission, in its response to our investigation, said that they were exploring the possibility of a non-legislative initiative. Now, this doesn't sound very ambitious in itself, but still you managed to overpromise and under deliver.

Sadly, I have to conclude that the previous Commission did not do its job in this regard. So I'm really counting on you also, Executive Vice-President Virkkunen, to make a difference here. I welcome your clear condemnation today, and I agree with you that further work is needed. So let's get to action. Let's do this further work and let's protect all of our citizens from abuse.

**Hannes Heide,** *im Namen der S&D-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, sehr geehrte Frau Kommissionsvizepräsidentin, Herr Minister! Schon wieder erschüttert Missbrauch von Spionage- und Überwachungssoftware unsere Demokratie in ihren Grundfesten. Und wieder zeigt sich – dieses Mal mit dem Paragon-Fall in Italien: Es handelt sich schon längst nicht mehr um Einzelfälle, vielmehr hat die Europäische Union ein Strukturproblem.

Nach wie vor ist die Europäische Kommission leider säumig. Wiederholt haben wir die Kommission aufgefordert, den Empfehlungen des PEGA-Untersuchungsausschusses nachzukommen und einen Rechtsakt mit klaren Regelungen vorzulegen. Was muss passieren, dass die Kommission entsprechend handelt?

Nationale Sicherheit kann und darf nicht als Begründung für die Aushebelung rechtsstaatlicher Prinzipien dienen. Rechtswidrige Überwachung von Journalistinnen und Journalisten, von Oppositionellen oder Juristinnen und Juristen höhlt unsere Demokratie aus.

Es braucht gemeinsame Mindeststandards für den Einsatz von Spyware, und was wir nicht brauchen, ist weiteres Zögern auch der neuen Kommission. Gerade jetzt ist ein Vorschlag überfällig, um unsere Bürgerinnen und Bürger wirksam zu schützen und damit das Vertrauen in unsere demokratischen Institutionen zu stärken.

**Maciej Wąsik,** *w imieniu grupy ECR*. – Panie Przewodniczący! Szanowni Państwo! Policja i służby muszą dysponować nowoczesną technologią, bo inaczej będą ślepe i głuche wobec handlarzy narkotyków, przemytników ludzi czy skorumpowanych polityków. Ale oczywiście muszą być zachowane stosowne procedury.

W Polsce pierwszy taki system typu Pegasus pojawił się w latach 2012–2015, kiedy premierem był Donald Tusk. Pomimo szaleństwa medialnego w moim kraju – w Polsce – nie stwierdzono ani jednego przypadku, żeby służby stosowały takie narzędzia z pominięciem niezbędnych zgód sądowych. Powołana w Polsce do badania nieprawidłowości przy stosowaniu Pegasusa komisja sejmowa od 1,5 roku nie potrafi wykazać żadnych nieprawidłowości. Mało tego – okazuje się, że sama komisja działa nielegalnie, co stwierdził polski Trybunał Konstytucyjny.

Pegasusa najzacieklej atakują osoby, które mają najwięcej do ukrycia. Atakował go rosyjski szpieg uchodzący za dziennikarza, atakował go komisarz, wobec którego belgijska policja prowadzi postepowanie w sprawie brudnych pieniędzy, atakowała go była wiceprzewodnicząca Parlamentu Europejskiego oskarżona o korupcję.

W Polsce atakowany jest przez osoby, którym prokuratura zarzucała pranie brudnych pieniędzy albo które organizowały za publiczne pieniądze hejterskie farmy trolli. Będą mówiły, że są ofiarami. Nie dajcie się nabrać!

Służby nie mogą być ślepe i głuche. To kwestia bezpieczeństwa nas wszystkich.

**Moritz Körner,** *im Namen der Renew-Fraktion.* – Herr Präsident, Frau Exekutiv-Vizepräsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Stellen Sie sich für einen Moment mal vor, Pegasus, diese Überwachungssoftware, ist auf Ihrem Handy drauf. Was kann da alles passieren? Man kann Kamera und Mikrofon heimlich einschalten, Livemitschnitte von Gesprächen machen; man kann die Standortdaten des Handys abrufen, also wissen, wo Sie überall sind; alle Nachrichten lesen; Kalender, Fotos, Passwörter, App-Daten – auf all das zugreifen. Ziemlich krass, oder? Und genau das wurde in 14 - Mitgliedstaaten der Europäischen Union eingesetzt, oft auch illegal, um Journalisten, Oppositionelle und deren Familien auszuspähen.

Jetzt haben wir gerade von den Rechten hier gehört, dass das alles völlig in Ordnung ist, aber ich finde, das ist nicht in Ordnung, denn meistens ist es unter dem Deckmantel der nationalen Sicherheit passiert. Aber es ist eben ein krasses Eindringen in die Privatsphäre, es ist ein Ausspähen unserer Demokratie.

Dann fragt man sich, nachdem wir das alles ermittelt haben, in langer Arbeit im Untersuchungsausschuss, und zwei Jahre später: Was ist eigentlich passiert? Was tut Europa? Es schaut zu. Was tut die Kommission? Sie schaut zu. Sie kündigt an, sie ist besorgt, aber es gibt immer noch keinen Rechtsrahmen, keinen Schutz für die Opfer und vor allem keinen Schutz für unsere Demokratie. Die Kommission muss sich jetzt endlich durchsetzen, auch mal gegen die Mitgliedstaaten. Sie wollen das nicht, ja, das wissen wir. Aber wir brauchen hier Schutz, denn wer in Europa Demokratie ausspäht, der wird zur Rechenschaft gezogen – das muss in dieser Europäischen Union wieder gelten.

**Saskia Bricmont,** *au nom du groupe Verts/ALE.* – Monsieur le Président, je voudrais d'abord exprimer tout mon soutien aux citoyens, journalistes, activistes et élus victimes d'espionnage illégal en Italie, en Grèce, en Hongrie, en Pologne, en Espagne et ailleurs, et qui restent toujours sans réponse.

Se faire espionner via cette petite chose *(l'oratrice montre un téléphone portable)* laisse une empreinte indélébile sur la vie personnelle, professionnelle, l'entourage. C'est un viol des droits fondamentaux, du droit à la vie privée, de se rassembler et de la liberté de la presse. C'est la démocratie, l'état de droit, la sécurité des citoyens et de l'Union européenne qui sont attaqués.

Quatre ans se sont écoulés depuis que Forbidden Stories, Amnesty et Citizen Lab ont révélé les scandales d'espionnage illégal et une industrie cannibale de surveillance basée en Israël, avec l'aval du gouvernement Netanyahou, qui l'utilise pour menacer les gouvernements qui dénoncent son génocide à Gaza. Cela fait deux ans que ce Parlement a adopté les recommandations de la commission d'enquête pour légiférer et pour mettre fin aux abus, qui ont continué depuis à cause de l'inaction du Conseil et de la Commission européenne, qui vient une fois de plus les mains vides.

Où en est la communication promise il y a plus d'un an? Vous n'en parlez même plus. Qu'attendez-vous donc pour: 1) réguler l'achat, la vente, l'utilisation de ces technologies, 2) créer un laboratoire technologique européen pour soutenir les victimes et la société civile, 3) ouvrir des enquêtes dans les États membres qui, au nom de la sécurité nationale, mettent la sécurité des citoyens et de l'Union européenne en danger et ne répondent à aucune des conditions que vous avez énumérées? Des actes, s'il vous plaît, Madame la Commissaire!

**Γιώργος Γεωργίου,** *εξ ονόματος της ομάδας The Left.* – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κύριε Lenaers, χαίρομαι πραγματικά που, εκ μέρους του Ευρωπαϊκού Λαϊκού Κόμματος, κάνετε και εσείς την παραδοχή ότι, παρόλο που εργαστήκαμε πάρα πολύ σκληρά ως Επιτροπή PEGA και τους δώσαμε τα πάντα —γεγονότα, αμαρτωλές εταιρείες, ονόματα και διευθύνσεις— και τους κάναμε και συστάσεις, τα ένοχα κράτη δεν έκαναν τίποτα. Ή μάλλον, έκαναν: επέτρεψαν τη χρήση κατασκοπευτικού λογισμικού εναντίον των δημοσιογράφων. Αυτή είναι η αλήθεια, κυρία Επίτροπε και κύριε Υπουργέ.

Τα λόγια και οι ανέξοδες ρητορείες δεν αρκούν πλέον. Η κατάσταση τώρα είναι χειρότερη από την προηγούμενη. Το λογισμικό Predator εξακολουθεί να χρησιμοποιείται ενεργά. Μάθαμε και για το Graphite, το οποίο αποτελεί εξέλιξη του Pegasus που αναπτύχθηκε από την ισραηλινή NSO. Εδώ, ο ίδιος ο Ισραηλινός πρέσβης στην Ισπανία προειδοποίησε με περισσό θράσος τη χώρα με αποκαλύψεις από παρακολουθήσεις, επειδή η Ισπανία αναγνώρισε την Παλαιστίνη. Πείτε μας, τι δεν καταλαβαίνετε; Δείξτε επιτέλους θάρρος· απαγορεύστε τα. Διαφορετικά, είστε συνένοχοι —όπως βέβαια και σε τόσα άλλα.

**Christine Anderson,** *im Namen der ESN-Fraktion.* – Herr Präsident! Pegasus war doch nur die Spitze des Eisberges. Sie schrecken doch schon lange nicht mehr davor zurück, Kritiker, Journalisten und Oppositionelle auszuspionieren – mit Militärsoftware, ganz so wie in autoritären Staaten. Als Freiheitsrechte während Corona durch Lockdowns, QR-Codes und Denkverbote in Serie fielen, da waren Sie doch alle ganz vorne mit dabei und haben das totalitäre Gebaren des Staates gefeiert. Pegasus verdammen Sie, die COVID-Überwachungsapps, die haben Sie aber gefeiert.

Die systematische Verfolgung der Opposition ist doch schon lange keine Randerscheinung mehr, sie ist doch längst politischer Alltag geworden. Während der Corona-Jahre wurde die Opposition pauschal diffamiert, ausgegrenzt und medial vernichtet. Wer Fragen hatte, galt als Gefährder, wer widersprach, als Demokratiefeind. Das erleben wir auch heute – bei Marine Le Pen, in Rumänien und in Deutschland, wo offen über ein Verbot der größten Oppositionspartei, der AfD, gesprochen wird.

Schreiben Sie sich eines hinter die Ohren: Die Demokratie wird nicht von der Opposition bedroht, sondern von denen, die die Opposition bekämpfen. Ich sage es auch noch einmal: Sie haben nicht Angst um die Demokratie, Sie haben Angst vor der Demokratie, und dafür sollten Sie sich was schämen.

**Gabriella Gerzsenyi (PPE).** – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! 2 év telt el a PEGA-jelentés óta, és mi, magyarok sajnos pontosan tudjuk, miért volt szükség erre a vizsgálatra.

A jelenlegi kormánypárt, a Fidesz visszaélt a Pegazus szoftverrel. Újságírókat és ellenzéki politikusokat figyeltek meg nemzetbiztonságra hivatkozva. Valójában a hatalmukat védték, nem az államot és nem a magyarokat.

Most ugyanez a rendszer új szintre lépett. Az elmúlt napokban kiszivárgott adatbázisok és hackertámadások, amikről maga a jelenlegi miniszterelnök számolt be, világossá tették: a Tisza közösségét célzott támadás éri digitális eszközökkel, megfélemlítési céllal.

Ez az orosz módszerek bevezetése Magyarországon. A Fidesz által épített Harcosok Klubja koncepciója és az önkénteseket célzó adatgyűjtések az orosz titkosszolgálati pszichológiai műveletek logikáját követik. Már nem csak politikusokat és újságírókat figyelhetnek meg, hanem aktivistákat és civileket is.

A Tisza semmilyen szenzitív adatot nem ad ki harmadik félnek, minden törvényt betartva a legbiztonságosabb módszerrel dolgozik. De világos, Orbán Viktor pánikban van, és bármilyen fegyvert bevetne, hogy a hatalmát megtartsa. Ezért támogatjuk a PEGA bizottság ajánlásait.

Erős szabályokra van szükség, mert az állambiztonság nem lehet ürügy a demokrácia leépítésére. A hatalom nem játszhat a félelem eszközeivel. A Tisza egy új, jogállami Magyarországért dolgozik.

**Evin Incir (S&D).** – Mr President, sometimes I wonder if the Commission thinks we are a Mickey Mouse Parliament. Two years have passed since the Parliament's PEGA Committee issued a forceful recommendation to combat the illegal use of spyware within the EU. Yet two years on, the Commission has utterly failed to take decisive actions. It seems like we have a Mickey Mouse Commission – because it is either that or that the Commission refused to defend the people of Europe and uphold democracy, rule of law and human rights. In fact, some Member States, such as Italy and Hungary, are now in an even worse state than before: Hungary has been caught spying on EU officials and Italy on activists – clear violations of fundamental rights that remain unpunished.

The European Media Freedom Act was passed, but it protects only journalists and only narrowly. What about political opponents? What about activists, lawyers, ordinary citizens? It is high time for bold, unwavering actions from the Commission. Accountability must be enforced and Member States must be held to strict standards. It is time to end the Big Brother society some of our Member States have turned into.

**Stefano Cavedagna (ECR).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, approfitto di questo dibattito di quest'oggi per denunciare un fatto grave, che mette in luce tutta l'incoerenza della sinistra italiana ed europea. Mi riferisco, in particolare, all'Italia, al caso Paragon, una tempesta mediatica scatenata ad hoc contro il governo italiano a seguito della scoperta dell'utilizzo dello *spyware Graphite* eventualmente su giornalisti e attivisti.

Per settimane, il governo Meloni è stato attaccato e accusato di violare i diritti fondamentali. Quello che noi abbiamo sempre detto è di aspettare che dichiari il Copasir, il Comitato per la sicurezza parlamentare della Repubblica, che, alla fine dei conti, che cosa ha detto? Non solo che non c'è stato alcun tipo di iniziative da parte del governo Meloni, ma ancor di più, che se sono state fatte delle iniziative contro alcuni giornalisti, queste sono state tenute durante il governo precedente di Giuseppe Conte, gestito dai Cinque Stelle e dal Partito Democratico.

Addirittura, alcuni colleghi hanno presentato un'interrogazione chiedendo se davvero il governo italiano stava minando la sicurezza della nostra democrazia. Chiediamo che vengano in Aula e in commissione a chiedere scusa, perché forse gli oscurantisti sono altri.

**Hannah Neumann (Verts/ALE).** – Mr President, dear colleagues, spyware abuse is a massive threat to our fundamental rights, it corrodes democracy from within – we all know it. Yet, Member States again and again say they need it for 'national security'. Well fine, then let's talk national security, because spyware companies claim they make us safer, while evidence proves the opposite. The exploits they use are later on picked up by Russia and others and used against us. The highest number of targets are lawmakers, military officials, even governments – the odds are high that people in this very room are infected right now.

This is absurd, dear colleagues, given the security threats Europe is already facing. And AI is just turbocharging this danger: combining, analysing, exploiting data at a scale we have never seen.

If we don't act now, the problem will be a hundred times worse in a year's time. And we know how to stop this – we spelled it out in the Pegasus report two years ago. So to the Council: get your act together and fix this before it is too late. You in Poland above all should know this.

**Pernando Barrena Arza (The Left).** – Señor presidente, señorías, el listado de recomendaciones elaborado por la Comisión PEGA de este Parlamento fue apoyado por una amplia mayoría: apoyos de izquierda a derecha. Pero hoy, dos años más tarde, no tenemos constancia alguna de que esas recomendaciones hayan servido para algo.

Para empezar, hay que constatar que las víctimas del uso de este *software* de espionaje no han obtenido ningún tipo de reparación. Ninguno de los Gobiernos europeos implicados —particularmente Polonia, Hungría, España y Grecia— ha dado explicaciones ni se han depurado responsabilidades de ningún tipo. Y, además, sabemos que Marruecos ha utilizado ese *software* contra cargos políticos y periodistas, principalmente de España y Francia, y no se ha adoptado ningún tipo de acción jurídica o queja diplomática como consecuencia de esa injerencia por parte de un país ajeno a la Unión.

Así, la sensación final, como decía, es que las nuevas herramientas digitales permiten usos no legítimos contra la ciudadanía y sus derechos, y que, finalmente, nadie rinde cuentas por ello.

Quiero aprovechar para recordar que Israel es hoy día referente en la producción de herramientas tecnológicas para la vulneración de derechos humanos y en el despliegue de tecnología militar para el genocidio de Palestina. Ambos deben terminar ya. ¡Suspensión del Acuerdo de Asociación UE-Israel ya!

**Krzysztof Brejza (PPE).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Szanowni Państwo! Mówię do Państwa jako ofiara Pegasusa z 2019 roku, kiedy startowałem w wyborach do Parlamentu Europejskiego i do parlamentu polskiego. Przez pół roku byłem atakowany przez tych ludzi. Przez tego człowieka również, który dzisiaj zabierał głos, czyli przez polskich populistów. Przez pół roku ukradziono mi dziewięćdziesiąt tysięcy wiadomości, sfałszowano je i publikowano w ich rządowej, populistycznej telewizji w formie zafałszowanej. Wygrałem w tej sprawie 5 procesów, ale to jest dowód, jak Pegasus może być użyty do podsłuchiwania, do niszczenia ludzi, do niszczenia jednostki. Oni wysyłali nam nawet jako Koalicji Obywatelskiej fałszywe analizy wyborcze. Do tego był używany Pegasus.

Szanowni Państwo, niełatwo jest mi o tym mówić w sytuacji, kiedy przede mną przemawiał człowiek, który siedział w więzieniu w Polsce za zorganizowanie nielegalnej operacji przeciwko swojemu koledze. Ten człowiek, Maciej Wąsik siedział w więzieniu. On został skazany, on jest przestępcą za nielegalną operację. Jest tutaj tylko dlatego, że jego kolega z partii populistycznej, który jest prezydentem, go ułaskawił.

Także to narzędzie służyło populistom w Polsce do niszczenia niezależnych sędziów, adwokatów, polityków, do organizowania prowokacji, podsłuchiwania sztabu opozycji, wpływania na wyniki wyborów. To, co oni zrobili w Polsce, nie może się powtórzyć w żadnym państwie europejskim. A dziś wiemy, że w Polsce ich telewizja publikuje materiały z Pegasusa przeciwko byłemu przewodniczącemu Rady Europejskiej Donaldowi Tuskowi. To są ich populistyczne metody. Musimy być temu przeciw.

**Sandro Ruotolo (S&D).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, parliamo di PEGA. Dopo due anni, la Commissione non ha ancora proposto una normativa vincolante contro l'abuso degli *spyware*, né pubblicato la comunicazione promessa. Lo faccia ora, perché c'è un nuovo caso che scuote l'Europa: lo *spyware Paragon Graphite*. Secondo Meta, 17 paesi europei coinvolti, 61 utenze infettate, di cui 7 italiane. Apple parla di 150 paesi nel mondo.

Io faccio un appello a chi è stato spiato illegalmente: uscite allo scoperto, aiutateci! Dobbiamo proteggere giornalisti, oppositori e attivisti dallo spionaggio illegale, spiati da un software israeliano finanziato da fondi americani. *Citizen Lab* conferma che almeno due giornalisti italiani e uno europeo sono stati spiati.

La Commissione ha risposto alla mia interrogazione dicendo che l'uso illegale di *spyware* è inaccettabile, ma servono azioni concrete. Il 30 maggio, con i gruppi S&D e Verdi, siamo stati a Roma e abbiamo parlato con le vittime. Questo caso non è solo italiano, è europeo. Mi dispiace per il collega Cavedagna, ma non è aggiornato sui fatti. Non c'è democrazia senza libertà di stampa.

**Joachim Stanisław Brudziński (ECR).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Może na początek mojemu rozentuzjazmowanemu przedmówcy z Polski mogę odpowiedzieć polskim przysłowiem: „Diabeł w ornat się ubrał i ogonem na mszę dzwoni". Zarzuty wobec Polski od początku były polityczną kreacją. Działania, które były podejmowane przez polskie służby, zawsze były podejmowane pod nadzorem sądów i wymierzone były wobec osób, które realnie stanowiły zagrożenie dla bezpieczeństwa państwa, albo wobec osób, które były podejrzane o działania przestępcze.

Najlepszym przykładem jest tu osoba rosyjskiego szpiega GRU Pawła Rubcowa, który działał pod przykryciem hiszpańskiego dziennikarza, a jego zatrzymanie spowodowało wręcz histerię, również w tej Izbie, i przedstawiane było przez lewicowy establishment, jako przykład represji rządu PiS wobec dziennikarzy. Ten dziennikarz okazał się bardzo groźnym szpiegiem, a ci, którzy brali go w obronę, po raz kolejny okazali się pożytecznymi idiotami Putina.

Ale, Szanowni Państwo, o hipokryzji i podwójnych standardach świadczy to, że instytucje Unii Europejskiej nie reagują dzisiaj na łamanie praw podstawowych w Polsce przez obecny rząd Tuska za naruszenie fundamentalnych elementów demokracji, chociażby za nielegalne zajęcie mediów publicznych i finansowanie kampanii wyborczej w Polsce przez ośrodki polityczne spoza Unii Europejskiej, przestępcze wstrzymanie finansowania największej partii opozycyjnej. Jesteście hipokrytami.

**Leoluca Orlando (Verts/ALE).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signora Commissaria, grazie per aver ammesso che la Commissione nulla ha fatto dopo richieste e denunce sul caso Pegasus.

Grazie per aver ammesso che nulla inoltre risulta la Commissione ha fatto su ostacoli e condizionamenti da parte del governo italiano contro la libertà dei giornalisti, certificati al report Brunner 2024 sul *Rule of Law*. Legga il report del 2024, signora Commissaria. Nulla la Commissione continua a fare sulle accertate responsabilità del governo italiano che ha sostanzialmente autorizzato lo spionaggio da parte della società israeliana Paragon di operatori sociali, responsabili soltanto di salvare vite umane nel Mediterraneo e avrebbe fatto avere le intercettazioni ai criminali libici finanziati dal governo italiano e guidati dal torturatore Almasri, esponendo quegli operatori sociali a rappresaglie di ogni genere.

Il governo italiano risulta ancora avere impedito alla società Paragon, che ha denunciato ciò formalmente, di individuare gli *spyware* mercenari che hanno spiato i giornalisti italiani. Nessuna contestazione, nessuna procedura di infrazione da parte della Commissione, pur dopo tante denunce e tante affermazioni. Signora Commissaria, la cosiddetta relazione Copasir, provi a leggerla e vedrà, da questa relazione l'imbarazzante contraddizione di dover ammettere quello che ho appena finito di affermare.

**Κωνσταντίνος Αρβανίτης (The Left).** – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κυρία Επίτροπε, μας είπατε ότι έχουμε κάνει πάρα πολύ καλή δουλειά. Σας ευχαριστούμε πάρα πολύ. Και τι την κάνατε αυτή τη δουλειά; Αυτό είναι το μεγάλο ερώτημα. Στην περασμένη θητεία συστήσαμε την εξεταστική επιτροπή, βγάλαμε πορίσματα, εργαστήκαμε πολύ, και το 2025 έχουμε το Paragon στην Ιταλία.

Να σας ενημερώσω πως η δικαστική έρευνα στην Ελλάδα για το σκάνδαλο των παρακολουθήσεων μέσω του λογισμικού Predator εξελίσσεται σε θεσμική παρωδία. Ο αντεισαγγελέας του Αρείου Πάγου απέκλεισε κάθε ευθύνη της Εθνικής Υπηρεσίας Πληροφοριών, η οποία —άκουσον, άκουσον— υπάγεται στο γραφείο του πρωθυπουργού της Ελλάδας, και χαρακτήρισε «σύμπτωση» το ότι 27 πρόσωπα, ανάμεσά τους υπουργοί, ευρωβουλευτές, πολιτικοί και δημοσιογράφοι, παρακολουθούνταν ταυτόχρονα από το Predator με εντολή της Εθνικής Υπηρεσίας Πληροφοριών.

Παρά το ότι εντόπισε τους ιδιώτες πίσω από το λογισμικό, τους δίωξε μόνο για πλημμέλημα. Γιατί; Επειδή η δίωξη για κακούργημα θα οδηγούσε σε έρευνα από εφέτη ανακριτή, κάτι που η κυβέρνηση δεν ήθελε.

Έτσι, ένα από τα μεγαλύτερα πολιτικά σκάνδαλα έκλεισε χωρίς να περάσει ποτέ σε χέρια ανακριτή. Το παράδειγμα της Πολωνίας θα μπορούσε, βεβαίως, να το ακολουθήσει και η Ελλάδα. Νομίζω ότι είμαστε μετέωροι, πραγματικά, και είμαστε ανοχύρωτοι όταν τα όργανα δεν λαμβάνουν θέση και δεν κάνουν τη δουλειά τους.

*Interventions à la demande*

**Michał Szczerba (PPE).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Wysoka Izbo! Rozmawiamy o sprawie absolutnie najważniejszej, chodzi o to, czy państwa członkowskie mają prawo inwigilować bez uzasadnienia swoich obywateli? Czy kraje członkowskie, w tym rządy, mają prawo używać oprogramowania szpiegowskiego dla celów politycznych? Odpowiedź z tej Izby jest jednoznaczna i taka musi być. Nie mają prawa.

Dlatego też do dna trzeba rozliczyć wszystkie afery, które dotyczą tego, jak rządy krajów członkowskich, w tym były polski rząd, który był rządem partii PiS, używał tego oprogramowania wobec polityków, wobec prokuratorów, wobec adwokatów po to, żeby wpływać na decyzje i mieć informacje. To są oprogramowania takie jak Pegasus, które mają być wykorzystywane przeciwko terrorystom z Hamasu, z Hezbollahu, nie przeciwko własnej opozycji demokratycznej. Te sprawy muszą być wyjaśnione i ta rola instytucji europejskich w tym procesie jest kluczowa.

**Maria Grapini (S&D).** – Domnule președinte, doamnă comisară, stimați colegi, iată, vorbim de un subiect atât de important – programe de spionaj – într-un spațiu democratic, când știm bine că spionajul era caracteristic statelor în care era dictatură.

Eu vin dintr-un stat comunist și este greu de înțeles de către cetățenii europeni cum putem să nu avem măsuri de contracarare a acestor programe. Dacă Comisia se mișcă atât de greu, după doi ani nu se reușește a se găsi măsuri. Trebuie protejați nu numai presa sau jurnaliștii, sau, eu știu, prim-miniștrii, ci și cetățenii, doamna comisar, pentru că sunt cetățeni care lucrează în mediul privat, sunt companii spionate, sunt oameni de afaceri spionați, șantajați, sunt cetățeni care nu mai doresc să intre în politică pentru că le e teamă că sunt urmăriți și spionați. Ce facem? Ce răspuns să dăm acasă? Dacă nu reușim să punem capăt, să nu ne mirăm de euroscepticism și de faptul că nu există încredere în instituțiile europene.

Trebuie să dați răspuns concret: se poate sau nu se poate face ceva, pentru că altfel democrația este pur și simplu dărâmată și nu putem să ne așteptăm la cei mai buni politicieni dacă oamenii sunt suspectați și sunt spionați.

**Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D).** – Señor presidente, vicepresidenta Virkkunen, el único sentido de una comisión de investigación en este Parlamento Europeo, ya sea sobre Pegasus en la pasada legislatura —hace dos años ya—, ya sea como, en estos momentos, sobre el Escudo Europeo de la Democracia, es deducir lecciones de las malas experiencias, plasmarlas en un documento de conclusiones y que ese documento de conclusiones sea un mandato de iniciativa para la Comisión Europea, que brilla penosamente por su ausencia ante la gravedad de que un programa Pegasus —o Predator en Grecia— haya sido utilizado no para perseguir delitos graves —terrorismo—, con autorización judicial, en la medida en que es intrusivo sobre los derechos más fundamentales de la confidencialidad de datos personales y de las comunicaciones, sino para espiar a jueces, fiscales, oponentes políticos, activistas de derechos humanos, profesionales del Derecho, etc. Es una situación completamente inaceptable.

Por tanto, vicepresidenta Virkkunen, es absolutamente imperioso que la Comisión, en estos momentos, ponga en vereda esas actuaciones manifiestamente irregulares de los Estados miembros que espían a personas que nada tienen que ver con atentados contra la seguridad colectiva y deduzca también lecciones en relación con la empresa matriz en Israel, que es la que ha suministrado el *software*.

**Sebastian Tynkkynen (ECR).** – Mr President, protecting journalism and freedom of speech is a fundamental part of European democracy. It is our job to preserve it. But our democracy is under threat from hostile foreign countries such as Russia. Its agents are conducting hybrid welfare operations to destabilise our daily lives. They are using technology to attack our critical infrastructure and democratic democratic institutions in cyberspace.

In this new era of warfare, we cannot be bystanders. The use of digital technology has become a necessary tool for monitoring malicious foreign actors. But while protecting our citizens, I want to stress the following. A potential European response to the use of spyware. Must respect the right of Member States to preserve their national security.

**Diana Iovanovici Șoșoacă (NI).** – Domnule președinte, da, dumneavoastră vorbiți de spionaj și de democrație, hai să fim serioși, în Europa nu mai e demult democrație. În România nici nu a fost vreodată. În România de pe vremea comunismului eram înregistrați, spionați, iar în calitate de avocat vă spun că toți avocații din România sunt spionați și înregistrați. Fostul președinte Băsescu a plătit vreo 500 000 de euro pentru aparatură de înregistrare non-stop a avocaților din România.

Absolut tot ceea ce se întâmplă în România în politică și aici nu e vorba numai de a apăra jurnaliștii, cei mai mulți jurnaliști sunt cumpărați de către guvern și de către partidele care guvernează. Aici este vorba de avocați, de politicieni, și eu sunt urmărită și spionată, nenumărate mesaje ale mele sunt publice, dar în România este legal și chiar dacă este ilegal, în justiție judecătorii sunt urmăriți, spionați, sunt amenințați, sunt șantajați, la fel ca și oamenii politici.

Și da, doamna Grapini, are dreptate, oamenii nu mai vor să vină în politică, inclusiv din cauza acestor dosare penale cu șantaj.

**Lukas Sieper (NI).** – Herr Präsident, liebe Menschen Europas! In der DDR reichte ein Verdacht und die Stasi hörte mit. Heute braucht es nur ein paar Klicks und Pegasus infiltriert das Handy einer Journalistin, eines Menschenrechtlers, eines Abgeordneten – auch in EU-Staaten. Doch was fast so gefährlich ist wie diese Software, ist die Tatsache, wer darüber entscheidet, wer sie erhält – ein einzelnes Unternehmen. Ein Unternehmen, das mit autoritären Regierungen Geschäfte macht, sich jeder demokratischen Kontrolle entzieht und aus Angst ein Geschäftsmodell gebaut hat.

Solche Unternehmen verkaufen keine Software, sie verkaufen Zugänge zu Gedanken, zu Leben, zu Strategien von Menschen, die sich für die Freiheit einsetzen. Sie tun das mit einer Preisliste, aber ohne Transparenz, ohne Ethik, ohne Reue. Wenn Europa das zulässt, dann werden wir bald nicht mehr überwacht trotz Demokratie, sondern wegen ihr. Demokratie braucht Schutz und nicht Spionagesoftware und keinen freien Markt für Überwachung.

*(Fin des interventions à la demande)*

**Le Président.** – Madame la Vice-présidente, beaucoup de questions vous sont directement adressées et j'ai le plaisir de vous donner la parole à présent.

**Henna Virkkunen,** *Executive Vice-President of the Commission*. – Mr President, honourable Members, thank you very much for this very topical debate; it clearly shows the complex nature of the illegal use of spyware we are facing.

Let me state again that the Commission's view is very clear here: any attempt to illegally access data of citizens, including journalists and political opponents, is unacceptable. We are determined to protect the fundamental rights of our citizens to privacy, data protection and security.

We already have many rules in place: we have data protection rules, we have the ePrivacy directive and, just recently, we have adopted the Media Freedom Act, that comes into force in August, and also the Cyber Resilience Act. So we have already many, many rules in place. But I very much agree with you that when we look at the security environment where we are, the attacks against our democracies and also the very fast development of different technologies, I see that it is also important to see that further work in this field is needed. I am very grateful for the support from Parliament.

**Adam Szłapka,** *President-in-Office of the Council.* – Mr President, Madam Commissioner, honourable Members, the Council attaches great importance to today's debate, which once again demonstrates the need to engage together in the protection of our democratic principles. We do understand it perfectly. We have strong tools to protect the rule of law and the privacy of our citizens, but we can and we should do more.

The Polish Presidency has worked towards this end. In concrete terms, the Council adopted the recommendation on the cybersecurity blueprint. The Council will continue to uphold these principles in the context of the upcoming review of the Law Enforcement Directive.

**Le Président.** – Le débat est clos.

## 21. 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 (debate)

**Le Président.** – L'ordre du jour appelle à présent le débat sur les déclarations du Conseil et de la Commission sur le coût humain de la guerre menée par la Russie contre l'Ukraine et la nécessité urgente de mettre fin à l'agression russe: la situation des civils détenus illégalement et des prisonniers de guerre, et la poursuite des bombardements de civils [2025/2710(RSP)].

Je vous rappelle à la tribune, Monsieur le Ministre Szłapka.

**Adam Szłapka,** *President-in-Office of the Council.* – Mr President, madam Commissioner, honourable Members, our last discussion on the Russian aggression against Ukraine took place only a month ago. The EU has firmly and repeatedly condemned the Russian aggression as a manifest violation of the EU Charter and international law. It is a global security and stability threat reaching well beyond Europe's borders.

I take this opportunity to express my respect for this House. The very first resolution adopting during this term, last July, was on the need of EU continued support for Ukraine. It represented a strong political message from Parliament.

This unjustified war is especially tragic for the Ukrainian population. Let me recall the devastating impact of this brutal aggression on Ukraine. So many civilians and soldiers killed, millions of Ukrainians displaced or having fled abroad. Millions of Ukrainians lack basic humanitarian aid, especially food, water, healthcare, illegally detained civilians and numerous prisoners of war.

The fate of Ukrainian children who are lawfully deported and transferred to Russia and Belarus is particularly close to our hearts. The Council clearly expressed that Russia and Belarus must immediately ensure their safe return to Ukraine.

Let me be clear on the main topic of today's debate. Russia commits war crimes and crimes against humanity by executing Ukrainian prisoners of war, and by subjecting Ukrainian prisoners and civilians to torture and other inhuman treatment. The Council has been very explicit on this matter. No crime can remain unpunished and international humanitarian law must be respected at all items.

Last week we saw Ukraine brought home the bodies of 1212 soldiers killed in the war of aggression by Russia. Last week too, Russia and Ukraine exchanged dozens of prisoners fathers exchange of prisoners expected to take place soon. Furthermore, thousands of Ukrainian civilians are detained in Russia whose families do not even know about their fate.

But let us face the reality. Russia does not want peace. On the contrary, Russia is escalating its war in Ukraine. Rather than focusing on the Istanbul peace talks, Moscow has increased its large-scale attack on civilians in Kyiv and other Ukrainian cities. The situation is only worsening. This is why we should continue to call for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace based on the UN Charter and international law.

A full and unconditional ceasefire is essential to stop human suffering. It is also a precondition for meaningful peace talks. Ukraine has accepted it and now it is for Russia to do the same.

We need to act now to further support Ukraine and further put pressure on Russia. Our position is clear and consistent. Ukraine needs to be in a position of strength to be able to negotiate a sustainable, comprehensive and just peace.

We are ready to support this effort with the tools that the EU has at its disposal. It is why we will treat the 18 packages of sanctions against Russia as a priority in the last weeks of our presidency in the Council.

**Marta Kos,** *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, dear honourable Members, dear Minister Adam Szłapka, Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine has had a devastating impact – the killing and suffering of civilians whose cities are subjected to air raids targeting civilian infrastructure; the suffering of those illegally detained by Russia, of prisoners of war, subjected to torture and inhuman treatment and of forcibly transferred Ukrainian children to Russia; the suffering of those who struggle to earn their living among war-induced hardship.

The Commission stands firm in its condemnation of the numerous well-documented violations of international humanitarian law by Russia. This principled position translates into concrete action in support of the efforts of Ukraine and other members of the international community to ensure accountability.

First, supporting the International Criminal Court in its ongoing investigations against Russian perpetrators of war crimes and crimes against humanity – this has been possible since 2014, with Ukraine's recognition of the court's jurisdiction under Article 12(3) of the Rome Statute. This has become even more straightforward, with Ukraine having completed the ratification of the Rome Statute and becoming a full-fledged state party of the ICC on 1 January this year – a long-standing point of EU-Ukraine political dialogue and a commitment under the Association Agreement with the EU.

Second, supporting Ukraine's own capacity to prosecute war crimes and crimes against humanity – as part of its commitments stemming from the ratification of the Rome Statute, Ukraine has recently adopted relevant amendments to its Criminal Code and Criminal Procedure Code. The EU has actively participated in the international Atrocity Crimes Advisory Group, which supports the office of the Prosecutor-General of Ukraine in investigating and prosecuting international crimes committed during Russia's full-scale invasion. The Commission also supports numerous non-governmental initiatives in Ukraine, engaged in activities such as on-the-ground documentation of atrocities, collection of witness testimonies and support to civilians illegally detained by Russia.

Third, given the current gap in the ICC's jurisdiction over Russia's crime of aggression against Ukraine, the Commission and the VP/HR, Kaja Kallas, have been actively involved in work on the establishment of the Special Tribunal for the Crime of Aggression against Ukraine. Most recently, VP/HR Kallas and Commissioner McGrath joined representatives of an international coalition of states gathered in the core group at their high-level meeting in Lviv on 9 May, endorsing texts agreed by legal experts which will lead to the establishment of this tribunal. This text will subsequently be transformed into legal acts of the Council of Europe.

Fourth, the Commission supports efforts to establish an international claims commission for Ukraine. On 4 February this year, the Commission adopted a recommendation to the Council in this regard.

Finally, let me stress that the human cost of this war goes beyond the immediate suffering. The war has left Ukraine with a diminished workforce and a severely strained economy. This will profoundly affect the country's ability to rebuild. Reconstruction is not just a financial task, it is a human one, and the long-term social and economic consequences must be acknowledged alongside the legal and political efforts. The Commission remains committed to engage in reforms that will enable rebuild the economy and infrastructure in Ukraine once the war is over, keeping rule of law in its very centre.

Next month, I will be in the Ukraine Recovery Conference in Rome, where I will also be discussing the human aspects of Ukraine's reconstruction – because behind every shattered school, every ruined hospital and every empty village is a life interrupted, and it is in our responsibility to help restore the future they were forced to put on hold.

**Michael Gahler,** *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Im Zusammenhang mit Russlands Angriffskrieg gegen die Ukraine wird vieles thematisiert: die Kampfhandlungen, Waffenlieferungen, die Zerstörung der Infrastruktur, die Millionen Flüchtlinge aus der Ukraine in Europa, die Binnenvertriebenen und richtigerweise unsere umfängliche Unterstützung. Weitaus seltener thematisieren wir das Schicksal der Ukrainer unter russischer Kontrolle.

Da sind zum einen die Kriegsgefangenen. Wenn man anlässlich von Gefangenenaustauschen den körperlichen Zustand der meisten freigelassenen Ukrainer betrachtet und anschließend deren Erzählungen hört, muss man zu der Schlussfolgerung kommen, dass Russland seiner Verpflichtung zur menschlichen Behandlung dieser Gefangenen in keiner Weise nachkommt. Wir müssen daher verlangen, dass Russland internationalen Vertretern des Roten Kreuzes jederzeit Zugang zu den Gefangenenlagern gewährt und diejenigen Wachmannschaften bestraft, die sich schwerster Menschenrechtsverletzungen gegenüber den Kriegsgefangenen schuldig gemacht haben.

Noch weniger Aufmerksamkeit gilt den willkürlich verhafteten Zivilisten in der russisch besetzten Zone der Ukraine. Am besten macht man das an einem Beispiel deutlich, und ich erwähne hier das Schicksal von Kostjantyn Sinowkin aus Melitopol, der am 12. Mai 2023 unter dem Vorwand der Verletzung der Ausgangssperre verhaftet wurde. Am 14. Juni 2023 wurde der Familie mitgeteilt, er habe gestanden, einen Mann in die Luft sprengen zu wollen. Am 29. Oktober 2023 wurde er im russischen Fernsehen vorgeführt. Mehrere Gerichtsverhandlungen fanden in diesem Frühjahr in Rostow statt. Er muss, weil er unschuldig ist, wie Tausende andere freigelassen werden. Lassen Sie diese Menschen frei, Herr Putin!

**Thijs Reuten,** *on behalf of the S&D Group*. – Mr President, Commission, Council, dear colleagues, let me say upfront that I am a little bit impatient, angry even, in particular with the Member States, not with you personally, but with the paralysis.

A few weeks ago, European leaders spoke bravely in the presence of President Zelenskyy, but now Europe waits passively for America to realise that Putin's peace negotiations are just a smokescreen and delaying tactics. We know this yields no results. We cannot speak of wake-up calls anymore – we are awake, right? Are we? Because we lack focus, we lack courage, we lack resolve to stop the assault on Ukraine and on the rules-based international order.

We see the cruelty against thousands of prisoners of war, political prisoners, even abducted children. We see the daily barbaric attacks on innocent civilians. We see the pure terror of targeting hospitals, schools, markets, playgrounds. Putin's goal is not peace; he seeks the defeat of European democracy, the rule of law and human rights. He remains an existential threat to all of democratic Europe.

Ukraine's courageous resistance is our strongest answer. But we are too passive. For example, where are the Patriot systems some EU and NATO allies have enough of? We need them in Ukraine. What Europe needs to do to achieve sustainable peace remains very clear, yet every moment of passivity only increases the risk of our collective failure.

So I call on the Commission and the Council to be bolder, braver and faster. Equip Ukraine with everything it needs to fight back: militarily, financially and politically. Prioritise justice, accountability and reparations. Impose our most powerful peace-enforcing sanctions package on Russia. Speed up our independence from Russian fossil fuels, and seize frozen assets to support Ukraine. Seize them!

Do not wait for America's approval on everything; Europe must lead decisively. Ukrainians are survivors – I'm not worried about that. But Europe? We control how deep the suffering will be for that survival.

**Pierre-Romain Thionnet,** *au nom du groupe PfE*. – Monsieur le Président, nous avons l'habitude de dire que les guerres font toujours des victimes civiles, mais qu'en est-il lorsque, sous les missiles, sous les drones et sous les décombres, ce sont des frères qui sont tués?

Parler de frères pour parler des Russes et des Ukrainiens, ce n'est évidemment pas remettre en question l'existence d'une nation, d'une identité et d'un peuple ukrainien. C'est faire remarquer leur proximité objective, celle d'une langue certes distincte, mais issue de la famille slave orientale, celle d'un même mythe fondateur, celle d'une même foi orthodoxe, quand bien même elle est déchirée entre deux Églises.

Nous, Européens, savons très bien à quel point les guerres fratricides sont les plus terribles. Nos croyances et nos mythes en sont les témoins: Caïn et Abel, Romulus et Rémus, Etéocle et Polynice.

Pourquoi Poutine, qui affirme à longueur de discours qu'Ukrainiens et Russes forment un seul et même peuple, s'est-il donc lancé dans une guerre d'anéantissement? Pour lui, l'Ukraine est un petit frère, mais c'est un frère inégal, un frère illégitime. On le sait depuis 2014, Poutine veut régner en maître dans son domaine impérial, il refuse que les Ukrainiens puissent choisir un autre destin que celui qui est décidé pour eux. Il préfère une Ukraine anéantie à une Ukraine libérée de la tutelle russe.

Ainsi, alors que les néoconservateurs américains bombardaient au nom de l'humanité, les Faucons russes pilonnent au nom de la fraternité; alors que les Occidentaux changeaient les régimes au nom des droits de l'homme, les Russes veulent le faire au nom de pseudo-droits historiques. À chaque fois, c'est notre conception d'un monde fondé sur les relations entre nations qui est battue en brèche et c'est l'Empire qui s'affirme au détriment des nations.

Chers collègues, la paix reste possible, mais elle devra s'accompagner aussi d'un changement de mentalité au sommet du pouvoir russe: considérer l'Ukrainien comme un frère, non pas pour mieux le ligoter et le détruire, mais pour reconnaître en lui un égal.

**Michał Dworczyk,** *w imieniu grupy ECR*. – Panie Przewodniczący! Traktowanie jeńców wojennych, jak również ludności cywilnej przez Rosjan wywodzi się niewątpliwie z tradycji sowieckiej i oznacza przemoc, tortury i śmierć. Jako Polacy wielokrotnie doświadczyliśmy tego barbarzyństwa, jak choćby w 1940 r., kiedy na rozkaz Stalina rozstrzelano ponad 22 000 polskich oficerów.

Dzisiaj ta zbrodnicza działalność jest kontynuowana. Licznie napływające z Ukrainy doniesienia o nieludzkim traktowaniu oraz mordach dokonywanych na jeńcach i więźniach są nie tylko naruszeniem wszelkich norm międzynarodowych, ale przede wszystkim rażącym pogwałceniem podstawowych praw człowieka. Takie czyny są hańbą dla ludzkości i nie mogą pozostać bezkarne. I choć trwająca wymiana jeńców między Rosją a Ukrainą jest krokiem w dobrym kierunku, to musimy jako Parlament Europejski wywrzeć presję na Rosję, aby zgodziła się na wymianę jeńców w formacie „wszystkich za wszystkich".

Wobec tej poważnej kwestii prosimy, jako grupa Europejskich Konserwatystów i Reformatorów, o wsparcie naszej propozycji przyjęcia przez Parlament Europejski na następnej sesji plenarnej odpowiedniej rezolucji w tej sprawie.

**Petras Auštrevičius,** *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Mr President, Minister, Madam Commissioner, autocratic Russia is waging an aggressive war to destroy Ukraine's sovereignty and the whole Ukrainian nation.

As well as committing unspeakable war crimes and ecocide, Russia is illegally detaining and deporting Ukrainian civilians, including children.

The appearance of those who have been returned from Russian captivity best reflects what Ukrainians are experiencing. They look as if they have been through hell, reliving the horrors of the Holodomor, Nazi and Soviet concentration camps altogether at the same time.

The whereabouts of less than 2 000 Ukrainian civilians in Russian captivity have been identified. I am a guardian of one of them, Dmytro Khyliuk, a civilian journalist who was captured in his own garden near Kyiv in March 2022.

He remains a Russian hostage to this day, imprisoned in Correctional Colony No. 7 near Moscow, today's Russian capital, without any contact with the outside world.

His father, Vasyl, has recently been diagnosed with stage four cancer and his only wish is to hear his son's voice once again.

Russia must be held accountable to the war crimes it has committed and continues to commit. To bring Russia to the negotiation table, dear colleagues, we need all possible means, including international pressure, additional sanctions and unambiguous political signals.

*Slava Ukraini!*

**Sergey Lagodinsky,** *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Mr President, when Victoria Roshchyna, a Ukrainian journalist, returned home in February 2025, she had broken ribs, electrical burns, missing eyes and part of her throat gone. Now we know what happened to her – she was severely tortured and finally strangulated to death. Just one of many. Civilians, prisoners of war, Crimean Tatars accused of being terrorists, journalists who dared to speak Ukrainian – this is a war waged in torture chambers, psychiatric wards and filtration camps.

People – we know their names, we know their stories, and we know that silence equals complicity. That is why our resolution during the next session will expose the scale of these atrocities, from the abduction of thousands of children to the use of psychiatry as a weapon against free will. Our Parliament demands action, access and active involvement of the International Red Cross coordinated EU response. I assure you, we will do our best to stand on the side of Ukrainians.

**PRZEWODNICTWO: EWA KOPACZ**

*Wiceprzewodnicząca*

**Özlem Demirel,** *im Namen der Fraktion The Left*. – Frau Präsidentin! Wir reden heute zu den menschlichen Kosten des Krieges in der Ukraine. Dazu gehören die tausenden zivilen Opfer und die hunderttausenden Männer, die auf dem Schlachtfeld auf beiden Seiten gestorben sind. Dieser Krieg hat, ebenso wie viele andere Kriege auch, unvorstellbare Gräueltaten mit sich gebracht. Dieser Krieg muss enden. Stattdessen sagen Kommission und Rat heute wieder, wir sollten nicht auf Friedensverhandlungen setzen, sondern Sanktionen und Waffenlieferungen vorantreiben.

Die, die über Krieg entscheiden, trifft es in der Regel nicht. Dort auf dem Schlachtfeld kämpft weder ein Herr Putin noch ein Herr Selenskyj noch eine Frau von der Leyen oder ein Herr Trump, dafür aber die Armen aus Russland und der Ukraine: Arme Männer, die sich dem Krieg nicht entziehen können.

Übrigens können sich die Männer und auch die Frauen in Israel dem Krieg auch nicht ohne Weiteres entziehen. Ja, Russland hat das Völkerrecht gebrochen. Niemand hat das Recht, das Völkerrecht zu brechen. Aber warum redet die Kommission nicht über die Gräuel und die unmenschlichen Taten der israelischen Regierung in Gaza? Warum reden Sie nicht über den Völkerrechtsbruch im Iran mit den Bombardierungen? Warum reden Sie nicht über Frieden, sondern über Krieg, Krieg, Krieg? Sie tun es, weil Sie Geopolitik verfolgen. Ich verfolge Menschlichkeit.

**Hans Neuhoff,** *on behalf of the ESN Group*. – Madam President, colleagues, Donald Trump is a prudent statesman: he upholds the time-honoured principle of *audiatur et altera pars* – let the other side be heard as well. Trump speaks with Putin.

The European Union, by contrast, wants to end the bloodshed in Ukraine and bring the war to a close, but in doing so, it listens only to itself and to the Ukrainian side. No one has seriously attempted to consider the Russian perspective. No effort has been made to understand why Russian leaders perceive NATO's eastward expansion – reaching as far as the Donbas – as an existential threat. The deliberate ignorance, I predict, is precisely why the EU is doomed to fail in the matter.

Trump is a realist; the EU acts blindly. George F. Kennan, the architect of the containment strategy, once called NATO's expansion to Russia's border a fateful error. Yet we continue to repeat it. History will judge us with utter harshness.

**Sandra Kalniete (PPE).** – Cienītā sēdes vadītāja! Godātie kolēģi! Rit Krievijas agresijas ceturtais gads. Diendienā ukraiņi tiek nogalināti, sakropļoti, aplaupīti, pakļauti vardarbībai. Īpaši smaga situācija ir okupētajās teritorijās, kur Ukraina cieš no Krievijas administratīvās varas un drošības dienestu noziegumiem, tiek patvaļīgi ieslodzīti un spīdzināti.

Šī Krievijas koloniālā politika ir noziegums, kuru nekad nevar [ne] aizmirst, ne piedot. Putins ir atjaunojis Staļina metodes – uz Krievijas tālākajiem novadiem tiek deportēti simtiem tūkstošu nevainīgu okupēto apgabalu cilvēku.

Taču vislielākais Kremļa noziegums ir 20 000 Ukrainas bērnu nolaupīšana. Viņu atrašanās vieta nav zināma, jo daudzi bērni ir piedzīvojuši adopciju, vārda un pilsonības maiņu. Lielākie tiek nometināti pāraudzināšanas nometnēs un pakļauti masīvai rusifikācijai un militārai indoktrinācijai. Kremļa mērķis acīmredzot ir viņus izaudzināt par karavīriem Krievijas armijai, kas cīnīsies pret savu dzimteni.

Tāda ir Putina Krievijas patiesā seja – agresija, deportācijas, bērnu nolaupīšana un nogalinātu civiliedzīvotāju masu kapi. Starptautiskajai sabiedrībai ir jāsauc pie atbildības Krievija par tās pastrādātajām zvērībām. Nesodāmība nedrīkst atkārtoties, kā tas notika pēc komunistu komunistiskā režīma sabrukuma.

**Heléne Fritzon (S&D).** – Fru talman! Kriget i Ukraina är inte bara en kamp om territorium. Det är en kamp om frihet, fred och demokrati. För varje dag bombas civila hem, barn växer upp i skyddsrum och människor fängslas och torteras. - Enligt UNICEF har barn vid frontlinjen tillbringat över ett halvår i skyddsrum, och var tredje ungdom känner hopplöshet, särskilt flickor.

Precis nu när vi debatterar här så hålls civila och krigsfångar olagligt fängslade och det bombas över bostäderna i Ukraina. Vi får aldrig, aldrig någonsin vänja oss vid den här verkligheten, och vi kan göra skillnad. Vårt stöd till Ukraina måste vara tydligt och kraftfullt. Vi måste göra allt vi kan för att öka stödet till Ukraina ekonomiskt, militärt och humanitärt.

Jag vill därför att alla EU-länder nu, redan i år, når upp till minst en halv procent av sitt BNP i stöd till Ukraina. Det ser väldigt olika ut och jag vill att alla EU:s medlemsstater slutar att köpa den ryska gasen. Den göder Putins krigskassa. Vi kan göra skillnad, vi kan agera här och nu. Slava Ukraini.

**Reinis Pozņaks (ECR).** – Cienītā sēdes vadītāja! Labdien, kolēģi! Kopš iepriekšējās debates par Krievijas kara noziegumiem ir pagājušas 77 dienas. Tie ir aptuveni 2500 droni un 160 raķetes, ko Krievija raidījusi pa Ukrainas pilsētām. Vairāki simti bojāgājušu civiliedzīvotāju, vairāki desmiti bērnu.

Vairākas sarunas dažādos formātos ir bijušas, taču Krievija turpina darīt vienīgo, ko tā prot – terorizēt civiliedzīvotājus, deportēt un spīdzināt. Darīt visu, lai iznīcinātu vai vismaz salauztu tās tautas, kuras nevēlas pakļauties krievu pasaulei. Tas nav nekas jauns. Gan Baltijas valstis, gan Ukraina un daudzas citas valstis tam ir gājušas cauri padomju okupācijas laikā.

Un kāpēc Krievija to dara? Jo viņi var! Jo nekad iepriekš nav sodīti par šādiem noziegumiem, un ir pārliecināti, ka tas nenotiks arī šobrīd. Un nenotiks tāpēc, jo mēs nevaram joprojām atteikties no Krievijas resursiem un mēs joprojām nevaram nodrošināt Ukrainu ar visu, kas tai ir nepieciešams, lai sakautu un sodītu agresoru.

**Marie-Agnes Strack-Zimmermann (Renew).** – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Minister, Frau Kommissarin! Kateryna Korovina ist eine 28-jährige Ukrainerin aus der Region Luhansk. Sie wurde im März letzten Jahres auf dem Weg zur Apotheke vom russischen Inlandsgeheimdienst verschleppt und ist jetzt in einer Haftanstalt im russischen Rostow am Don. Zu zehn Jahren Haft ist sie verurteilt worden, weil sie angeblich kleine Spenden an die ukrainischen Streitkräfte überwiesen haben soll. Und während der Verhöre wurde sie unter Druck gesetzt, ein Geständnis zu unterschreiben, um für ein erzwungenes Propagandavideo gefilmt zu werden, in dem sie einen vorgehaltenen Text ablas. Vor Gericht widerrief sie mutig ihre Aussagen und erklärte, diese seien unter psychischem und physischem Druck gemacht worden. Sie bekannte sich als nicht schuldig und schloss ihre Erklärung mit einem selbstgeschriebenen Gedicht mit dem Titel „Horror in meinem Zuhause“.

Es ist gut, dass wir heute darüber sprechen, denn die Opfer haben einen Namen; sie sind nicht anonym. Und diese Menschen in den besetzten Gebieten haben unsere Aufmerksamkeit genauso verdient wie all die Opfer in der Ukraine. Und mir wird schlecht, wenn ich dann am rechten Rand jemanden höre, der sich Soziologe nennt, wie hier das mit Füßen getreten wird. Putin ist der Verbrecher und kein anderer mehr.

**Virginijus Sinkevičius (Verts/ALE).** – Madam President, dear colleagues, every day Russia's war against Ukraine brings new pain. Civilians are killed in their homes, children lose their parents. Russian bombs hit schools, hospitals and energy plants. Cities are left in darkness and people continue to live in fear.

And the suffering does not end at the frontline. Thousands of civilians and prisoners of war are held illegally by Russian forces. Many of them face torture, abuse, rape and even execution, including children. At least 75 of those cases are documented, and this is not a single event. This is a systemic terror against Ukrainian people. And these are not just numbers. These are lives. So every attack, every act of cruelty is a crime against humanity.

But words are not enough. We must act. We must deliver aid, secure the immediate release of all detainees, support Ukraine's defence and demand accountability. The Council must tighten sanctions and close every loophole that fuels Russia's war machine. The world cannot be silent. The human cost is too high. And it's time to bring justice to Ukraine.

**Jonas Sjöstedt (The Left).** – Fru talman! Under de senaste veckorna har det gjorts försök att starta fredsförhandlingar, men Ryssland vill inte ha fred. Ryssland svarar med brutala angrepp mot civila i Ukraina som aldrig tidigare. Ryssland avvisar Ukrainas erbjudande om vapenvila.

I stället har Ryssland nu, enligt president Zelenskyj, fräckheten att föreslå att ryska krigsfångar ska bytas mot kidnappade ukrainska barn. Så argumenterar en imperialistisk regim som är moraliskt bankrutt.

Ställda inför de här provokationerna och ställda inför USA:s vägran att stödja Ukraina, är det vår uppgift att öka stödet – öka det ekonomiska stödet, öka det politiska stödet och öka det militära stödet som gör att Ukraina kan befria sina ockuperade områden och fortleva som en demokratisk, oberoende nation.

**Петър Волгин (ESN).** – Г-жо Председател, главните виновници за продължаването на войната в Украйна се намират в Брюксел. Ръководителите на Европейския съюз постоянно заблуждават украинския народ, че е възможна победа срещу Русия, че дори и Съединените щати да оттеглят подкрепата си за Киев, Европейският съюз ще предостави също толкова, ако не и повече пари и оръжия на Зеленски.

Другата голяма лъжа, която лидерите на ЕС не спират да повтарят, е, че има някаква ужасна руска заплаха и че ако Русия не бъде спряна сега, в следващите години тя ще завладее цяла Европа.

Защо евроначалниците говорят подобни обидни за здравия разум глупости? Защото са убедени, че ако уплашат достатъчно силно европейските държави, тези държави ще се свият страхливо и покорно ще изпълняват заповедите на Брюксел.

Евролидерите смятат, че оттук-насетне ще могат да прокарат всяка идиотска политика с оправданието, че тя „спасява Европа от руснаците". Ето защо висшите брюкселски бюрократи, а не обитателите на Кремъл са основната пречка пред постигането на мир в Украйна.

Ако Европейският съюз се сгромоляса, това ще бъде не заради действията на Москва, а заради неадекватната политика на Брюксел.

**Ľuboš Blaha (NI).** – Vážená pani predsedajúca, vážení kolegovia, to vám naozaj nepríde trápne, že tu tárate o sankciách proti Rusku, ale nedokážete ani len odsúdiť Izrael za to, že napadol suverénny Irán a ešte aj pácha genocídu na palestínskom národe? Kde sú sankcie proti Izraelu, pani Callasová? Kde sú dodávky zbraní pre Irán? Vojenská agresia odrazu nevadí? Von der Leyenová hanebne vyhlásila, že má pre izraelskú agresiu pochopenie, ale v prípade Ruska nikto nechce chápať, že sa Západ vojensky rozťahoval k hraniciam Ruska a že Rusko sa muselo brániť. Čo je toto za dvojaký meter? Moralizujete o stave ruskej demokracie, ale nevadí vám, že v Estónsku zavreli na šesť rokov novinárku za to, že mala proruské názory? Tomuto hovoríte sloboda slova, kolega? Tvárite sa, že protiruské sankcie niečo riešia, ale v skutočnosti tým iba Európa pácha kolektívnu ekonomickú samovraždu. Ak zakážete dovoz všetkých energií z Ruska, nepotrestáte Rusov, ale nás Slovákov či Maďarov. Ale to je vám jedno, že? Zobuďte sa, vážení, prestaňte s tým dvojitým kilometrom, prestaňte s nenávisťou voči Rusku, prestaňte s tým rinčaním zbraňami.

*(Rečník súhlasil, že odpovie na otázku položenú zdvihnutím modrej karty)*

**João Oliveira (The Left),** *Pergunta segundo o procedimento «cartão azul».* – Senhor Deputado Blaha, ouvi com atenção a sua intervenção e queria fazer-lhe uma pergunta. Depois de todas as intervenções que ouvimos ao longo deste debate expressarem preocupação com a perda de vidas humanas, com a destruição da Ucrânia, a pergunta que lhe quero fazer é simples: o senhor deputado acha mesmo que a União Europeia e as suas Instituições estão comprometidas com uma solução de paz e de segurança coletiva, não apenas na Ucrânia, mas para toda a Europa?

O senhor deputado acha que, quando as Instituições da União Europeia apontam o caminho do militarismo, da corrida aos armamentos, do reforço das medidas de confrontação, é mesmo esse o caminho da paz? Ou, pelo contrário, a União Europeia está a incentivar a guerra para que ela se prolongue indefinidamente?

**Ľuboš Blaha (NI),** *odpoveď na otázku položenú zdvihnutím modrej karty.* – Vážená pani predsedajúca, vážený pán kolega, som presvedčený, že Európska únia, ktorá bola kedysi projektom mieru, sa premenila na vojnovú inštitúciu. Jediným cieľom týchto ľudí, čo po mne kričia, je zbrojiť, zbrojiť a zbrojiť a nenávidieť Rusko a zároveň obhajovať Izrael a genocídu na Palestíne. Absolútne pokrytectvo. Tí ľudia sú absolútne smiešni a máte absolútnu pravdu aj v tom, že dneska už celý svet hovorí o tom, že jediná cesta k mieru na Ukrajine je rokovať s ruskou stranou. Aj preto sme boli my piati alebo šiesti poslanci Európskeho parlamentu v Moskve, aby sme rokovali aj s ruskou stranou, lebo iným spôsobom mier dosiahnuť nevieme.

**Nicolás Pascual de la Parte (PPE).** – Señora presidenta, la guerra en Ucrania está alcanzando unos niveles de crueldad y de inhumanidad impensables. Putin y su ejército están bombardeando sistemáticamente y voluntariamente hospitales, escuelas, infraestructuras básicas, centrales de electricidad, depósitos de agua… claramente con el objetivo de romper la voluntad de resistencia del heroico pueblo ucraniano y de provocar olas de inmigración hacia Europa. No lo va a conseguir: ni va a romper la voluntad del pueblo ucraniano ni va a conseguir sus objetivos.

Exigimos que se libere a los más de 35 000 niños deportados forzosamente a Rusia y adoctrinados. Exigimos que se libere a los más de 16 000 prisioneros adultos que están en cárceles rusas torturados, masacrados, con desnutrición y que son asesinados. Exigimos el intercambio de los miles de prisioneros que están en campos de concentración en Rusia —en el siglo XXI, sí, campos de concentración—. Exigimos su liberación. Y exigimos ante todo que se permita el acceso incondicional e ilimitado al Comité Internacional de la Cruz Roja y a otros organismos internacionales humanitarios para que exijan el cumplimiento de los términos de los Convenios de Ginebra que amparan a los soldados y a los civiles retenidos. Y, en cuarto y último lugar, exigimos que Europa mantenga un sistema de sanciones cada vez más robusto, que seamos capaces de cerrar todas las vías de escape para que el precio de seguir la guerra le sea insoportable a Putin y le obliguemos a venir a la mesa de negociación.

**Tobias Cremer (S&D).** – Madam President, dear colleagues, on my last trip to Ukraine, I met a remarkable young man named Vlad. Vlad is not a Rambo-like soldier, but a skinny teenager from Kherson. But still, Putin fears Vlad so much that, alongside 20 000 other Ukrainian children, he had him abducted from his home, sent him into a re-education camp deep inside Russia and submitted him to violence and solitary confinement.

Colleagues, why is Putin so afraid of Ukrainian children? It's because this isn't a normal war against a government or against an army. It's a war conducted against the Ukrainian civilian population. Putin is so afraid of these children because they are the future of Ukraine's European future. They symbolise the freedom that cannot be broken.

Vlad himself has shown this will to freedom when one night in the camp, he went up to the flagpole and tore down the Russian flag and pulled up his own underwear instead. In this sign of resistance that could have cost him his life, he has shown real courage and real strength.

Colleagues, if Western leaders had shown even half of that courage in their support for Ukraine that Vlad and so many Ukrainian civilians have shown to their tormentors, this war could already be over. So let us finally muster up our own courage, put Ukraine in a position of strength, seize Russia's frozen assets and force Putin to the negotiating table, so that Vlad and every single Ukrainian child can regain not only their freedom, but the future of their country.

**Veronika Vrecionová (ECR).** – Paní předsedající, Rusko bezdůvodně napadlo Ukrajinu. Nese proto odpovědnost za všechny lidské oběti této války, a to na obou stranách. Rusko z Ukrajiny mimo jiné uneslo i tisíce dětí. Řadu z nich se neštítí nabízet na vládních stránkách k adopci. Na Putina a na kremelskou zmocněnkyni pro tuto otázku Lvovovou-Belovovou byl kvůli zavlékání dětí z okupované části Ukrajiny do Ruska již v březnu 2023 vydán mezinárodní zatykač.

Rusko může tyto zločiny kdykoli ukončit. Ukrajina s různými návrhy na příměří opakovaně souhlasila. Rusko chce pod různými výmluvami válčit a zabíjet dál a nadále cíleně vraždit a mučit civilisty. Nenechme se proto nakazit propagandou ruského režimu a jeho příznivců o míru a pokračujme v sankcích a izolaci Putinova režimu, dokud tuto válku neukončí.

**Dan Barna (Renew).** – Doamnă președintă, să vorbim despre adevăr. De mai bine de 1000 de zile, Ucraina se luptă cu un agresor scelerat. Zilnic, bombe rusești lovesc spitale, locuințe, grădinițe, școli. Civilii ucraineni sunt răpiți și torturați. Prizonierii de război sunt supuși la tratamente de o cruzime îngrozitoare și le sunt refuzate cele mai elementare drepturi din legislația internațională.

Acesta este costul uman pe care îl vedem în fiecare zi, iar nevoia de acțiune devine mai importantă ca niciodată.

În primul rând, accelerarea integrării europene a Ucrainei este un imperativ moral și un scut pentru protecția viitorului acestei țări. În al doilea rând, acest scut are nevoie de energie, de forță. Sprijinul nostru militar pentru Ucraina trebuie susținut și mărit. Apărarea Ucrainei este apărarea Europei. Iar în al treilea rând, trebuie să învățăm din curajul ucrainenilor. Experiența lor directă de luptă trebuie integrată în strategiile noastre de securitate colectivă.

Istoria ne privește astăzi. Ce trebuie să rețină este că ne-am ridicat la înălțimea acestui moment. Că am luptat pentru libertate și am făcut tot ce a stat în puterea noastră pentru a obține această libertate și pace justă. Slava Ucraina!

**Ville Niinistö (Verts/ALE).** – Madam President, an essential part of Russian warfare in Ukraine is war of terror against civilians. Use of rape, torture, detentions illegally and illegal deportations of children are a big part of Russian warfare. This is systematic. Russian propaganda tries to dehumanise Ukrainians. They try to strip their nationhood and they try to strip their identity. This is part of Putin's imperialism that must be held accountable.

Total civilian casualties since February 2022 stand at 13 134 deaths and nearly 32 000 injured, as per the UN. Over 19 500 children have been deported and 16 000 Ukrainian civilians remain illegally detained by Russia, subject to torture and mock trials.

We must demand immediate, unconditional release of all civilians and POWs, including the children. We must demand full humanitarian access to Red Cross, we must increase sanctions, and we must hold Putin accountable also to the war crimes in the special tribunal, in the Council of Europe and in the ICC.

**Michał Szczerba (PPE).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Ukraińskie siły zbrojne walczą o przyszłość Ukrainy w Europie, ale ukraińskie siły zbrojne również walczą o obecność Ukrainy w sojuszach Zachodu, które zagwarantują w przyszłości trwały pokój i rozwój. Ta droga do NATO jest zgodna z deklaracjami szczytu waszyngtońskiego i powinna pozostać nieodwracalna. Komisja, jak również polska prezydencja w Radzie Unii Europejskiej wspierała nowe programy uzbrojenia oraz rozwoju przemysłu obronnego i zabiegała o uwzględnienie w nich Ukrainy.

Ukraina posiada unikalne doświadczenie wynikające z trwającej i pełnoskalowej wojny. Rozwinęła nowe technologie, rozwinęła przemysł obronny, w szczególności produkcję dronów, które mogą być również użyteczne dla naszego sektora przemysłowego. Kluczowy będzie Szanowni Państwo, o tym trzeba bardzo wyraźnie powiedzieć, szczyt NATO w Hadze.

Szczyt NATO w Hadze, który dzieje się w okolicznościach również geopolitycznych, bo ta rosyjska agresja nie dzieje się w próżni. Za Moskwą stoi Iran, stoi Korea Północna. Iran dostarcza drony, Korea pociski – to wspólnicy z osi zła. Dlatego też szczyt NATO w Hadze powinien po pierwsze podkreślić naszą kolektywną gotowość do obrony, ale również przyjąć nową strategię NATO dotyczącą Rosji, która stanowi strategiczne zagrożenie dla naszego bezpieczeństwa.

**Evin Incir (S&D).** – Madam President, Putin's tyranny can only be brought to an end through EU unity and decisive actions. The continued import of coal and oil by some Member States directly enables Putin's war efforts, filling his war machine and enabling him to escalate missiles and drone attacks against Ukrainian cities and civilians, as he has done over the last months.

It is good to condemn, but more important to act. We must support Ukraine with all available means to ensure that they not only withstand the war, but win the war. This support must be comprehensive: sanctions, military aid, humanitarian assistance, macroeconomic support – there can't be any limits to our support. However, right now, EU Member States are pumping more money into Putin's war machine than support to Ukraine. How is that going to ensure that Ukraine will be in a position of strength? Because a position of strength is important to ensure that Putin is forced to the negotiating table and to ensure that Ukraine wins, that we win.

**Michał Kobosko (Renew).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Rosja prowadzi wojnę na wyniszczenie, wojnę obliczoną na eliminację całego narodu ukraińskiego. Rosja ma mnóstwo ludzi, takie jest od zawsze ich podejście. Jak mówił już Stalin: *(poseł mówi w języku nieurzędowym) – they have lots of people*. Dla Rosji ludzie to tylko liczby. Skoro nie szanowali i nie szanują życia własnych obywateli, tym bardziej nie mają szacunku dla tych, których postrzegają jako wrogów.

Nie mają szacunku dla bombardowanych ukraińskich cywili, dla przetrzymywanych w nieludzkich warunkach jeńców wojennych, dla setek porwanych do Rosji ukraińskich dzieci. To jest totalna przepaść kulturowa między nimi a nami. Nie możemy zmienić ich mentalności, uwolnić ich zniewolonych umysłów.

Możemy tylko przez nasze zdecydowane działania zniechęcać Putina do kolejnych ataków na Ukrainę, do ataku na Europę. Wszyscy ci, którzy tu w Parlamencie Europejskim sympatyzują z Putinem, uznają jego racje, jeżdżą do Moskwy i chcą z nim paktować, otwierać Nord Stream, są współodpowiedzialni za okropieństwa tej przedłużającej się wojny.

Życie ludzkie jest wartością nadrzędną. Życie każdego z nas. Miejmy to na uwadze, gdy sympatycy Putina i spadkobiercy NSDAP marzą o unicestwianiu całych narodów. Nigdy więcej takich zbrodni!

**Mika Aaltola (PPE).** – Madam President, dear colleagues, next year, American aid to Ukraine will evaporate; let's stop pretending. We face a brutal truth – Europe now must finally deliver on its promises or betray everything we claim to stand for. We are brilliant at slogans, we use soaring rhetoric, brave words, yet Ukraine bleeds. We have poured more cash into Putin's war machine for energy than goes into the fighting for Ukraine.

We promised Ukraine EU fast-tracking, but when we look closer, are we keeping those promises? The grand announcement has been nothing but PR so far. Virtue signalling, a weak-kneed avoidance of the actual gut punch needed to defeat Russia.

Consider this: Ukraine is Europe's breadbasket, it is the most war-experienced military in Europe, a nation forged in fire. Having them as an ally would be a great promise for the security of this continent. But are we just bluffing? Are we a continent missing in action? It is time to shed illusions and face fire. When the Nuremberg War Tribunals ended, they declared that a war of aggression is the supreme war crime. All the other war crimes follow from that: detention of civilians, stealing of children. And we must now face the aggressor.

**Marcos Ros Sempere (S&D).** – Señora presidenta, crímenes de lesa humanidad: así, sin paliativos. Así define el informe de la ONU lo que está pasando con las desapariciones de civiles ucranianos, desapariciones forzadas, deportaciones a Rusia, desoyendo todo el Derecho internacional. Violaciones de los derechos humanos, tortura y violencia sexual: esto es lo que el Gobierno de Putin comete contra ciudadanos ucranianos que el régimen percibe como amenaza y que han sido capturados durante la guerra —políticos locales, funcionarios o periodistas, entre otros—. También se produce el asesinato y la desaparición del personal militar capturado.

Comisaria, necesitamos el retorno inmediato de los desaparecidos, especialmente de los niños ucranianos transferidos y deportados por la fuerza a Rusia. Solo la Unión Europea es la garantía para asegurar el futuro: una Ucrania democrática y con justicia social.

No podemos fallar al pueblo ucraniano. Su lucha por la libertad es nuestra lucha por la democracia.

**Eugen Tomac (Renew).** – Doamnă vicepreședintă, doamnă comisară, stimați colegi, sunt revoltat atunci când aud în acest plen colegi care susțin că Rusia a avut motive pentru a începe acest război absurd. Nu! Rusia trebuie condamnată în fiecare zi pentru crimele comise în Ucraina, pentru copiii răpiți, pentru acest război absurd pe care l-a declanșat Putin.

Rusia încalcă dreptul internațional. Rusia nu are niciun fel de respect pentru viață. Rusia nu respectă demnitatea umană. Rusia nu respectă democrația. Iar pe frontul din Ucraina, cetățenii acestei țări luptă cu acest steag în spate pentru că își doresc să fie parte a Uniunii Europene, lucru care îl irită și revoltă pe Putin.

De aceea, cred că este esențial să rămânem alături de Ucraina și să îi spunem lui Putin că vom fi acolo, oricât va fi nevoie.

**Salvatore De Meo (PPE).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, di fronte ai gravi costi umani e alla crudeltà dell'aggressione russa, una guerra alle nostre porte che mina direttamente la nostra sicurezza, non possiamo più limitarci solo a dichiarazioni di condanna o a pacchetti di sanzioni.

L'Europa deve passare dalla solidarietà all'assunzione di responsabilità. Per questo serve una svolta concreta nella nostra capacità difensiva, dove difesa non significa solo carri armati o investimenti bellici. Difesa oggi vuol dire protezione delle infrastrutture civili, dei nostri ospedali, delle reti energetiche digitali, vuol dire sicurezza alimentare, mobilità strategica, cybersicurezza. Vuol dire costruire una capacità di risposta credibile contro minacce che non sono più convenzionali, ma ibride, asimmetriche e pervasive.

È giunto il momento di rafforzare con grande convinzione il pilastro europeo della NATO per rendere l'alleanza più forte, più equa e più credibile. L'unità transatlantica è, e resta, il nostro orizzonte strategico, ma perché sia sostenibile tutti devono fare la propria parte e l'Europa oggi deve finalmente assumersi la responsabilità della propria sicurezza.

**Maria Guzenina (S&D).** – Arvoisa puhemies, sodalla on aina monia ulottuvuuksia ja ihmiskohtaloiden hinta on mittaamaton. Me suomalaiset tiedämme tämän hyvin. Me taistelimme Venäjää vastaan vuosikymmeniä sitten, ja sen sodan seuraukset näkyvät edelleen meidän hautakivissämme ja niissä ihmiskohtaloissa, jotka kulkevat sukupolvien läpi.

Kun yli satatuhatta ukrainalaista on kuollut, neljäsataatuhatta haavoittunut ja kymmeniätuhansia lapsia viety Venäjälle väkisin, Ukrainaa ei saa käsitellä eilisen uutisena. Ukrainassa kuolee edelleen ihmisiä, tragedia on todellinen. Neuvoston ja komission julkilausuma on todella tärkeä.

Together we must remain resolute. By supporting Ukraine, we are also safeguarding the very foundations of European peace and security.

Yksi tärkeimmistä keinoista löytää tie kestävään rauhaan on pitää Eurooppa relevanttina geopoliittisten mannerlaattojen törmäysten keskelläkin. Tämä onnistuu eurooppalaisten arvojen pohjalta toimien yhdessä. Eurooppalaisuus on parhaimmillaan, kun solidaarisuus kytkee yksilöt ja hallitukset yhteiseen ponnistukseen, ja tässä meillä on ponnistuksen paikka.

**Isabel Wiseler-Lima (PPE).** – Madame la Présidente, les Ukrainiens ont montré, avec leur opération de bombardement des aéroports militaires russes, qu'ils étaient parfaitement à même de s'introduire profondément en territoire russe et de produire des dégâts conséquents, par choix des dégâts militaires. À la réaction rapportée du chef du Kremlin qu'il allait devoir riposter à ces attaques, ma première pensée a été: riposter comment? En tuant de nouveau des civils?

D'abord, difficile de qualifier quelque attaque que ce soit de la Russie contre l'Ukraine comme une riposte. C'est l'armée russe qui occupe l'Ukraine, qui l'attaque sans répit. Et puis, ce qui se passe sous mes yeux, c'est l'attaque systématique de civils par le Kremlin. Les bombardements russes ont pour objectif, de manière répétitive, quotidienne des villes ukrainiennes, et les hommes, femmes et enfants qui y vivent.

Nous parlons souvent des enfants déportés, mais jamais assez. Il faut le faire encore et encore. Et il faut aussi dénoncer, sans se lasser, le fait que les autorités russes détiennent des civils emprisonnés sans autre motif qu'ils sont ukrainiens. L'impunité ne peut gagner. Nous devons le dénoncer et faire en sorte qu'un jour les responsables soient jugés et punis.

**Ingeborg Ter Laak (PPE).** – Voorzitter, de schade van oorlog gaat veel verder dan gebouwen, verder dan infrastructuur. De echte littekens zitten in mensen. Mannen, vrouwen en kinderen in Oekraïne zijn slachtoffers van onvoorstelbaar geweld: verkrachtingen, gevangenneming, marteling, ontvoering. Het zijn mannen, vrouwen en kinderen die niets anders willen dan in vrede leven. Zij zien hun toekomst aan flarden worden weggeschoten.

Toch mogen we, te midden van al deze horror, niet vergeten dat achter elk uniform, aan welke kant ook, een mens zit: een zoon, een dochter, een vader, een moeder. Aan Oekraïense zijde, maar ook aan Russische zijde. Ook zij hebben recht op bescherming. Ook zij hebben recht op een toekomst.

Oorlogsgevangenen zijn geen pionnen op een schaakbord. Het zijn mensen, en mensenrechten gelden ook in tijden van oorlog. De uitruil van krijgsgevangenen en lichamen tussen Oekraïne en Rusland — recent nog — toont aan dat die rechten niet vanzelfsprekend worden gerespecteerd, en dat is onaanvaardbaar. Europa mag niet zwijgen. Wij moeten staan voor menselijke waardigheid, overal en altijd.

*Zgłoszenia z sali*

**Marta Wcisło (PPE).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Już trzy lata trwa inwazja Rosji na Ukrainę, inwazja na wyniszczenie Ukrainy. Każdego dnia niszczone są miasta, wsie, spadają rakiety na szpitale, przedszkola, żłobki, gwałcone są kobiety i dzieci, porywane są dzieci. My doskonale wiemy, Polacy, jak niebezpieczna jest Rosja. Znamy z historii i pamiętamy, jak wyglądało porwanie ludności cywilnej, wysyłanie ludności cywilnej na Sybir i zbrodnie katyńskie.

I przestrzegaliśmy Europę, jak niebezpieczna jest Rosja. Przestrzegaliśmy i mówiliśmy, że trzeba zatrzymać Rosję. Dziś cała Europa jest zobligowana i zobowiązana do tego, aby zatrzymać imperium zła, aby zatrzymać Rosję, która zagraża Europie i światu.

**Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D).** – Señora presidenta, señora comisaria, seguramente, entre lo mejor de la respuesta europea después de tres años de guerra de agresión en Ucrania se encuentra la activación en origen de la Directiva de protección temporal, gracias a la que once millones de personas desplazadas procedentes del conflicto en Ucrania han podido ingresar en la Unión Europea con libre circulación, residencia y acceso al mercado de trabajo.

Pero, todavía, tres años después, está por ver que la Unión Europea ponga sobre la mesa una propuesta diplomática realista, un plan de paz que dé esperanza a esos miles de niños secuestrados en Rusia y a los miles de prisioneros de guerra por ambas partes.

Por tanto, creo que, después del vacío que plantea la patética inanidad de Trump, que habló de resolver el conflicto en veinticuatro horas pero que no parece haber impresionado mucho a Putin, y después de tantos planes de sanciones, es el momento de que la Unión Europea ponga sobre la mesa un plan de paz que dé esperanza a esos miles de niños ucranianos secuestrados en Rusia y dé también una solución humanitaria a los prisioneros de guerra.

**Annamária Vicsek (PfE).** – Tisztelt Elnök Asszony! Az orosz–ukrán háborúnak nem lehet nyertese. A háborúnak csak vesztesei vannak: özvegyek, árvák, gyermekeiket sirató anyák. A kárpátaljai magyarság ukrajnai kisebbségként hatványozottan veszélyeztetett ebben a konfliktusban.

Ha van közösség, amely igazán érti, mit jelent kisebbségiként háborúba kényszerülni, azok mi vagyunk, vajdasági magyarok. A délszláv háborúk idején magyar férfiakat vittek el fegyverrel harcolni szerb vagy horvát oldalon, attól függően, hol éltek. Az nem a mi háborúnk volt. Ahogy a kárpátaljai magyarok is akaratukon kívül sodródtak a háborúba.

Magyarország kezdettől a béke pártján áll, és ma már nincs ebben egyedül. Elindult egy nehéz, de reményt adó párbeszéd, amelynek révén hadifoglyok térhettek haza, elesett katonák kaphattak méltó temetést. De az emberek nem temetni akarják a szeretteiket, hanem hazavárják őket élve.

Az Európai Uniónak nem szítania, hanem csillapítania kellene a háborút. Ukrajnának, a térségnek és egész Európának béke kell.

**Sebastian Tynkkynen (ECR).** – Madam President, the recent prisoner exchanges have given us hope. Hope that it is possible to survive horrifying conditions, that many families will get their father, mother, sibling or child back alive.

But dear policymakers, I remind you, Putin does not want peace. He wants to destroy the Ukrainian people and state. Russian invaders have kidnapped nearly 20 000 Ukrainian children. These children are being brainwashed to become Russians and fight against their own country. Ukrainian civilians are under systematic Russian bombardment.

In Kherson, Russian drones rained upon the inhabitants under a terror campaign entitled 'Human safari'. The murder of civilians on behalf of Russia is a calculated effort. There is only one acceptable solution for such a country. We must force Russia to retreat from Ukraine.

**Magdalena Adamowicz (PPE).** – Szanowna Pani Przewodnicząca! Pani Komisarz! Europejczyku, zamknij oczy. Wyobraź sobie, że twoje dzieci i ty musicie patrzeć, jak twoja żona, a ich matka, jest gwałcona przez ruskich sołdatów. Wyobraź sobie, jak potem musisz patrzeć, jak ci sołdaci gwałcą twoje dzieci. A potem przychodzą inni i zabierają te dzieci. I nigdy już ich nie zobaczysz. Spędzasz miesiące zamknięty w piwnicy, torturowany i głodzony. Zazdrościsz sąsiadom z mieszkania obok, którzy umarli od razu we własnym łóżku, kiedy ruskie bomby spadły na wasz dom.

Rosja nie prowadzi wojny. Rosja dokonuje eksterminacji cywili i zrównuje Ukrainę z ziemią. To nie wojna, to apokalipsa. Niuansowanie i używanie sprawy pomocy Ukrainie do brudnej polityki to stanięcie w jednym szeregu z rosyjskimi zbrodniarzami.

Tu, w tej Izbie, przypominam słowa Einsteina: świat nie jest zagrożony przez złych ludzi, ale przez tych, którzy pozwalają złu działać. Dlatego nam nie wolno pozwolić ruskiemu złu działać dalej.

**Dainius Žalimas (Renew).** – Madam President, dear colleagues, we have heard many right words about the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine, including immeasurable human losses and sufferings. Regrettably, we have also heard extreme right and left representatives aligning themselves with the aggressor and spreading Russian lies.

There is no doubt that the aggression is the gravest international crime, no doubt that Russia is committing numerous crimes against humanity and war crimes, no doubt that we have to support Ukraine.

However, first and foremost, we must believe in the victory of Ukraine, in the victory of international law and justice. All the delays and shortcomings in supporting Ukraine can be explained by a lack of belief and consequently, a lack of determination.

If Israel, which is almost ten times smaller than Iran, can dismantle the latter's aggressive potential, why couldn't Ukraine, with our support, do the same?

Our belief in Ukraine and trust in ourselves is the most important in compelling the aggressor to peace, and it is indeed the issue of our survival. This is also a burden that history has placed on us.

**João Oliveira (The Left).** – Senhora Presidente, Senhora Comissária Kos, há mais de 11 anos que a guerra se arrasta na Ucrânia.

A realidade demonstra que é urgente o diálogo; um diálogo para uma solução política do conflito, um diálogo que dê resposta aos problemas da segurança coletiva e do desarmamento na Europa, um diálogo que vise o cumprimento dos princípios da Carta da ONU e da Ata Final da Conferência de Helsínquia. O diálogo retomado em Istambul entre a Rússia e Ucrânia é um importante passo. Deve contribuir para fazer avançar um processo negocial que responda às causas do conflito e abra caminho a uma paz justa e duradoura na Europa.

Impõe-se que os Estados Unidos, a NATO e a União Europeia ponham fim às manobras que visam prolongar a guerra e obstaculizar uma solução política para o conflito.

Há que parar de insistir na confrontação e na mobilização de milhares de milhões para os armamentos e a guerra — recursos que faltam e são retirados à coesão, aos salários, à saúde, à educação, à habitação, enfim, à resposta aos problemas dos povos.

É preciso travar este caminho para o precipício e colocar a paz como verdadeiro futuro da humanidade.

**Maria Grapini (S&D).** – Doamnă președintă, doamnă comisară, v-am ascultat cu atenție și trebuie să spun că sunt dezamăgită. Ne-ați făcut niște informări, de fapt. Cetățenii care ne ascultă aici s-au săturat de trei ani noi să dezbatem, să facem rezoluții, Comisia să constate și de fapt să nu se întâmple nimic.

Mor oameni acolo, doamnă comisară. Țara mea a primit refugiați, și copii, și adulți. Sigur, nu putem să mutăm toată populația Ucrainei. Întreb: există o soluție pentru pace? Ați discutat la nivel internațional, cu comunitatea internațională? Se poate ca un singur om să înfrângă un glob pământesc? Nu se poate!

Eu cred că diplomația a rămas repetentă, nu s-au pus bazele unei negocieri încât să punem capăt acestui război și acestui măcel. Pentru că nu vorbim numai de obiectivele economice, vorbim aici de oameni, vorbim de copii care rămân marcați pe toată perioada.

Și sunt state ipocrite. Degeaba am votat noi aici sancțiuni, când statele din Uniunea Europeană au importat mai departe și au alimentat bugetul Rusiei cu bani și nu puțini.

Deci, doamnă comisară, eu cred că nu mai trebuie să discutăm decât atunci când veniți cu o propunere concretă. Sau ați crezut că domnul Trump face în 24 de ore pace? Iată că n-a făcut, s-a dus în Ucraina ca să pună mâna pe niște bogății acolo și pe niște zăcăminte.

Eu cred că avem responsabilitate, Uniunea Europeană, să spunem cetățenilor noștri ce putem să facem pentru încetarea războiului.

**Lukas Sieper (NI).** – Madam President, dear people of Europe, three weeks ago, our colleague Fidias Panayiotou said in an interview that we just don't know how many of the abducted Ukrainian children actually like living in Russia now. As if a child taken from home, torn from their families, reprogrammed to forget who they are, could ever be happy. This is how far Russia's propaganda has reached, how it turns even Members of this House into willing or unwitting pawns. But I have bad news for Putin: he may lead some into the dark, but never Europe as a whole. We are free. We stand with Ukraine for as long as it takes. *Slava Ukraini!*

**Vytenis Povilas Andriukaitis (S&D).** – Gerbiama posėdžio pirmininke, gerbiama komisare, kolegos. Čia daug pasakyta teisingų žodžių apie tai, ką, kokius nusikaltimus daro Putinas ir jo agresyvus ir nusikalstamas režimas. Bet mano klausimas yra kitoks. Mano klausimas yra Europos šalių, valstybių ir vyriausybių Vadovų Tarybai. Ar iš tiesų galime ir toliau elgtis taip, kaip elgiamės? Yra šalių, kurios labai smarkiai padeda Ukrainai. Bet yra didelis skaičius šalių, kurių pagalba Ukrainai yra maža. Reikia kelti klausimą [dėl] solidaraus ir vieningo pagalbos dydžio Ukrainai. Reikia didesnio biudžeto ir Europos Sąjungos valanda dabar akivaizdi. Ukrainos žmonės, kaip niekas – aš ten visai neseniai buvau ir vėl važiuosiu, – kaip niekas laukia integracijos į Europos Sąjungą. Mūsų pažadai turi remtis konkrečiais namų darbais, kad mes tikrai paspartintumėm Ukrainos integraciją į Europos Sąjungą. Tai yra vienintelis realus taikos planas.

*(Koniec zgłoszeń z sali)*

**Marta Kos,** *Member of the Commission.* – *(start of speech off mic)* … for the efforts to end the war through a comprehensive, just and sustainable peace and, of course, to ensure accountability. The diplomatic efforts to stop the war, as presented by the representative of the Council, are indeed essential to ending the ongoing suffering of the people to Ukraine. We join Ukraine and international partners, including the US, in calling for a full, unconditional ceasefire of at least 30 days.

Alongside this track, it is no less important to continue the work of ensuring accountability for war crimes. Justice must be rendered to the victims of Russian aggression and, in the long term, impunity must not be allowed to pave the way for future crimes.

It is not easy to talk about the accession process in Ukraine while the bombs are falling on the country. It is not easy to speak about the reconstruction of Ukraine when something that we already reconstructed is ruined in the next days. But the most difficult thing is to speak about the victims, about the children you have been speaking.

Therefore, dear Members of the Parliament, Mr Gahler, Mr Auštrevičius, Mr Lagodinsky and Mr Cramer, Ms Strack-Zimmermann, thank you for your personal stories – because every human has a personal story – and also thank you to Mr Kobosko, who said that human life is a supreme value. That's why I'm proud that the European Union is supporting Ukraine. And that's why for me, the people of Ukraine are already the winners of this war, even if the war has not ended yet.

**Adam Szłapka,** *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Madam President, Madam Commissioner, honourable Members, thank you very much for this debate. The human cost of Russia's war against Ukraine is dramatic and increasing by the day. No one wants peace more than Ukraine. No one wants an end to the suffering of civilians more than Ukraine.

An essential first step towards genuine peace is a full and unconditional ceasefire. Ukraine has accepted it, but Russia has refused so far. Effective negotiations can only take place if Ukraine is put in a position of strength and if we continue to exert pressure on Russia. This means stepping up our support for Ukraine and continuing to strengthen our defence capabilities.

**Przewodnicząca.** – Dziękuję, panie ministrze.

Zamykam debatę.

Głosowanie odbędzie się podczas następnej sesji miesięcznej.

*Oświadczenia pisemne (art. 178)*

**Rihards Kols (ECR),** *in writing*. – Russia's war against Ukraine is not a conflict – it is a campaign of state terror. The deliberate bombing of homes, hospitals and evacuation points is not 'collateral damage'. It is the Kremlin's strategy. What Putin cannot conquer, he tries to destroy. Today, tens of thousands of Ukrainian civilians remain illegally detained in Russian captivity. Prisoners of war are tortured, denied access to the ICRC and held incommunicado. At the same time, children are abducted and deported into forced Russification. These are war crimes. They are also tools of psychological warfare against the Ukrainian people – and against Europe.

The EU has a moral and strategic duty to respond. Ukraine must be equipped not only to survive, but to win. And we must pursue accountability relentlessly: through sanctions, through international justice and by closing every loophole that enables Russia's war machine. Any calls for 'dialogue' while bombs fall and civilians are held hostage only serve the aggressor. Peace does not come through appeasement. It comes through strength, resolve and standing with Ukraine until justice prevails.

## 22. Strengthening rural areas in the EU through cohesion policy (debate)

**Przewodnicząca.** – Kolejnym punktem porządku dziennego jest sprawozdanie sporządzone przez Denisa Nesciego w imieniu Komisji Rozwoju Regionalnego w sprawie wzmocnienia obszarów wiejskich UE dzięki polityce spójności (2024/2105(INI)) (A10-0092/2025).

**Denis Nesci,** *relatore*. – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signor Vicepresidente esecutivo Fitto, oggi è con profondo senso di responsabilità e sincera emozione che mi rivolgo a voi per presentare la relazione sul rafforzamento delle zone rurali nell'Unione europea attraverso la politica di coesione.

Sono figlio di una terra che conosce bene le potenzialità ma anche le difficoltà del mondo rurale. È proprio da questa consapevolezza che nasce il lavoro che oggi vi presento. La relazione vuole essere un punto di partenza per un'azione concreta verso ciò che dovrebbe essere un obiettivo condiviso da tutti noi: portare le zone rurali a essere non più marginali, ma finalmente protagoniste di una strategia di sviluppo mirata.

Le zone rurali coprono l'80 % del territorio europeo e ospitano quasi un quarto della popolazione. Eppure, sembra che non si sia mai pensato di svilupparle in modo parallelo alle zone urbane. Da troppo tempo queste aree soffrono di isolamento, spopolamento, scarsa connettività, accesso limitato ai servizi essenziali, invecchiamento demografico e difficoltà occupazionali. Ma non sono terre perse, sono risorse preziose, scrigni di cultura, biodiversità, identità e, oggi più che mai, leve strategiche per nuovi modi di produrre energia e per la sicurezza alimentare.

Il file nasce da questa convinzione: rilanciare le zone rurali non è solo un atto di giustizia territoriale, è una scelta strategica per l'intera Unione. È strategico, infatti, voler fornire alle aree rurali strumenti propri sia in termini finanziari che amministrativi. A questo proposito, la creazione di infopoint dedicati al supporto delle PMI e dei comuni risulta oggi imprescindibile per ottimizzare l'utilizzo delle risorse disponibili e garantire un sostegno concreto alle regioni.

Abbiamo lavorato con l'obiettivo di dare una cornice chiara e strumenti efficaci per valorizzare le aree rurali come motori di sviluppo. Il testo propone una strategia integrata che unisca politiche agricole, coesione territoriale, innovazione digitale, accesso ai trasporti, formazione, servizi idrici efficienti e sanità. In particolare sulla sanità invitiamo la Commissione a integrare la sua strategia per la sanità digitale, misure specifiche per le zone identificate come rurali nell'ottica di fornire ai presidi sanitari del territorio un supporto concreto per l'aggiornamento delle tecnologie, e chiediamo di potenziare i servizi offerti da tali presidi.

Sottolineiamo inoltre il ruolo centrale dello sviluppo infrastrutturale per la crescita economica e sociale delle zone rurali, vista la necessità di sistemi di trasporto, in particolare quelli pubblici, che consentano collegamenti migliori e un migliore accesso ai servizi essenziali, ma anche la necessità di reti energetiche più efficienti e resilienti.

Vogliamo che vivere in una zona definita «rurale» non significhi avere meno opportunità. Questo significa investire in infrastrutture, sostenere le imprese rurali, promuovere il turismo sostenibile, rafforzare la resilienza dei territori, incentivare il ruolo delle donne e il ritorno dei giovani alla loro terra. Il cuore pulsante della proposta è uno: la dignità delle persone. Non possiamo accettare che vivere in un borgo o in una valle significhi essere cittadini di serie B. Ogni comunità rurale ha diritto a servizi, connettività, formazione e prospettive.

Il lavoro è frutto di un ascolto attento sui territori, attraverso gli incontri con gli agricoltori, gli amministratori locali, le associazioni, i giovani. Questo perché le politiche rurali devono partire dal basso, rispettare il principio di sussidiarietà, rafforzare l'identità e la responsabilità locale.

Sostenere le zone rurali non significa solo interpretare e ampliare il principio della politica di coesione, ma rappresenta un investimento concreto per il futuro dell'Europa. E poi è un segnale chiaro che rivolgiamo ai nostri cittadini: non vi abbiamo dimenticati. È soprattutto un messaggio di speranza per chi vuole restare e ancor di più un riconoscimento del diritto dei nostri giovani di restare nella loro terra e costruire lì il proprio futuro.

Ringrazio tutti coloro che hanno contribuito, in particolare i relatori ombra, gli *advisor*, i tecnici, per l'efficace collaborazione e invito quest'Aula a far propria questa visione perché centinaia di migliaia di comunità rurali che aspettano da tempo un segnale chiaro dall'Europa non hanno più il tempo di aspettare.

**Raffaele Fitto,** *Executive Vice-President of the Commission*. – Madam President, honourable Members, first, I would like to thank rapporteur Nesci and all the shadow rapporteurs for this important and timely report.

I fully agree with your analysis. Rural areas are central to our European way of life, and they are essential for Europe's competitiveness and resilience. I welcome the report's recognition that cohesion policy plays a crucial role in strengthening rural areas.

Supporting rural areas is a high priority for the Commission. As rightly emphasised in the report, cohesion policy already delivers significant support in rural areas. This complements the rural development interventions provided by the common agricultural policy. Investment in broadband, transport, clean energy, small and medium enterprises and innovation, and in health, education and local infrastructure, enhances economic and social cohesion.

However, challenges like skills shortages, the digital divide, demographic decline and the limited access to essential services persist. As correctly underlined in the report, we need further efforts to provide our rural areas with adequate tools to overcome the considerable challenges they face, which have an increasing impact on regional competitiveness and social cohesion.

A particular priority for me is the right to stay – the right of every European to remain in the place they call home. This is also fundamental for young generations of farmers, which is one of the key challenges in our farming sector. The Commission committed to further promote generational renewal in the agricultural sector through a dedicated strategy later this year.

Several regions in the EU are facing the problem of depopulation. This has led to a sharp decline for their working-age population. Apart from the tools under cohesion policy and the common agricultural policy, social policies and social innovation can help address this. Through the Harnessing Talent Platform, we are also actively working with 82 regions, including 27 mainly rural regions, to develop local strategies that retain talent and allow for smart adjustments to demographic challenges.

In addition, the mid-term review of cohesion policy programmes puts the focus on several areas of key concern for rural areas, providing incentives and flexibilities for goals such as water resilience, housing, energy transition and greater competitiveness innovation.

For example, water resilience – we have seen regions facing water scarcity while others are affected by floods. Through the mid-term review, we propose changes to encourage investment in water resilience, including digitalisation of water infrastructure, and mitigation of drought and desertification impacts.

The mid-term review proposal will deliver a more responsive cohesion policy, aligned with today's realities, and better addressing current and future challenges.

Earlier this year, Commissioner Hansen and I presented the new Vision for Agriculture and Food, strengthening the synergies between policies to help rural areas, updating our rural action plan and further developing rural proofing, as well as the Rural Pact.

With this in mind, the Commission collaborates with the agrifood sector, ensuring that the sector remains competitive, resilient, attractive for future generations, and profitable.

Finally, you highlighted in your report the need to simplify administrative procedures by reducing red tape for farmers and small rural businesses. Here, I am happy to point out that in May, the European Commission adopted the omnibus proposal on agriculture, responding to the need to simplify the policy.

To conclude, this report makes a valuable contribution to the future of rural areas. Collaboration is key. We need to work together. This requires action and partnership across all levels of governance to modernise, simplify and reinforce the cohesion policy, providing tailored solutions to the unique situation of every territory in Europe, with the rural regions at the heart of our efforts.

I now look forward to the debate and to hearing your views.

**Cristina Guarda,** *relatrice per parere della commissione AGRI.* – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, innanzitutto vorrei ringraziare i colleghi con cui ho affrontato questo percorso sia nella commissione per l'agricoltura che nella commissione per lo sviluppo regionale, perché finalmente si parla di utilizzare la politica di coesione per sostenere davvero le aree rurali, non soltanto in agricoltura, ma anche per garantire servizi essenziali, opportunità per giovani, donne, genitori, o per investire nella transizione ecologica per difendere le piccole imprese dalla crisi climatica o progetti come le comunità energetiche, che restituiscono potere ai cittadini.

Ma attenzione all'ipocrisia: con una mano votiamo testi non legislativi che celebrano la coesione per le aree rurali, con l'altra sosteniamo modifiche legislative che rischiano di dirottare quegli stessi fondi verso difesa e grandi imprese. È una contraddizione che è grave, perché se è faticoso trovare i fondi per costruire una strategia di difesa comune, la soluzione non è incentivarne ben 27 nazionali usando gli unici fondi veri della politica sociale europea, perché le armi non combattono lo spopolamento.

La coesione deve aiutare le comunità, non industrie belliche con profitti record. E le regioni a rischio? I fondi di coesione devono garantire ai loro cittadini servizi sociali, medici e strutture sicure. Ma spostare risorse dalle aree rurali a produzioni militari, magari senza trasparenza, è un tradimento dello spirito della coesione. Troviamone altre di risorse. Domani voteremo una lucida proposta per il futuro dei fondi europei per le aree rurali. Troviamo il coraggio di essere coerenti anche nei prossimi atti.

**Christian Doleschal,** *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin, sehr geehrter Herr Vizepräsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! In wenigen Tagen wird die Europäische Kommission ihren Vorschlag für den neuen mehrjährigen Finanzrahmen vorlegen. Jetzt ist der richtige Zeitpunkt, um mit unserem Initiativbericht zur Stärkung des ländlichen Raums ein klares Signal an die Kommission mit Blick auf den nächsten EU-Haushalt zu senden. Denn eines ist klar: Wenn wir Europa zusammenhalten wollen, muss die Kohäsionspolitik ganz oben auf der Agenda stehen – finanziell und politisch. Sie ist unser stärkstes Instrument für gleichwertige Lebensverhältnisse in der gesamten Union. Ich bin davon überzeugt, dass unsere Politik darauf angelegt sein muss, dass die ländlichen Räume künftig Zukunftsräume in Europa werden. Ich bin dankbar, dass wir viele unserer Prioritäten in dem Bericht unterbringen konnten.

Ein Punkt, der mir besonders wichtig war, ist, dass wir Grenzregionen innerhalb der Europäischen Union gezielt unterstützen wollen. Ich bin davon überzeugt, dass Europa gerade an seinen Binnengrenzen zusammenwächst; nicht in den Brüsseler Amtsstuben, sondern dort, wo das tägliche Leben stattfindet. Deshalb brauchen wir mehr Handlungsspielraum für die grenzüberschreitende Zusammenarbeit – für Feinschmecker aber dennoch ein wichtiges Thema. Ich bin dankbar, dass wir positioniert haben, dass die europäischen Verbünde für territoriale Zusammenarbeit künftig mehr Eigenverantwortung bekommen sollen.

Zentralisierung? Ein klares Nein! Uns ist es wichtig, dass wir in der Kohäsionspolitik auch künftig den Regionen den entsprechenden Raum einräumen. Mehr Zentralismus heißt meist mehr Bürokratie, weniger Tempo und geringere Wirksamkeit.

Ich bin dankbar, dass es gelungen ist, dass wir auch das Wassermanagement besser verankern wollen, um Naturkatastrophen künftig vorzubeugen. Ein Punkt, den ich noch sehr wichtig finde, ist, dass es uns in diesem Bericht auch gelungen ist, dass wir beispielsweise auch das kulturelle Erbe Europas künftig mit europäischen Mitteln fördern wollen. Ich bin davon überzeugt, dass wir beispielsweise Kirchen auch in den nächsten Jahren unterstützen müssen. Sie sind das kulturelle und christliche Fundament Europas.

**Sabrina Repp,** *im Namen der S&D-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Exekutiv-Vizepräsident! Vor Kurzem war ich in Zislow, einem kleinen Ort mitten im ländlichen Raum von Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. Wunderschön gelegen, geprägt von Menschen, die ihr Zuhause lieben. Der Altersdurchschnitt ist hoch, junge Familien fehlen, und doch spürt man etwas Kostbares – Engagement, Ideen und Zusammenhalt. Der ländliche Raum ist lebendig. Nicht weil alles einfach ist, sondern weil Menschen füreinander einstehen und ihr Zuhause aktiv mitgestalten. Was es braucht, ist keine Mitleidsbekundung, sondern echte Unterstützung, denn dort, wo Menschen ihr Zuhause mit Herz und Hand gestalten, entsteht Gemeinschaft. Genau diesen Zusammenhalt müssen wir fördern.

Wir sprechen über ein Europa, das zusammenhält. Genau das ist das Ziel von Kohäsionspolitik. Doch Zusammenhalt gelingt nur, wenn wir alle Regionen mitdenken. Ländliche Räume sind keine Randnotiz. Sie sind Lebensraum für Millionen von Menschen. Sie stehen für Engagement, Innovation und Gemeinschaft. Wenn wir sie vernachlässigen, gerät Europa aus dem Gleichgewicht – politisch, wirtschaftlich und sozial. Es ist ein Fehler, dass die Kommission mit ihren Plänen rund um die Halbzeitbilanz und den Plänen für den neuen mehrjährigen Finanzrahmen zunehmend den Fokus auf industrielle Zentren setzt und damit ganze Regionen ins Abseits stellt.

Nicht mit uns! Wir stehen für Teilhabe statt Abhängigkeit, für Chancen statt Abwanderung, für das Recht, in der eigenen Herkunftsregion zu leben, mit guter Infrastruktur, fairen Bildungschancen und einer starken öffentlichen Daseinsvorsorge. Wir stehen für ein Europa, das niemanden zurücklässt.

**André Rougé,** *au nom du groupe PfE*. – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, chers collègues, permettez-moi de saluer l'excellent rapport de notre collègue Nesci. Alors qu'il couvre les 4/5 de l'Union européenne, le monde rural demeure défavorisé, bénéficiant de trois fois moins de financements que les zones urbaines.

Il assure pourtant des fonctions essentielles: l'aménagement du territoire, la sécurité alimentaire et la transmission aux générations montantes de notre patrimoine historique, culturel et de biodiversité. Le rapport Nesci dresse le bilan chiffré de cette relégation du monde rural en Europe. Un monde où les jeunes se font rares, un monde démédicalisé, numériquement retardé, dépourvu de logements, d'écoles, de commerces et de lieux de vie.

Avec un tel bilan en Europe continentale, imaginez une seconde ce que veut dire être rural dans une région ultrapériphérique de la France d'outre-mer. C'est être périphérisé dans ce qui est déjà l'ultrapériphérie, c'est la double peine. Et nous ne pouvons nous y résoudre.

Je m'associe d'autant plus aux propositions formulées dans ce rapport qu'il porte une réelle attention aux outre-mer. Nos propositions spécifiquement ultramarines sur la couverture de très haut débit des zones rurales, la diversification des cultures pour l'autosuffisance alimentaire et le développement des petites entreprises rurales ont été retenues, et je vous en remercie Monsieur le rapporteur.

Le chemin est encore long, mais les équilibres politiques au sein de cette Assemblée nous permettent aujourd'hui de peser sur les grands choix de l'Union européenne. C'est ce que nous allons continuer à faire inlassablement pour nos peuples et nos nations, en Europe continentale comme dans les outre-mer.

**Francesco Torselli,** *a nome del gruppo ECR*. – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signor Commissario, quando parliamo di politiche di coesione pensiamo giustamente al rilancio delle aree interne e alla difesa delle diversità europee.

Ma permettetemi una riflessione. Chi andrà a ripopolare queste aree? Chi vi farà crescere e studiare i propri figli? Chi investirà i propri capitali se non vi sarà una connessione digitale? Oggi è centrale nello sviluppo della vita in Europa avere una connessione performante. Finalmente in quest'Aula, grazie al collega Nesci, si parla di rilancio delle aree rurali, attraverso la chiusura del *gap* digitale, attraverso la garanzia di accesso a Internet veloce, alla rete 5G, di istruzione online, di realizzazione di infrastrutture moderne e performanti.

Ma oggi il Parlamento, grazie a Lei, ha fatto addirittura di più, è andato oltre, ha lanciato una sfida, si è rivolto ai giovani e ha parlato di digitalizzazione. Questa è la sfida delle sfide, e chi si opporrà a questa sfida si opporrà alla più bella rivoluzione culturale che noi potremo fare quest'anno in quest'Aula.

**Ciaran Mullooly,** *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Madam President, Commissioner, I want to commend the rapporteur for the excellent work. As an Irish MEP representing a large rural constituency, this report highlights many of the structural challenges faced by these communities. However, one of the most pressing issues of our time for our rural communities is access to housing, Commissioner.

Madam President, a key challenge in solving this rural housing crisis is addressing the lack of infrastructure. Without proper investment in water, broadband and transport links, even the most basic planning permission becomes unattainable. This has had a direct effect on young people who want to stay in our communities, but cannot because of infrastructure. Supporting this kind of generational continuity and ensuring we have adequate support through cohesion policy is essential, Commissioner, in keeping rural life.

If reports are to be believed, one month from today the European Commission will come forward with the multiannual financial framework. This is a crucial time for our regions, Commissioner. If we do not act now, I fear for the viability in the future. Let's keep the money for regions, not for defence, Commissioner.

**Valentina Palmisano,** *a nome del gruppo The Left.* – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signor Commissario Fitto, innanzitutto permettetemi di ringraziare il collega, il *rapporteur* Nesci, per il lavoro fatto, e tutti i relatori ombra con i quali è stato davvero un piacere lavorare.

Oggi discutiamo un provvedimento che tocca da vicino le nostre comunità, i nostri territori. Le aree rurali non sono periferie da assistere, sono una parte essenziale dell'Europa. Eppure, da troppo tempo vengono sistematicamente ignorate. Rafforzarle non è un gesto simbolico. È una questione di giustizia democratica, vuol dire garantire diritti, servizi, opportunità a chi ha scelto di restare e vivere lì. E noi dobbiamo ringraziare queste persone ed aiutarle.

Con i nostri emendamenti abbiamo inserito nel testo temi cruciali, a noi molto cari. La lotta alla crisi idrica e alla desertificazione, che sta mettendo in ginocchio i nostri agricoltori e gli allevatori, minacciando anche la sicurezza alimentare. Abbiamo tutti davanti agli occhi le immagini degli invasi prosciugati, ad esempio in Puglia o in Sicilia. Il diritto a ricevere cure di qualità nel proprio territorio, con il rafforzamento magari del sistema dei medici di base e la creazione della figura dell'infermiere di comunità. Il recupero di immobili in disuso in aree a rischio spopolamento per creare magari spazi di *co-housing* e di *co-working,* e magari poter attrarre i lavoratori che, appunto, lavorano da remoto. La tutela delle lingue minoritarie come patrimonio culturale europeo. In Salento, ad esempio, in molte comunità si parla il griko, così come in Calabria, come saprete bene, si parla l'arbëreshë. Si tratta di un'eredità culturale importante che rischiamo di perdere se non la tuteliamo e la valorizziamo. Oppure la creazione di un Fondo europeo per l'imprenditoria rurale giovanile e gli aiuti ai giovani per garantire la loro autonomia abitativa, invece di essere costretti a vivere con i propri genitori.

Ecco, queste sono le priorità per i cittadini europei, non quelle di aumentare investimenti in armi, mentre le nostre aree interne continuano a perdere servizi, persone e prospettive. È una scelta politica. Noi siamo dall'altra parte. Io credo ancora in una politica che sia a servizio dei cittadini e continuerò a battermi per questo.

**Irmhild Boßdorf,** *im Namen der ESN-Fraktion.* – Frau Präsidentin! Den Einkaufsladen um die Ecke, eine gute Kinderbetreuung, Zwergschulen, großzügiger Wohnraum und Erwerbsmöglichkeiten in erreichbarer Nähe: Das ist es, was Familien in Europa brauchen und wollen. In Deutschland erleben wir bereits seit 2017 eine neue Lust aufs Land. Immer mehr Familien zieht es in Kleinstädte und Dörfer. Doch der ländliche Raum muss entsprechend entwickelt sein, damit er eine Zukunft hat.

270 Milliarden Euro werden in den nächsten vier Jahren in unsere ländlichen Regionen fließen. Diese Gelder werden nicht mehr, wie in der letzten Legislaturperiode, für den Kampf gegen Rechts missbraucht. Diese Gelder werden endlich für gute Lebensbedingungen ausgegeben. Mit diesen Geldern wird es uns gelingen, dass es nicht nur das vielbeschworene *right to stay,* sondern vor allem die *possibility to stay* gibt. Damit geben wir jungen Familien die Möglichkeit auf ein gutes Leben. Dann entsteht aus Landlust eine neue Heimat.

**Andrey Novakov (PPE).** – Madam President, Mr Vice-President, Mr Nesci, I would like to start with *grazie mille* to you for your work and dedicating so much of your focus to rural areas. I don't need a written speech to talk about rural areas, because I am proud to come from this kind of society.

In rural areas, your neighbour is more than your family, and this is something that we should cherish and enjoy in Europe. And the only thing that keeps us away from seeing rural areas as a demographic desert is the cohesion policy. The people who live in those areas don't need any Amsterdam level of achievements or Paris level of tourism. Very simple things will keep them in the places that they love: a good road (that is not taking innocent human lives in car accidents), clean water, good education and health care. And that's it.

Our history shows that during the crisis, people go exactly to those havens in the rural areas. And the first and most important thing that we can do and deliver here from the European Parliament, at least not to make those people lives more complicated than it is at the moment with our legislation – make our regulations easy to read as a newspaper. When we deliver funding for those regions it should be clear what we require and what we provide. So I think we can rely on those people to keep Europe up and running, as they do so far.

**Marcos Ros Sempere (S&D).** – Señora presidenta, señor comisario, quien nace hoy en una zona rural de la Unión Europea está condenado a emigrar. Nuestras zonas rurales se despueblan y cualquier ciudadano debería tener el derecho a quedarse donde nació. Las zonas rurales representan el 83 % del territorio de la Unión, pero albergan solo un tercio de la población, y su renta media es solo el 87,5 % de la renta media de las zonas urbanas.

Las zonas rurales tienen grandes desafíos por delante: mejorar su movilidad y conectividad, garantizar menores tasas de desempleo, incrementar los servicios básicos y las oportunidades de desarrollo económico… Si no actuamos, ponemos en peligro la diversidad europea, así como el progreso social y económico.

La despoblación rural y la desigualdad atentan contra los principios de la política de cohesión, que deben inspirar el trabajo de las instituciones comunitarias. La política de cohesión más allá de 2027 debe ser ambiciosa y aumentar la descentralización, fomentando un crecimiento equilibrado, con más recursos en sectores estratégicos, emprendimiento rural, turismo rural, políticas que apoyen la transición energética, y apoyando especialmente a las mujeres y a los jóvenes para frenar el declive demográfico.

Si centralizamos la política de cohesión, estaremos matando definitivamente nuestras zonas rurales. Es nuestra responsabilidad: garanticemos el derecho de todos y todas a quedarse donde han nacido.

**Rody Tolassy (PfE).** – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, chers collègues, aujourd'hui, nous examinons un rapport crucial: le renforcement des zones rurales grâce à la politique de cohésion. Ces territoires, qui couvrent 91 % du territoire de l'Union européenne, abritent plus de la moitié de notre population.

En France, 11 millions de nos concitoyens vivent en milieu rural, y compris dans les régions ultrapériphériques, trop souvent oubliées dans cette dynamique européenne. Pourtant, ces territoires sont des trésors, des trésors de savoir-faire, de résilience, de lien social, mais aussi parfois des terres abandonnées, toujours des terres de lutte.

Je veux ici rappeler l'exemple du programme «Avenir montagnes». Il démontre qu'avec une volonté politique affirmée, un accompagnement humain de proximité et des leviers financiers adaptés, nous pouvons transformer la donne. Mobilité durable, ingénierie locale, infrastructures rénovées, tourisme repensé: ce modèle a inspiré une politique de cohésion véritablement solidaire, en particulier à destination des outre-mer.

Dans nos territoires, la ruralité représente des spécificités. Contrairement à d'autres régions, la population y reste nombreuse, la campagne ne se dépeuple pas. Elle a donc besoin non pas de reconquête, mais de plus de connectivité, de services publics et d'investissements ciblés. Alors ne laissons plus nos campagnes, nos montagnes, nos îles, nos ruralités au bord du chemin européen, renforçons les zones rurales, c'est tenir la promesse de l'Union, celle de l'égalité des chances, partout, pour tous.

**Waldemar Buda (ECR).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Zrównoważony rozwój całej Europy i wszystkich krajów to jest absolutny priorytet. Gratuluję sprawozdania, ponieważ ono rzeczywiście stawia diagnozę, które są dla nas dość oczywiste, to znaczy wyludnianie, niedoinwestowanie, brak jakościowych usług publicznych – to jest to, co znamy na co dzień. I Szanowni Państwo, w dobie tego rodzaju diagnoz powinno być tutaj pytanie, ile więcej przekażemy na politykę spójności, ile więcej przekażemy na wspólną politykę rolną, żeby jednak te problemy minimalizować. I o to w tej sytuacji dzisiaj tutaj stoimy na tej sali, kiedy za chwilkę decydowały się będą decyzje o ograniczeniu wspólnej polityki rolnej i ograniczeniu polityk regionalnych w nowej perspektywie finansowej. Czyli diagnozujemy dobrze, natomiast za chwilkę chcemy postąpić, co pogłębi te problemy, które diagnozujemy w tym sprawozdaniu.

My w Polsce w latach 2021-2023 ponad 100 mld zł przekazaliśmy, można powiedzieć, taką lokalną polityką spójności, programem strategicznym na rzecz właśnie obszarów małych miast, małych miejscowości. Ten program został zablokowany w poprzednim roku i widzimy już tego skutki. Widzimy te problemy, że małe miejscowości znów stają się nieatrakcyjne, znów nie stanowią pewnego rodzaju alternatywy dla dużych miast. Więc zastanówmy się w tej nowej perspektywie, czy rzeczywiście te plany, o których słyszymy, ograniczania środków na WPR, ograniczenia na politykę spójności doprowadzą do jeszcze głębszych podziałów, jeszcze większych trudności w porównaniu i życiu w małych miejscowościach.

**Christine Singer (Renew).** – Frau Präsidentin, sehr geehrter Herr Exekutiv-Vizepräsident! Die Kohäsionspolitik ist ein zentrales Instrument, um regionale Unterschiede auszugleichen – auch bei uns in Bayern –, etwa in strukturschwächeren oder benachteiligten ländlichen Gebieten. Gerade dort braucht es gezielte Impulse, damit die Menschen in ihrer Heimat bleiben und die Zukunft gestalten können. Dazu gehören Investitionen in Infrastruktur, medizinische Versorgung, Digitalisierung und Bildung, und zwar dort, wo sie besonders fehlen.

Als Abgeordnete vom Land ist es mir ein Herzensanliegen, den ländlichen Raum in seiner ganzen Vielfalt sichtbar zu machen, denn Kohäsionspolitik darf nicht an der Stadtgrenze enden. Wo andere nur Wiesen, Wälder und Dörfer sehen, wird Tag für Tag gesellschaftlicher Zusammenhalt gelebt. Aber was nützen Förderprogramme, wenn Kommunen an komplizierten Antragsverfahren und hohen Eigenmittelanforderungen scheitern? Wir müssen Bürokratie abbauen, Verfahren vereinfachen und die Menschen vor Ort stärker einbinden. So wird Kohäsionspolitik wirklich zum Motor für gleichwertige Lebensverhältnisse in der Stadt und auf dem Land.

**Luis-Vicențiu Lazarus (NI).** – Doamnă președintă, aș începe acest discurs prin a întreba ceva care mi se pare extrem de fundamental. Oare noi, aici, în acest Parlament, de câte ori vorbim modelăm realmente realitățile? Pentru că am senzația, ca membru al celor două comisii, pentru transport și turism și pentru agricultură și dezvoltare rurală, că de un an de zile aproape de când vorbesc în aceste comisii nu am rezolvat nimic. Și mă simt neputincios și nu-mi place.

Pentru că România, oameni buni, dacă știți cumva, este țara cu cel mai mare deficit din Uniunea Europeană și, ca atare, cei care au condus-o până acum și care o conduc în continuare, deși nu neapărat i-a votat poporul, vor să rezolve acest deficit prin creșteri de TVA, prin creșteri de accize la combustibil, ceea ce va lichida turismul rural.

Totodată, de 17 ani nu am reușit să facem autostrăzi. Oare de ce? Poate reușim acum cu mobilitatea militară. Și lucrurile acestea se perpetuează încontinuu și nu ajungem niciunde. Practic, despre ce politică de coeziune vorbim noi? Cum va acționa această politică de coeziune într-o țară aflată sub deficit, care nu reușește să-și rezolve problemele? Realmente acești bani vor ajunge la oamenii de acasă, de acolo, din mediul rural, unde nici măcar șosele nu sunt sau unde au atâtea și atâtea probleme?

**Marta Wcisło (PPE).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Komisarzu! Rezolucja w sprawie wzmocnienia obszarów wiejskich – niezwykle ważna: ogranicza biurokrację dla rolników, wspiera małe i średnie przedsiębiorstwa, kładzie nacisk na skrócenie łańcucha dostaw oraz wzmacnia bezpieczeństwo żywnościowe. Dodatkowo rezolucja wspiera model rolnictwa rodzinnego oraz małe i średnie gospodarstwa, które są fundamentem między innymi polskiej wsi.

To są kluczowe zapisy, ale nie jedyne, nad którymi pracowałam jako kontrsprawozdawca. Rezolucja wzywa państwa członkowskie do pełnego wykorzystania wszystkich możliwych środków – zarówno finansowych, pomocowych, jak i administracyjnych – aby wzmocnić obszary wiejskie, zwłaszcza regiony graniczące z Rosją, Białorusią i Ukrainą, które wzięły na siebie największy ciężar wojny za wschodnią granicą Unii Europejskiej.

Proszę wszystkich europosłów, a w szczególności europosłów z Polski, aby ponad podziałami poparli w głosowaniu tę rezolucję, na którą czekają wszyscy rolnicy.

**Nora Mebarek (S&D).** – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, Monsieur le Commissaire, 137 millions d'Européens vivent dans des zones rurales. Une grande part de notre réussite collective dans les transitions verte, numérique et démographique dépend de ces territoires qui couvrent plus de 80 % de notre continent. C'est ce que le rapporteur – et je le félicite – nous a apporté avec ce rapport, cette vision sur les zones rurales.

Dès lors, garantir à chaque citoyen européen la liberté de vivre et de rester là où il le souhaite devient un enjeu stratégique pour l'avenir de l'Union. Ce droit à rester où on le souhaite doit maintenant se traduire concrètement par un meilleur accès à la santé, à l'éducation, aux transports, au logement et à une vie digne. Car là où les services publics disparaissent, là où le décrochage socio-économique s'enracine, le sentiment de déclassement prospère et, avec lui, le désespoir.

C'est pourquoi la politique de cohésion et sa méthode, fondée sur le partenariat avec les autorités locales, doivent rester un pilier fort du prochain cadre budgétaire européen. Cette politique est notre meilleure alliée pour lutter contre les inégalités territoriales et soutenir l'innovation rurale. Préserver le droit de chacun de rester là où il le souhaite et de vivre dignement, c'est protéger l'unité de notre Europe.

**France Jamet (PfE).** – Madame la Présidente, on pourrait considérer que ce rapport sur le renforcement des zones rurales dans l'Union européenne grâce à la politique de cohésion contient de bonnes mesures. C'est vrai.

Le problème, c'est que la Commission européenne dégrade et détruit tout ce qu'elle touche. Que ce soit sur terre, dans nos campagnes, en mer, vis-à-vis de nos paysans, de nos pêcheurs ou de la ruralité dans son ensemble, ce sont toujours les mêmes erreurs, les mêmes obsessions et le même mépris: interdiction de circuler, de travailler, de pêcher, de produire, de cultiver, de louer, de vendre. Ce qui est impardonnable, c'est qu'elle s'acharne toujours sur les mêmes et qu'elle met systématiquement à l'amende et à contribution les plus précaires.

Sous prétexte de faire le bonheur de ces populations malgré elles, l'idéologie globaliste et éco-fanatique de Bruxelles uniformise tout, détruit nos souverainetés, nos traditions et notre identité. C'est évident, l'Union européenne n'aime pas le peuple. Elle n'aime pas son histoire, elle n'aime pas sa civilisation.

Alors, si la Commission européenne veut revivifier nos campagnes, au lieu d'imposer et de renforcer son modèle qui nous a quand même menés là où nous en sommes, qu'elle respecte nos campagnes, ses habitants, et qu'elle quitte les lieux, qu'elle nous laisse vivre ici, chez nous, en toute liberté.

**Antonella Sberna (ECR).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signor Commissario, coesione, infrastrutture, giovani, semplificazione, diritto a restare: sono queste alcune delle parole che attraversano il cuore di questa relazione e ne sintetizzano lo spirito. Parole che non sono slogan, ma richieste reali che arrivano con forza da chi vive e amministra le realtà locali. Territori che parlano con la voce degli amministratori, delle famiglie, degli imprenditori e dei giovani che vogliono costruirsi un futuro senza essere costretti ad abbandonare le proprie radici. Aree che chiedono un'Europa più vicina, più concreta, più giusta.

Questa relazione ha il merito di portare al Parlamento europeo quelle istanze che abbiamo raccolto in mesi di ascolto e confronto diretto. Per questo desidero ringraziare l'onorevole Nesci per l'eccellente lavoro svolto, con un approccio partecipato e un'attenzione reale ai bisogni delle comunità e alla dignità, come ha detto prima, delle aree rurali e di chi le popola.

Se vogliamo costruire politiche europee efficaci, dobbiamo partire dal dialogo sincero con le aree interne, con i piccoli centri, con quelle zone spesso lasciate ai margini, ma che costruiscono l'anima dell'Europa. E l'attenzione che la Commissione sta dedicando a questo tema è massima e l'apprezziamo molto. È lì, nei borghi, nelle campagne, nei cuori e nei luoghi meno centrali che l'Europa può ritrovare se stessa e il senso della sua missione originaria.

**Branislav Ondruš (NI).** – Vážená pani predsedajúca, kolegyne a kolegovia, ak má mať existencia Európskej únie zmysel, nesmieme siahnuť na finančnú podporu regiónom, ktoré čelia nedostatku pracovných príležitostí, chýbajúcim investíciám do modernizácie a rozvoja, hrozbám pre životné prostredie, sociálnej nerovnosti a odlivu obyvateľov. Fondy pre naše regióny sa nesmú stať obeťou európskej militarizácie a pretekov v zbrojení ani osobných záujmov prospechárov. Spravodlivý a udržateľný rozvoj regiónov neprinesie masívna výroba zbraní a munície, ale podpora poľnohospodárov, živnostníkov v lesnom hospodárstve, remeselníkov a malých a stredných podnikov v službách či cestovnom ruchu. Financie najmä sociálnym podnikom a družstvám, nie nadnárodným zbrojársky korporáciám, pretože pre udržateľný rozvoj potrebujeme udržať vytvorené hodnoty v regiónoch. Nech firmy investujú peniaze tam, kde ich zarobili. Preto použitie eurofondov navrhujem podmieniť konkrétnymi sociálnymi a ekologickými kritériami, aby z nich mala prospech celá spoločnosť a nie špekulanti, korupčníci a korporácie. Ďakujem.

**Gabriella Gerzsenyi (PPE).** – Tisztelt Elnök Asszony! Májusban a Tisza közössége egymillió lépést tett meg Budapesttől Nagyváradig. Az út során megtapasztaltuk, milyen nagy a szakadék Magyarország vidéki régiói között. Nő az elvándorlás, az elnéptelenedés, a fiatal, képzett munkaerő hiánya pedig óriási versenyképességi hátrányt okoz. Eközben hiányoznak az uniós ezermilliárdok, amelyekből normális közlekedési kapcsolatokat lehetne létesíteni.

A kohéziós politika egyik legfőbb célja a vidékfejlesztés, hogy valóban senkit se hagyjunk hátra. Elégedett vagyok, hogy a jelentés felhívja a figyelmet a demográfiai kihívások és a regionális egyenlőtlenségek leküzdésére, a sérülékeny társadalmi csoportokra, különösen a nőkre, a fogyatékossággal élőkre.

Külön öröm magyar szempontból – köszönöm a jelentéstevő munkáját–, hogy kihangsúlyozza több közvetlen uniós forrást szükséges biztosítani helyi és regionális önkormányzatok számára.

Sajnos a magyar kormány magára hagyja a vidéket. A Tisza viszont kormányra kerülése után haza fogja hozni az embereknek járó uniós forrásokat, és vidéken is valódi fejlesztéseket fog megvalósítani.

**André Franqueira Rodrigues (S&D).** – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Comissário, o relatório que hoje discutimos propõe respostas há muito reclamadas para os desafios estruturais das zonas rurais. Mais investimento em serviços públicos, infraestruturas, digitalização, apoio ao emprego e às comunidades locais. Sublinha também a urgência de travar o despovoamento, reforçar o papel das mulheres e dos jovens, apoiar as PME e garantir que as zonas rurais não ficam para trás na transição energética.

Mas não tenhamos ilusões; sem uma política de desenvolvimento rural mais ambiciosa, articulada e simples, nenhuma destas respostas será concretizada.

Há quem queira acabar com o segundo pilar da PAC; aqui dizemos, claramente, não. Ele deve antes ser reforçado e mais bem articulado com uma política de coesão verdadeiramente descentralizada e ancorada nos territórios e nas suas comunidades.

É preciso ação e ambição, e estas têm de estar refletidas no próximo Quadro Financeiro Plurianual. Cabe agora à Comissão, aos Estados-Membros e a este Parlamento assumir a responsabilidade que têm perante o mundo rural e não votá-lo ao abandono.

*(O orador aceita responder a uma pergunta «cartão azul»)*

**João Oliveira (The Left),** *Pergunta segundo o procedimento «cartão azul».* – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Deputado André Rodrigues, o senhor deputado fez referência a vários aspetos importantes deste relatório, mas queria questioná-lo sobre outros aspetos que vão no sentido negativo.

Em primeiro lugar, queria perguntar-lhe como é que se apoia o desenvolvimento das zonas rurais pondo este foco no militarismo – que também neste relatório acaba por aparecer com a referência à importância da mobilidade militar; veja-se bem: a mobilidade militar como um aspeto relevante do ponto de vista da coesão e da resposta às necessidades das zonas rurais!

E, por outro lado, queria saber também como é que se conjugam todos estes objetivos com políticas setoriais nos transportes e na energia, que depois vão em sentido exatamente contrário, como acontece, por exemplo, com as redes transeuropeias de transportes, que deixam completamente de lado a mobilidade das populações nas zonas rurais.

Como é que isto tudo se pode compatibilizar, Senhor Deputado?

**André Franqueira Rodrigues (S&D),** *Resposta segundo o procedimento «cartão azul».* – Caro colega, Senhor Deputado João Oliveira, antes de mais quero agradecer a pergunta e a oportunidade que tenho de poder responder à mesma.

É óbvio que nós não partilhamos a mesma visão política; acho que este relatório tem muitos aspetos positivos e a minha intervenção centrou-se exatamente nesses aspetos positivos.

Mas nós não temos o mundo que queremos, temos o mundo que temos e isso implica agir perante essa realidade no sentido de a transformar. Este relatório — e a aposta no desenvolvimento rural como uma prioridade nas suas múltiplas dimensões — procura exatamente reforçar essa presença no mundo rural e reforçar também a Política Agrícola Comum no seu segundo pilar.

Há muitas coisas relativamente às quais nós até podemos concordar que precisam de ser corrigidas. Mas não é este o escopo desta intervenção, nem muito menos aquilo que este relatório agora refere.

**Valérie Deloge (PfE).** – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, chers collègues, l'Union européenne est vraiment une girouette qui change d'avis tout le temps. D'un côté, il est question d'intégrer la PAC, principal fonds en faveur des campagnes, dans le budget global de l'Union européenne, ce qui le fera diminuer. De l'autre, nous discutons aujourd'hui de l'utilisation des fonds de cohésion, déjà très sollicités, en faveur des zones rurales. Avec des signaux aussi contradictoires, comment avoir confiance?

Depuis des années, les politiques européennes se concentrent sur les métropoles et les zones urbaines, laissant nos campagnes se vider et nos exploitations disparaître. Ce n'est finalement qu'au moment où les citadins redécouvrent les campagnes, au détour du télétravail, qu'on s'intéresse à nouveau à ces zones.

Vous prétendez aujourd'hui vouloir nous aider. Comment pouvons-nous soutenir les agriculteurs et les services de proximité, car ce sont eux qui font vivre ces zones? Cessez de nous imposer votre idéologie verte qui nous prive de nos moyens de transport. Redevenez lucides et apprenez à nous respecter.

**Aurelijus Veryga (ECR).** – Gerbiama pirmininke, komisare. Eurostato duomenimis, iki 2050 m. Lietuvoje kaimo gyventojų skaičius sumažės beveik penkiasdešimt procentų. Todėl šiandien, kaip niekada, aktualu kalbėti apie teisę pasilikti regionuose. Matant demografines problemas, svarbu suvokti švietimo sistemos regionuose išsaugojimo svarbą. Juolab, kad jau daug investuota į regionų švietimo įstaigų atnaujinimą, mokytojų rengimą. Kita svarbi sritis – tai sveikatos paslaugų užtikrinimas, nes senstant visuomenei tai tampa vis didesniu iššūkiu. Suprantama, kad pirminė sveikatos priežiūra turi būti kaip galima arčiau gyventojų. Tačiau ir kitos paslaugos, tokios kaip onkologinės patikros programos, turėtų būti kaip galima labiau pasiekiamos. Būtina didinti mobilių patikros priemonių prieinamumą, vystyti telemediciną, nes šiuo metu regionų gyventojams dėl paslaugų netolygumų vėliau nustatoma ligos diagnozė, sunkiau pasiekti specializuotą pagalbą. Regionai dažniau susiduria su medikų trūkumu, todėl labai svarbu, kad regionams būtų skiriama pakankamai dėmesio Europos sveikatos programoje, Europos vėžio įveikimo plane ir kitose priemonėse.

**Krzysztof Hetman (PPE).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Przewodniczący! Panie Komisarzu! Na początku chciałbym podkreślić, że polityka spójności już od wielu, wielu, wielu lat wspiera obszary wiejskie na terenie Unii Europejskiej. Ale cieszę się, że dzisiaj możemy rozmawiać o tym, w jaki sposób polityka spójności może w sposób bardziej skuteczny, szybszy i na większym poziomie wspierać rozwiązywanie tych problemów, które dotyczą obszarów wiejskich, takich jak wykluczenie komunikacyjne, poprawa infrastruktury drogowej, edukacyjnej, zdrowotnej, kulturalnej, wsparcie dla rozwoju przedsiębiorczości, a przede wszystkim ten problem, z którym borykamy się już od wielu lat, w wielu miejscach Unii Europejskiej na obszarach wiejskich, mianowicie z wyludnieniem.

Jeśli chcemy, aby polityka spójności rzeczywiście rozwiązała te problemy, musimy podjąć jedną zasadniczą decyzję, mianowicie zaufać ludziom, tym, którzy tam dzisiaj mieszkają, i tym, którzy podejmują decyzje i wiedzą najlepiej, jakie są oczekiwania i potrzeby społeczne. To oni na dole, tam w swoich samorządach lokalnych, w swoich małych ojczyznach wiedzą najlepiej, na co powinni wydać te pieniądze. Dajmy im taką możliwość. Pierwszy raz w historii Unii Europejskiej. Panie Przewodniczący, cieszę się, że Pan rozumie te problemy. Dajmy im możliwość zdecydowania, na co chcą wydać te pieniądze. Które problemy w pierwszej kolejności chcą rozwiązać. Oni się odwdzięczą, odwdzięczą się pięknymi projektami, odwdzięczą się wspaniałymi zadaniami, które zostaną zrealizowane za środki europejskie, którymi my wszyscy, także Pan Komisarz, Pan Przewodniczący, będzie mógł się chwalić. Zaufajmy ludziom. Dajmy im szansę w końcu podjąć samodzielną decyzję, w jaki sposób chcą wydać te pieniądze, na które sami pracują i wypracowują, a które wpływają do wspólnego budżetu Unii Europejskiej.

**Sofie Eriksson (S&D).** – Fru talman! Malmen bryts i Norrbotten, skogen brukas i Västernorrland och vattnet genererar energi i Jämtland. Men pengarna och besluten hamnar ofta långt bort från dem som faktiskt bor där.

Samtidigt kämpar mindre orter med dåliga vägar, nedmontering av offentlig service och långa avstånd. Folk vill bo kvar, bygga sina liv, men förutsättningarna är ofta för dåliga på många platser.

Våra lands- och glesbygder bidrar med enorma värden, men får minst tillbaka. I beredskapstider är det viktigt med starka lokalsamhällen, människor som kan närområdet, som känner sina grannar. Det är ett gemensamt intresse.

Därför säger vi nej till att makt och pengar ska samlas på hög i Bryssel eller i Stockholm. För mig är det självklart att beslut måste ha en lokal förankring. Vi kan inte acceptera att vissa delar av unionen bara blir råvarukolonier för övriga. Välstånd och medbestämmande måste fördelas rättvist.

**Gerald Hauser (PfE).** – Frau Präsidentin, geschätzter Herr Exekutiv-Vizepräsident! Jeder wird den ländlichen Raum stärken wollen. Nur, ein Teilaspekt: Was machen wir im ländlichen Raum ohne Landwirte? Die Kohäsionspolitik hat in dieser Sache komplett versagt. Ich bin aus Österreich, aus Tirol. Nur ein Beispiel dazu: Im Jahr 2000 haben die Bauern für einen Liter Milch in etwa 0,34 Euro bekommen. Jetzt bekommen sie zwischen 0,40 und 0,55 Euro, etwas mehr, aber in Relation zu 2000 inflationsbereinigt wesentlich weniger. Die Erlöse gehen massiv zurück. Auf der anderen Seite steigen die Kosten, die Energiekosten, verursacht durch die Politik der Europäischen Union. Die Arbeitskräfte werden teurer, die Futtermittel werden teurer. Das heißt, die Erträge gehen massiv zurück. Was passiert? Dass so wie in Österreich täglich acht Landwirte zusperren. Zur Statistik: Im Jahr 2000 hatten wir in Österreich 18 000 landwirtschaftliche Betriebe, im Jahr 2000 nur mehr 14 000 – minus 22 Prozent. Täglich sperren acht Betriebe zu. Und Ihre Politik, geschätzter Herr Kommissar, wird daran nichts ändern.

Wir müssen endlich aufhören, gegen die Menschen im ländlichen Raum, auch gegen die Landwirte, zu arbeiten. Mercosur muss verhindert werden. Der *Green Deal* ist das nächste, was den Bauern extreme Probleme macht, und die aufgeblähte Verwaltung ist mittlerweile unerträglich. Das ganze Geld, das Sie über die Kohäsionspolitik in die Regionen geben wollen, kommt in die falschen Hände und kommt nicht dort an, wo es ankommen muss. Leider werden die ländlichen Gebiete und auch die Landwirte weiterhin verlieren.

*(Der Redner ist damit einverstanden, auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte" zu antworten.)*

**Sabrina Repp (S&D),** *Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte".* – Ihre Darstellung und der Fokus auf die Landwirte verkennt das Zusammennehmen. Es ist kein Ausspielen von Landwirtinnen und Landwirten und dem ländlichen Raum. Das ist der Fehler, der in den letzten Jahren passiert ist. Wir müssen beide zusammennehmen, um tatsächliche Zukunftsperspektiven für den ländlichen Raum zu schaffen. Wie wollen Sie es gewährleisten, wenn nur das eine fokussiert wird und Sie gar vorwerfen, dass die Kohäsionsmittel in die falschen Hände geraten? Im ländlichen Raum gibt es zahlreiche Menschen, die sich jeden Tag mit Engagement für Projekte einsetzen, für Bürgerhäuser, für Begegnung. Sie sagen, das sind die falschen Hände? Da geht irgendetwas nicht zusammen. Sie spielen verschiedene Menschen im ländlichen Raum gegeneinander aus. Eigentlich muss der ländliche Raum an einem Strang ziehen und den Zusammenhalt stärken. Das ist wichtig. Wie wollen Sie das erreichen, wenn Sie die Menschen im ländlichen Raum so gegeneinander ausspielen?

**Gerald Hauser (PfE),** *Antwort auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte".* – Ja, das ist das übliche linke Totschlagargument, das daherkommt mit dem Gegeneinander-Ausspielen. Wenn Sie mir zugehört hätten, hätten Sie bemerkt, dass ich mich in den eineinhalb Minuten, die ich Zeit hatte, intensiv für die Landwirte, für die Bäuerinnen und Bauern einsetze. Der ländliche Raum braucht die Bauern, weil sie die Erhalter unserer Kulturlandschaft, unserer Tradition sind, und wenn uns die Bauern immer mehr verloren gehen, dann verödet der ländliche Raum. Das ist die Basis, auf der wir aufbauen müssen. Das heißt, wir müssen zuerst einmal schauen, dass natürlich auch die Landwirte am Leben erhalten werden und Rahmenbedingungen haben, mit denen sie wirtschaften können. Derzeit ist es ihnen nicht möglich, deswegen sperren in Österreich täglich acht Landwirte zu. Das ist eine Entwicklung, die desaströs ist und die wir aufhalten wollen.

**Paulo Do Nascimento Cabral (PPE).** – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Vice-Presidente, a União Europeia é muito mais do que as suas capitais, e é por não percebermos isto que estamos a perder muitos defensores do projeto europeu.

As áreas rurais representam mais de 80 % do território da União Europeia e são a casa de cerca de 25 % dos europeus e de 33 % dos portugueses. Isto indica que a falta de condições leva muitos dos nossos jovens a migrar para as grandes cidades, muitas vezes ficando nas suas periferias sem cumprirem com os seus sonhos.

O despovoamento, o envelhecimento da população, a escassez de oportunidades económicas e sociais e os rendimentos significativamente inferiores aos das zonas urbanas comprometem a coesão da União.

Precisamos, portanto, de uma política de coesão mais robusta, flexível, multinível e simplificada, centrada na promoção da igualdade territorial e no combate às assimetrias regionais.

Para cumprir o direito a ficar, é fundamental termos as infraestruturas e a conectividade necessárias, as acessibilidades adequadas — no caso das regiões ultraperiféricas, através de um POSEI Transportes — e um acesso, com dignidade, à educação e a cuidados de saúde.

É também por isto que a política de coesão é um instrumento essencial para responder aos desafios específicos destas regiões. E agradeço os seus esforços, Senhor Vice-Presidente, para a salvar.

Não há coesão sem uma Europa integralmente desenvolvida e territorialmente justa. E termino: as zonas rurais têm de ser reconhecidas como de facto são, ou seja, territórios estratégicos para a segurança alimentar, a produção agrícola, a transição energétic e a sustentabilidade ambiental e intervenientes centrais no futuro na União Europeia.

**Mélanie Disdier (PfE).** – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, pendant des décennies, la Commission européenne n'a fait que jouer le jeu du libéralisme à outrance et de la mondialisation effrénée. Cette politique désastreuse a d'abord eu comme effet de créer une fracture importante entre les zones urbaines riches, connectées au monde, et les zones rurales, parfois enclavées et beaucoup plus fragiles économiquement. Pourtant, les zones rurales, cœur battant de notre identité, couvrent 83 % du territoire européen et un quart de sa population.

La politique de cohésion de l'Union européenne doit cesser d'être une coquille vide et devenir le fer de lance d'un sursaut rural et d'un retour de la puissance agricole et industrielle. Nos campagnes ne sont pas seulement des terres agricoles, elles garantissent notre souveraineté alimentaire et sont les gardiennes de notre patrimoine millénaire que Bruxelles méprise et cherche à effacer.

Nous exigeons des investissements massifs dans l'agriculture, le transport, l'industrie et la transformation numérique pour redonner vie à nos territoires. De la même manière qu'une grande entreprise ne peut pas vivre sans un tissu de PME adéquates, aucune grande métropole ne pourra se passer des zones rurales pour exister.

Cette résolution est donc une main tendue à la Commission pour rattraper les errements du passé. Restaurons le modèle économique de nos campagnes. Vous voulez une Europe durable? Restaurons les circuits courts. Vous voulez réindustrialiser? Rouvrons des usines dans nos villes moyennes qui en dépendent. Soutenons les initiatives nationales qui vont en ce sens, sans les étouffer dans des réglementations inutiles et contre-productives, comme vous savez si bien le faire. Nos campagnes méritent respect, moyens et autonomie. Notre avenir en sera assuré.

*Zgłoszenia z sali*

**Nina Carberry (PPE).** – Madam President, Commissioner, thank you, and thank you to the rapporteur for his work on this report.

Cohesion funding creates jobs, boosts enterprise and makes rural Ireland a more attractive place to live. And identifying regional growth centres like Sligo in the north-west of Ireland is one way of rebalancing population growth away from many commuter counties such as Meath, Kildare, Laois and Louth, which sit at crossroads between rural and urban life.

These are fast-growing areas under significant pressure, experiencing rapid population growth but without matching investment. These areas can fall into a policy blind spot – too urban to qualify for traditional rural funding and too rural to benefit from urban-focused infrastructure plans.

So as we look towards 2040, I urge the Commission to ensure that cohesion and rural development funds can be used flexibly to address these gaps.

**Maria Grapini (S&D).** – Doamnă președintă, domnule comisar, stimați colegi, consolidarea zonelor rurale este un obiectiv extrem de important. Domnule comisar, trebuie să gândim Fondul de coeziune împreună cu Politica Agricolă Comună, dar nu să luăm bani de la Politica Agricolă Comună și să punem la coeziune, că nu am făcut nimic.

Avem acolo posibilități și oportunități: să dezvoltăm turismul, turismul rural, să dezvoltăm și să consolidăm și să păstrăm tradițiile, meșteșugurile, putem, de asemenea, să dezvoltăm comerțul. Dar pentru aceste lucruri, oamenii de acolo și mai ales generația tânără nu se întorc în rural pentru că n-au condiții, n-au infrastructură.

De aceea spun că trebuie să gândim proiectele consolidat: infrastructură, să aibă medic, să existe școală, să poată să aibă conexiune la internet. Sunt zone întregi rurale în care nu există posibilitatea de conectivitate.

Sper, domnule comisar, că veți susține ca aceste zone rurale să aibă bugete țintite, pentru că dacă dăm buget la grămadă și mai este o problemă, s-a discutat aici, trebuie să simplificăm procedura de accesare a fondurilor de către administrațiile din comunitățile mici sau de către micii întreprinzători.

**Sebastian Tynkkynen (ECR).** – Arvoisa puhemies, jokaista maksettua euroa kohti Suomi saa vain noin 20 senttiä EU:lta takaisin. Tätä tarkoittaa EU:n koheesiopolitiikka Suomelle. Onko tässä mitään järkeä?

Suomella on piikki auki, oli sitten kyse jättimäisestä elpymispaketista tai joka vuosi jaettavista koheesiorahoista. Ja muut maat nauravat matkalla pankkiin. On aika alkaa vaatia.

Olen tyytyväinen, että komissio vihdoin ja viimein huomioi myös itäisen Suomen tulevassa koheesiopolitiikassaan. Tämä ei kuitenkaan vielä riitä. EU:n itäisille alueille tarvitaan kokonaan oma rahoitusratkaisunsa – ratkaisu, jossa rahat eivät jää muiden kupattavaksi.

Suomi seisoo yli tuhannen kolmensadan kilometrin mittaisessa eturintamassa Euroopassa hyökkäävää maata vastaan. Nyt ei ole meidän aikamme maksaa muiden viuluja. Nyt on meidän aikamme saada.

**PREDSEDÁ: MARTIN HOJSÍK**

*Podpredseda*

**Oihane Agirregoitia Martínez (Renew).** – Señor presidente, señor comisario, la extrema derecha crece en toda Europa y lo hace especialmente en las zonas rurales. Si queremos realmente actuar contra la extrema derecha y contra populismos, debemos actuar, y los fondos de cohesión son clave para reducir desigualdades y para lanzar un mensaje claro a todas aquellas personas que quieren hacer su vida en entornos más allá de los grandes núcleos urbanos.

Queremos y necesitamos una política de cohesión que sea moderna y que esté claramente orientada y unos fondos de cohesión que estén regionalizados y que nos permitan garantizar la cohesión territorial y atacar las desigualdades. Esos son los dos condicionantes que vamos a vigilar para el nuevo diseño del marco financiero plurianual: regionalización de la política de cohesión y autonomía en la gestión de los fondos para atacar el crecimiento de la extrema derecha.

**Ana Miranda Paz (Verts/ALE).** – Senhor Presidente, Senhor Comissário, a política de coesão é fundamental para garantirmos zonas rurais vivas e com serviços básicos. Por isso, não concordamos que o governo europeu reoriente incorretamente os fundos para fins militares.

Na Galiza, o meu país, ainda se aguarda uma decisão sobre o que financiar com 60 % dos fundos. 62 % dos municípios galegos estão designados como zonas desfavorecidas. O êxodo rural avança de forma imparável na Galiza. Em apenas um ano, 32 aldeias ficaram desertas.

Temos escassez de serviços básicos nas zonas rurais e muita emigração. As pessoas ficam se houver trabalho e serviços.

Senhor Comissário, precisamos de um apoio específico para municípios afetados pelo despovoamento, vilas e áreas funcionais. São necessárias áreas funcionais e uma política de emprego dotada de serviços que atraiam as pessoas e que não as expulsem.

Precisamos de iniciativas para jovens agricultores para que também possam menos Altri e mais projetos, com direito a ficar.

**João Oliveira (The Left).** – Senhor Presidente, Senhor Comissário Fitto, o dia em que fazemos o debate sobre este relatório, a propósito da importância da política de coesão para as zonas rurais, é precisamente o dia em que a Comissão dos Orçamentos acaba de votar alterações aos regulamentos dos fundos europeus da política de coesão, nomeadamente o FEDER e o Fundo de Coesão, que passam a ter como objetivos específicos o militarismo.

A mobilidade militar na União passou a ser um dos objetivos de utilização dos fundos de coesão.

E nós perguntamos: como é que a mobilidade militar pode contribuir para o desenvolvimento das zonas rurais? O militarismo não serve a política de coesão, nem serve as zonas rurais e as suas necessidades específicas, tal como não serve objetivos de políticas setoriais que contrariam esta discussão que estamos hoje aqui a ter.

Quando a União Europeia financia o desenvolvimento da Rede Transeuropeia de Transportes, como está a fazer neste momento em Portugal, na ligação Sines-Caia, mas desconsidera a necessidade do investimento no aproveitamento da ligação ferroviária para as populações dessas regiões, não está a contribuir para a coesão, nem para o desenvolvimento das zonas rurais. Estes são objetivos das políticas setoriais que têm de ser considerados também.

**Λευτέρης Νικολάου-Αλαβάνος (NI).** – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, οι βιοπαλαιστές αγροτοκτηνοτρόφοι στην Ελλάδα τσακίζονται από τις τεράστιες αυξήσεις του κόστους παραγωγής, για εφόδια, ρεύμα και πετρέλαιο, από τις μηδαμινές αποζημιώσεις για τις μεγάλες καταστροφές, από μύλους και μεσάζοντες που αγοράζουν τα προϊόντα τους σε πολύ χαμηλές τιμές.

Είναι αποτελέσματα της μεγάλης ενιαίας αγοράς, της ευρωενωσιακής ΚΓΠ που τους έφερε στο χείλος του γκρεμού. Αυτά ευθύνονται για το σκάνδαλο με τις αγροτικές επιδοτήσεις του ΟΠΕΚΕΠΕ, με ευθύνες της σημερινής κυβέρνησης της Νέας Δημοκρατίας και των προηγούμενων. Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση συναινούσε στην κλοπή σε βάρος των αγροτών, χορηγώντας ενισχύσεις αποσυνδεδεμένες από το κτηνοτροφικό κεφάλαιο, με το μοίρασμα επιδοτήσεων σε μη αγρότες-δικαιούχους για εικονικά βοσκοτόπια.

Πρέπει να γίνουν άμεσα οι πληρωμές που εκκρεμούν και να ανοίξει το σύστημα ώστε να εξυπηρετηθούν οι αγρότες. Οι βιοπαλαιστές αγρότες να απορρίψουν την ευρωενωσιακή γραμμή που τους ξεκληρίζει και τα κόμματα που πίνουν νερό στο όνομά της και τους συκοφαντούν. Να συμπορευτούν με το ΚΚΕ παλεύοντας για την ικανοποίηση των αιτημάτων τους, για τις δικές τους ανάγκες.

**Vytenis Povilas Andriukaitis (S&D).** – Gerbiamas posėdžio pirmininke, dėkoju pranešėjui. Tikrai puikus raportas ir, gerbiamas komisare, išklausėt labai daug gerų pasiūlymų. Neabejotina, kad sanglaudos politikos srityje reikalingos horizontalios programos, kurios apimtų švietimo, sveikatos, skaitmeninės infrastruktūros kompleksiškumą, ir nustatytos sąlygos *(conditionality)*, kad niekas, net ir šalis narė, negalėtų pakeisti, nes didieji miestai, didieji regionai ir parlamentuose, kur daug stipresnės yra kitos jėgos, nuskriaudžia kaimo teritorijas. Kitas dalykas, pritraukti jaunimą galima tiktai investuojant stipriai į pažangias ūkininkavimo formas – patrauklias, „*advanced farming*“. Tos pažangios formos – su robotizacija, su dirbtiniu intelektu, naudojant įvairias naujas technologijas ir naujas veisles – ir augalų, ir taip toliau. Tas patrauktų jaunimą, nes jaunimas yra patrauklus mokslui ir gerai infrastruktūrai.

**Γεάδης Γεάδη (ECR).** – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, τόσο ως ECR όσο και ως Εθνικό Λαϊκό Μέτωπο δίνουμε προτεραιότητα στην ενίσχυση των αγροτικών και ορεινών περιοχών. Για εμάς, η διασφάλιση ενός βιώσιμου μέλλοντος για τις αγροτικές περιοχές —που κινδυνεύουν λόγω της γήρανσης του πληθυσμού, της αστυφιλίας, της εγκατάλειψης των νέων, της έλλειψης υπηρεσιών και των περιορισμένων ευκαιριών απασχόλησης και κοινωνικής ένταξης— αποτελεί κορωνίδα της πολιτικής μας.

Αναντίλεκτα, οι αγροτικές περιοχές αποτελούν το λίκνο της παραγωγής γεωργικών και διατροφικών προϊόντων, ενώ παράλληλα διαφυλάσσουν μια αναντικατάστατη πολιτιστική και τοπική κληρονομιά. Για να εξασφαλιστεί η μακροπρόθεσμη βιωσιμότητά τους, οι αγροτικές περιοχές πρέπει να αποκτήσουν ισότιμη πρόσβαση στην υγειονομική περίθαλψη, τη συνδεσιμότητα, την προσιτή στέγαση, το νερό, την εκπαίδευση, τις κατάλληλες υποδομές και άλλες βασικές υπηρεσίες.

Η Επιτροπή και τα κράτη μέλη έχουν καθήκον να παρέχουν επαρκή χρηματοδότηση, να κατανοήσουν ότι οφείλουν να στηρίξουν τις οικογένειες ώστε να διασφαλιστεί η ενεργός συμμετοχή τους στην αγροτική ανάπτυξη και τις οικονομικές δραστηριότητες.

**Diana Iovanovici Șoșoacă (NI).** – Domnule președinte, vorbeați de faptul că cetățenii trebuie să aibă șansa de a rămâne în locurile în care s-au născut. Românii nu au avut această șansă.

10 milioane de români, jumătate din populația României, este nomadă în acest moment, în sensul în care a fost dată afară din țară de măsurile Uniunii Europene: pentru că ați închis mineritul, pădurile au fost luate de austrieci, iar la țară nu au mai rămas decât oamenii bătrâni. Românii vă dezvoltă dumneavoastră economiile, pentru că nouă ne-ați închis orice posibilitate de a ne dezvolta.

Știți că s-au desființat școli la țară? Știți că nu mai sunt dispensare? Știți că acuma, tot venind de la Uniunea Europeană, li se interzice să se mai încălzească cu lemne? Știți că deși avem o treime din rețeaua hidrografică a Europei, românilor le este interzis să mai scoată apă din fântână să-și ude plantele? Știți că dumneavoastră impuneți să avem boli la animale, astfel încât să nu mai avem agricultură și zootehnie?

**Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D).** – Señor presidente, señor vicepresidente Fitto, seguramente no le extraña que desde la bancada socialista subrayemos siempre que la política de cohesión es la razón de ser de Europa: solidaridad regional, pero también social. Y no le extrañará tampoco que ponga el acento en la dimensión de la política regional en las regiones rurales —también en las regiones ultraperiféricas—, porque simplificar significa reducir cargas burocráticas y administrativas, pero no los objetivos de la propia política de cohesión.

Y creo que es muy importante que, cuando el Parlamento ha apostado por un incremento de los fondos específicos para apoyar a las regiones rurales y las producciones rurales en regiones ultraperiféricas —los fondos POSEI—, las regiones ultraperiféricas sepan que van a tener su asiento en el rediseño de la política de cohesión en las regiones rurales para que puedan comercializar sus productos estratégicos de una forma justa.

*(Koniec vystúpení na základe prihlásenia sa o slovo zdvihnutím ruky)*

**Raffaele Fitto,** *Executive Vice-President of the Commission*. – Mr President, thank you for your contribution, of which I have taken good note. I appreciate your insights on the challenges the rural areas face and the significant role that cohesion policy plays in shaping the future of the EU's rural areas.

You rightly point out the development of infrastructure, particularly in the fields of transport, energy and digital connectivity, alongside essential services for improving the quality of life in rural areas. The reduction of economic, social and territorial disparities will continue to remain at the core of cohesion policy, providing critical support to rural areas.

Your report and interventions today reaffirm this importance and will further guide our discussions and our work for the future of rural areas.

I would like to give only two messages.

First, many problems that you mentioned are the priority of the mid-term review, like water, housing, energy and competitiveness. And I remember to all of you that mid-term review is a voluntary basis. So defence is a possibility. And in particular for eastern border regions that have to face not only the challenge regarding defence but also the new economic challenges.

Second message, we can work together using also the new governance of the European Commission. As you know, under my executive vice-presidency we have a coordination of three commissioners: agriculture, tourism and transport, fisheries and blue economy. And I agreed with the three commissioners that we must work with a common vision to prepare the strategy for internal rural areas, starting by this important and very positive report.

**Denis Nesci,** *relatore*. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la sintesi del dibattito ha fatto emergere il lavoro che abbiamo fatto in questi mesi con i relatori ombra, con tutto lo staff, con gli *advisor*, cioè quello di cercare di sintetizzare e di fotografare la situazione attuale delle aree rurali per cercare di andare a risolvere ciò che non va e ciò che è stato dimenticato.

Io penso che questo dibattito abbia fatto emergere tutto ciò che abbiamo evidenziato: dalle infrastrutture, dalla digitalizzazione, dalla connettività, dai servizi sanitari essenziali, dalla formazione. Quindi, in questa relazione abbiamo centrato l'obiettivo che ci eravamo dati, senza tralasciare soprattutto la bussola che ci ha guidato lungo questo percorso, cioè poter garantire il diritto di restare, che era l'obiettivo principale, cioè la possibilità di dare ai giovani l'opportunità di decidere dove poter sviluppare, dove poter vivere e dove poter creare il proprio futuro.

Quindi io sono soddisfatto di questo lavoro e ancora ringrazio anche il lavoro fatto dalla Commissione, dal Commissario, dalle parole del Vicepresidente esecutivo, soprattutto perché ci ha trasmesso un messaggio di fiducia in merito all'utilizzo della politica di coesione.

Quindi concludo con l'invito, che ci è stato dato anche nell'ultimo intervento fatto dal Vicepresidente, che è quello di lavorare insieme. Allora cerchiamo tutti insieme di lavorare affinché si possa guardare nel concreto quelle che sono le problematiche da risolvere e lasciamo possibilmente da parte gli aspetti ideologici che non aiutano i cittadini europei.

**Predsedajúci .** – Rozprava je uzavretá.

*Písomné vyhlásenia (článok 178)*

**Georgiana Teodorescu (ECR),** *în scris.* – Salut concluziile raportului privind consolidarea zonelor rurale prin politica de coeziune.

Paradoxal însă, adoptarea lui în plenul Parlamentului European vine într-un moment în care atât agricultura europeană, cât și coeziunea Uniunii sunt puse la grea încercare. De exemplu, la aniversarea a 40 de ani de la Acordul Schengen, 12 state reintroduc controale la frontiere. Asta în timp ce Comisia Europeană ar vrea să desființeze pe viitor bugetul agriculturii europene.

Imaginea haosului european se reflecta și la nivel local.

Chiar dacă România are 15 milioane de hectare de teren arabil, care reprezintă o treime din suprafața agricolă a UE, guvernele de la București nu au alocat niciun euro din PNRR sectorului agricol. În plus, deși mediul rural însumează aproximativ 90 % din suprafața țării, zecile de milioane de euro alocate din politica de coeziune nu au reușit nici până azi să conecteze provincii istorice, nemaivorbind de sate și comune, unele complet izolate și lipsite de servicii si utilități.

E nevoie urgentă deci de o abordare responsabilă și un plan eficient atât pentru revitalizarea zonelor rurale din România, cât și pentru conectarea lor cu restul țării, altfel riscăm să alienăm nu doar teritorii, ci mai ales oameni.

## 23. One-minute speeches on matters of political importance

**Predsedajúci .** – A posledným dnešným bodom programu sú jednominútové vystúpenia podľa.

**Maria Walsh (PPE).** – Mr President, recent riots on the island of Ireland, which began in the town of Ballymena in County Antrim, have morphed from concern about a tragic sexual assault allegation into xenophobic violence against migrant families. As Amnesty Northern Ireland Director Patrick Corrigan said, we are just one petrol bomb away from racially motivated murder.

Families have been forced from their homes as groups hurled bricks, petrol bombs and fireworks, leaving innocent children vulnerable and traumatised. This is not a protest for justice; it's racism cloaked in outrage.

Sadly, inflammatory political rhetoric has added fuel to the fire. Some politicians have deliberately fanned the flames of hatred and, by linking migration to crime, they've pitted neighbour against neighbour.

We must stand with victims and prosecute hate-fuelled crimes swiftly. And we must invest in our community dialogue and integration. Ireland and Europe must show that diversity is a strength, not a threat.

**Victor Negrescu (S&D).** – Domnule președinte, dragi colegi, în ultimele săptămâni, România s-a confruntat din nou cu inundații grave: oameni evacuați, locuințe distruse, drumuri rupte, vieți afectate. Printre zonele lovite se află și Salina Praid, un monument natural și un important obiectiv economic. Acolo, inundațiile au provocat pagube uriașe. O salină unică în Europa, folosită în scopuri medicale, riscă să se prăbușească.

Am cerut Comisiei Europene ajutor de urgență, iar apelul meu a fost ascultat. În câteva zile, experții europeni au ajuns în România. Acesta este rezultatul unui demers concret, pe care l-am început chiar aici, în Parlamentul European, dar trebuie mai mult.

În negocierile pentru bugetul Uniunii am reușit să obțin fonduri suplimentare pentru protecția civilă și catastrofele naturale. Solicit acum ca aceste sume obținute să fie folosite și pentru reconstrucție. Solidaritatea europeană trebuie să însemne și mai multă acțiune, ajutor concret și sprijin pentru oameni. Salina Praid și comunitățile afectate merită acest lucru.

**Rody Tolassy (PfE).** – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, il y a quelques jours, à Nice, se tenait la conférence des Nations unies sur l'océan. M^me^ von der Leyen a présenté le pacte européen pour l'océan. Fort bien.

Mais pendant que l'on pactise ici, nos enfants, aux Antilles, continuent de respirer les émanations toxiques des sargasses. Depuis quatorze ans, l'Europe regarde ces algues échouer sur nos côtes, sans réaction. Pourtant, la science est claire: ce fléau n'est pas qu'une conséquence du changement climatique, il est aussi le résultat de déséquilibres structurels.

Pendant ce temps, nous vivons chaque saison dans l'urgence, dans le silence et dans l'oubli. Alors non, ce pacte ne pourra pas être un texte d'avenir s'il ne regarde pas vers ses avant-postes océaniques, les régions ultrapériphériques. Il est temps que l'Europe parle aussi antillais. Quand elle dit «océan», il est temps qu'elle finance un véritable plan de valorisation des sargasses pour que cette prolifération cesse d'être un désagrément subi et devienne une ressource maîtrisée, gérée directement en mer. Sinon, ce pacte ne sera qu'un parchemin vide, emporté par les mêmes courants qui, déjà, ont charrié le poison jusqu'à nos rivages.

**Sebastian Tynkkynen (ECR).** – Mr President, military mobility is an area where the EU can have a crucial role. Without military mobility, Europe's defence capabilities go to waste.

Currently, key transport infrastructure across EU territory is not certified for fast and heavy military transport. Bridge weight restrictions, customs formalities and a lack of common standards are key problem areas. For example, moving a single Leopard 2A6 main battle tank, weighing over 60 tonnes, across Europe faces serious obstacles.

NATO's own rapid deployment forces require cross-border access within 48 hours – a goal that is currently logistically unrealistic in large parts of Europe.

Without the ability to move troops and equipment, deterrence fails before the first shot is fired. That is why military mobility must be treated as a strategic priority.

**Cynthia Ní Mhurchú (Renew).** – A Chathaoirligh, cuireann aerfoirt réigiúnda na hEorpa go mór le nascacht, le hiomaíochas agus le fás eacnamaíoch cothrom i réigiúin na hEorpa.

Is údar imní dom, faraor, nach bhfuil ár ndóthain infheistíochta á dhéanamh orthu, mar shampla in iardheisceart na hÉireann, atá lonnaithe i mo thoghcheantar féin, ina bhfuil Aerfort Phort Láirge, *Waterford Airport*, fágtha leath-dhímhaoin. Is deis iontach ann go n-úsáidfear Aerfort Phort Láirge chun taighde agus nuálaíocht a chur chun cinn i gcomhar le hOllscoil Teicneolaíochta an Oirdheiscirt.

Tá an Eoraip go mór chun cúil ar na Stáit Aontaithe maidir le breosla inbhuanaithe a fhorbairt d'eitleáin. Agus níl an scéal ach ina thús i dtaobh teicneolaíochta na ndrón a chabhróidh linn, in oibríochtaí tarrthála, mar shampla. Maidir le turasóireacht, le tacaíocht dírithe trí chiste úr Eorpach, d'fhéadfaí borradh, a bhfuil géarghá leis, a chur faoi nuálaíocht timpeall na hEorpa trínár n-aerfoirt réigiúnda ar nós *Waterford Airport*.

**Ana Miranda Paz (Verts/ALE).** – Senhor Presidente, o galego é uma língua histórica, com raízes profundas, a língua do meu país, a Galiza.

O galego é o património imaterial do povo galego. A sua máxima expressão.

A Europa deve reconhecer os direitos linguísticos do nosso povo, assim o defendo como eurodeputada galega. Por isso, precisamos que o galego seja uma língua oficial na Europa para a representatividade, a visibilidade e o respeito do nosso povo. Porque o galego tem direito, estatuto legal e reconhecido.

As línguas representam os povos. Não é democrático criar línguas de primeira e línguas de segunda. Para o Governo galego, a nossa língua é uma língua de terceira. Que complexo de inferioridade! Desvaloriza a nossa língua e até faz *lobby*, aqui, na Europa, para impedir que o estatuto oficial seja reconhecido a nível europeu.

Que pena existirem governantes que desprestigiam as possibilidades da língua do seu país, a utilidade e o prestígio que isso daria ao galego, as possibilidades de trabalho, o mundo aberto através da nossa irmandade linguística.

Eu amo Alfonso Castelao, e, como ele dizia, «se ainda somos galegos é por obra e graça do idioma».

**Rudi Kennes (The Left).** – Voorzitter, collega's, ik weet niet hoe jullie je voelen, maar ik schaam mij in ieder geval heel diep. We zijn blijkbaar alle slachtoffers al vergeten, evenals alle offers die onze ouders en grootouders hebben gebracht om na de chaos, de haat en de meer dan 80 miljoen doden tijdens de twee wereldoorlogen een Europa van vrede en gerechtigheid op te bouwen.

Ik dacht dat we klaar waren met kolonialisme, met blanke suprematie, met martelingen, met verspilling van miljarden aan wapens. En toch zijn we vandaag hier en kijken we gewoon op onze gsm's naar kinderen en patiënten die levend worden verbrand, gehandicapte burgers die worden verscheurd door door het leger getrainde honden, baby's die in couveuses worden achtergelaten om te sterven, artsen die worden gemarteld, ziekenhuizen en scholen die worden gebombardeerd, journalisten die worden vermoord en gevangenen en die worden verkracht, keizersneden die moeten worden toegediend zonder verdoving.

Collega's, ik doe een beroep op jullie gevoel voor ethiek. We kunnen en mogen niet toestaan dat onze leiders ons medeplichtig maken aan dat alles. We mogen de wereld niet opnieuw overlaten aan psychopaten. Onze vertegenwoordigers moeten zich inzetten voor een wereld van vrede en welvaart, en niet van dood en vernietiging.

**Alexander Jungbluth (ESN).** – Herr Präsident! In Deutschland werden die Grundrechte mit Füßen getreten. Dort ist es inzwischen normal, dass man bespitzelt wird, wenn man nicht regierungskonform ist, oder die Polizei einem die Tür eintritt, wenn man einen grünen Minister kritisiert. Nun haben die Mächtigen in Deutschland etwas Neues aus dem Giftschrank geholt – Berufsverbote. Ist es gerechtfertigt, einem talentierten Schriftsteller den Zugang zu seinem Beruf zu verwehren, nur weil seine Meinung kontrovers ist? In Deutschland schon. So wird aktuell einem Juristen die Laufbahn als Richter oder Anwalt verweigert, weil er einen Roman geschrieben hat, der den Behörden nicht passt.

Damit nicht genug: Uli Grötsch von der SPD fordert, dass AfD-Mitglieder aus dem Polizeidienst geworfen werden. Die SPD, die auf einem historischen Tiefstand ist und zu einer Splitterpartei verkommt, handelt nach dem Motto: Wenn wir schon so schlecht sind, dass uns niemand mehr wählen will, dann zerstören wir doch einfach die Existenzen der Opposition. Lehrer, die nicht gewillt sind, ihre Schüler maximal zu indoktrinieren, haben auch schon Druck bekommen. Deutschland wird jeden Tag ein wenig unfreier. Wir werden für die Freiheit des deutschen Volkes kämpfen, und die Altparteien werden verlieren.

**Diana Iovanovici Șoșoacă (NI).** – Domnule președinte, vorbim de libertatea de exprimare și de democrație. Nu, nu există. Și în România este la fel ca și în Germania și chiar mai rău. Odată ce ești împotriva puterii, ești catalogat drept antisemit.

Vă spun asta pentru că absolut toată opoziția este făcută antisemită și se adoptă legislație împotriva opoziției, acuzându-i de antisemitism, interzicând istoria României. Bună, rea, este interzisă de un anumit domn reprezentant al khazarilor din România. Este interzisă, iar dacă vorbești despre istoria României, ești băgat în pușcărie 10 ani.

Dacă tipăreşti o carte sau cumperi o carte despre istoria României din Cel de-Al Doilea şi după Al Doilea Război Mondial, faci puşcărie 10 ani. Dacă îţi permiţi să vorbeşti de mareşalul Antonescu şi Corneliu Zelea Codreanu şi Mişcarea legionară, care nu a fost niciodată condamnată de Tribunalul de la Nuremberg, faci puşcărie 10 ani.

Şi asta pentru că aşa vrea domnul Vexler, care e reprezentantul khazarilor din România. Şi vă întreb unde este libertatea de exprimare? Cum să suprimi ziare, jurnale şi televiziuni, pentru că unora nu le convine adevărul. Shimon Peres a menţionat…

*(Preşedintele a retras cuvântul vorbitoarei)*

**President.** – I'm sorry, your time is over. This is a 1-minute speech, not a 1.5-minute speech. Thank you for understanding.

**Hélder Sousa Silva (PPE).** – Senhor Presidente, Senhor Comissário, caros colegas, assinalámos no passado dia 12 de Junho, quatro décadas de adesão de Portugal à então Comunidade Económica Europeia, marco fundamental na consolidação da nossa democracia e também na modernização do país.

A integração europeia representou para Portugal uma oportunidade de desenvolvimento económico, o reforço do Estado de direito e a projeção internacional.

Ao longo destes 40 anos, beneficiámos de investimentos estruturantes, ampliámos horizontes para as nossas empresas e para os cidadãos e afirmámos os valores que partilhámos com os restantes Estados-Membros. Valores da paz, valores da liberdade, valores da solidariedade e valores da coesão.

Portugal é hoje um membro plenamente comprometido com o projeto europeu. E é com responsabilidade que devemos continuar a contribuir para uma União mais forte, mais coesa e mais próxima dos cidadãos.

Celebrar 40 anos é, acima de tudo, renovar o nosso compromisso com o futuro da Europa.

**Maria Grapini (S&D).** – Domnule preşedinte, domnule comisar, aţi moştenit de la vechea comisie un program de reindustrializare a Uniunii Europene. Am mai pus întrebarea: se ţine cont că vrem să avem o industrie sau doar vorbim?

Am nişte date statistice de anul trecut. Ţări ca ţara mea, România, dar şi Italia, şi Spania, şi Franţa au industria, de exemplu, pentru plăci ceramice aproape distrusă, pentru că se importă din India, din Egipt, din Turcia, cu preţuri la jumătate. Oamenii, firmele (în ţara mea mai este o singură firmă), au investit sute de milioane de euro şi riscă să închidă fabricile.

Această e concurenţă neloială cu preţuri la jumătate. Pentru că da, India nu plăteşte nici certificate verzi, nu plăteşte nici taxe pe CO2 la consumul de gaz, ştim bine că salariile acolo sunt altele, protecţia socială nu există.

Ce facem pentru a face o protecţie? Şi vă spun, în calitate de vicepreşedintă a Comisiei pentru piaţa internă, vrem să mai avem industrie, vrem să avem locuri de muncă, vrem să crească veniturile oamenilor? Trebuie măsuri concrete şi aştept aceste răspunsuri.

**Marie Dauchy (PfE).** – Monsieur le Président, comment peut-on tolérer, dans cet hémicycle, l'imposture de Rima Hassan, une élue qui, à chaque prise de parole, détourne le drame israélo-palestinien à des fins idéologiques et communautaristes? Pas un mot pour la France, pas un mot pour l'Europe, seulement une obsession: importer un conflit qui n'est pas le nôtre sur notre sol.

Sa colère est à géométrie variable. Elle se met en scène en victime après moins de 24 heures de garde à vue, alors que des enfants ont été massacrés le 7 octobre. Quant à sa prétendue grève de la faim de 8 heures, c'est une provocation indécente face à la tragédie vécue à Gaza. Mais le plus inquiétant, c'est le silence, voire la complaisance de trop d'élus dans cet hémicycle.

L'Union européenne ne doit pas être le porte-voix de ceux qui attisent la haine. Elle doit redevenir une voix de paix, de fermeté et de clarté. Retrouvons le cap, retrouvons la voix de la France.

**President.** – It would be appreciated if you would follow the subject that you yourself indicated, which you didn't in this case.

**Șerban Dimitrie Sturdza (ECR).** – Domnule președinte, stimați colegi, mă adresez românilor. Știu că nu ați votat scandal, dar asta ați primit. Știu că nu ați votat prețuri mai mari, dar asta veți primi în continuare. De la alegerea noului președinte al României și până astăzi încă nu avem Guvern, iar guvernul interimar se joacă de-a v-ați ascunselea pe banii dumneavoastră.

De la Strasbourg lucrurile se văd îngrijorător. Domnilor politicieni de la București, o Europă întreagă vede că vă e frică să înfruntați criza pe care chiar voi ați creat-o. Nu doriți să vă asumați greutatea redresării economice de care are nevoie România. În loc să discutăm despre strategii clare care să ne scoată din criză, în loc să vorbim despre o mai bună colectare a taxelor și despre cum putem alcătui un buget de stat care să răspundă nevoilor reale ale românilor, circul postelectoral continuă.

Nu creșteți taxele românilor. Colectați mai bine banii care trebuie să intre la bugetul de stat. Nimeni nu merită să plătească pentru greșelile voastre.

**Ciaran Mullooly (Renew).** – Mr President, we're in a housing crisis, so we're told. In Ireland and in Europe we need simple, straightforward reforms.

Currently, the credit union sector in Ireland have EUR 22 billion in assets, just EUR 7 billion in loans given out. They want to lend out more for housing and other things. But under current central Bank of Ireland rules, credit unions must hold 10 % of the value of any investment in Irish government bonds as a capital reserve. This is despite the fact that under EU banking regulations, government bonds are considered zero-risk assets and require no such capital buffer.

If our Irish regulations were to be aligned with EU norms and this reserve requirement were to be removed, credit unions could redirect billions into domestic investment. They would immediately free up EUR 1 billion for lending to families, small businesses, farmers and for building affordable homes.

Imagine what it would do. People like Tom Allen in Mullingar, a credit union, could put young couples on the first rung of the ladder for houses for the first time, so we need to get our credit unions the tools they need to invest in their future and strengthen our communities.

I appeal for reform here, reform this 10 % reserve rule and start that investment.

**Nicolae Ștefănuță (Verts/ALE).** – Domnule președinte, uciderea Teodorei Marcu a șocat țara noastră și de atunci 26 de femei au fost ucise pentru simplul fapt că sunt, că au fost femei. Singura lor vină a fost dorința bărbaților de a le trata după bunul plac, ca pe proprietăți, să le bată sălbatic și chiar să le omoare, dacă așa își doresc.

Milioane de femei suferă în tăcere și pot astfel deveni următoarele victime. De aceea trebuie să vorbim despre femicid. De ce? Pentru că este considerată o circumstanță agravantă care adaugă pedepsei penale. Trebuie să vorbim despre femicid ca să arătăm că este cea mai mare crimă a violenței de gen. Trebuie să mai vorbim despre consimțământ, despre viol, despre ce înseamnă abuz psihic, abuz psihologic, abuz fizic împotriva femeilor.

Și încă ceva: nu trebuie să facă acest lucru femeile mereu, ci toți bărbații Europei trebuie să fie alături de ele.

**João Oliveira (The Left).** – Senhor Presidente, Senhoras e Senhores Deputados, a habitação é uma prioridade na resposta aos problemas dos povos e é preciso que a União Europeia tome as medidas necessárias para que haja soluções a nível nacional para aumentar a oferta pública de habitação, proteger os inquilinos, combater a especulação imobiliária, garantir a mobilização do investimento necessário para que as casas que estão devolutas — os imóveis que são propriedade do Estado — possam ser afetados ao objetivo da habitação, que tanta falta faz aos povos do espaço da União Europeia.

Em Portugal, essas necessidades também se fazem sentir de forma absolutamente urgente e imediata. No entanto, aquilo que vemos da parte da União Europeia são opções no sentido contrário, que, de resto, incentivam os Estados e os governos a fazerem as opções exatamente contrárias.

A proposta de orçamento para 2026 da União Europeia não assume a prioridade da habitação, mas permite o desvio de recursos orçamentais para o militarismo e a guerra. A revisão intercalar das políticas de coesão não deu prioridade à habitação, mas permitiu a utilização dos fundos de coesão para o objetivo do militarismo e da guerra. Por isso, não espanta que o Governo português queira agora gastar em 2025 o triplo dos gastos militares, o triplo das verbas que estavam inicialmente previstas para a habitação no PRR. Essas são as opções erradas…

*(o Presidente retira a palavra ao orador)*

**President.** – As I said, this is not 1.5 minutes; this is a 1-minute speech. Thank you.

**Jan-Peter Warnke (NI).** – Herr Präsident! Ich habe einen eher grundsätzlichen Punkt zu machen. Wir leben im Jahre 2025 und führen Debatten, als wären wir im Kalten Krieg. Ich war mein Leben lang Arzt und habe nie verstanden, warum Politik nicht friedlich denken kann. Mehr Panzer machen Europa nicht sicherer. Die Zahl schwerer Waffen entscheidet heute nicht mehr über Krieg und Frieden, sondern der politische Wille, Konflikte diplomatisch zu lösen. Lassen Sie uns hier im Parlament gemeinsam für eine europäische Friedensordnung, die auf Kooperation und nicht auf Konfrontation setzt, einstehen.

Nebenbei bemerkt: Für rund 600 Milliarden Euro – das ist der Umfang der weltweiten Rüstungsausgaben – hätten wir vermutlich längst einen Durchbruch bei der Behandlung von Krebs erzielt. Statt Kriege zu führen, können wir Leben retten. Europa muss ein Vorbild sein, nicht im Wettrüsten, sondern im Friedenshandeln. Wir sind ein Friedensprojekt. Was Gesundheit für den Einzelnen ist, ist Frieden für die Gesellschaft. Ohne beides ist alles nichts.

**Nina Carberry (PPE).** – Mr President, addressing the skills gap in Europe has rightly been identified as a core priority of this Commission, and so we should not be surprised to learn that a new report in Ireland has found that there is urgent need to take action in the advanced manufacturing sector. The sector has now faced threats that will impact innovation, competitiveness and economic growth on both sides of the border.

The 2025 Future Skills Report, compiled on behalf of Louth and Meath Education and Training Board, showed that the engagement in the sector remains low among younger people, and especially women.

If we are to compete on a global scale, we must break the barriers contributing to the skills gap in Europe. The EU now needs to follow up on its Union of Skills initiative with concrete actions, creating lasting opportunities for young, skilled workers. This is not a task that one region, one sector or one government can tackle alone. It's a shared challenge.

**Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D).** – Señor presidente, vicepresidente Fitto, a finales del pasado mes de mayo se desplazó a la isla de El Hierro una delegación de la Comisión de Libertades Civiles, Justicia y Asuntos de Interior. Se trata del punto de mayor afluencia de la ruta más mortífera de migración hacia la Unión Europea. Mi tributo a la sociedad herreña, y a la canaria en general, por su mirada humanitaria ante el hecho migratorio, sin ninguna concesión a la xenofobia ni al rechazo.

Canarias espera mucho de la implementación del Pacto sobre Migración y Asilo y, particularmente, de su pilar de solidaridad y del coordinador de solidaridad europeo, que debe facilitar la redistribución de las personas arribadas a fronteras exteriores, regiones exteriores, como es el caso de Canarias en el conjunto de la Unión.

Eso no impide subrayar que España, siendo un país intensamente descentralizado, encuentre un problema para articular esa solidaridad en su interior, como consecuencia de que en el consejo de política migratoria existe una amplia mayoría de comunidades gobernadas por el Partido Popular que se niegan a recibir a los menores no acompañados que se hacinan en Canarias y, por tanto, este es el momento de subrayar que el PP no puede ser, sin más, parte del problema y nunca de la solución.

**Thierry Mariani (PfE).** – Monsieur le Président, en février, notre Parlement a adopté une résolution sur la crise à l'est de la République démocratique du Congo, pointant très clairement la responsabilité du Rwanda dans ce drame qui dure depuis 30 ans. Quatre ans après et quelques sanctions symboliques après, la République démocratique du Congo a complètement disparu des préoccupations de l'Union européenne. Mais, quatre ans après, M. Kagame et ses milices continuent d'occuper une partie de la RDC, de la piller et d'y massacrer. Pourquoi? Parce que Kigali se moque ouvertement de nous et de notre lâcheté, à moins qu'ils profitent de notre complaisance.

Oui, l'UE se moque de l'Union. Oui, l'UE se moque des Congolais, car, pour l'Ukraine, on est capable d'en être à la 18-e vague de sanctions – pour le Congo, une seule vague de sanctions, qui en réalité n'a donné aucun résultat. En RDC, les cadavres et les preuves s'accumulent, mais Bruxelles regarde ailleurs. Toute cette ridicule comédie doit cesser, car plus de 100 millions de Congolais nous regardent et attendent que l'Union européenne sanctionne réellement M. Kagame et son entourage qui sont les seuls responsables de ce massacre.

**Cristian Terheș (ECR).** – Domnule președinte, stimați colegi, pentru a reduce prețul electricității, e imperativ să se renunțe la sistemul actual ce stabilește prețul energiei pe baza prețului marginal, care impune ca cel mai scump tip de energie să dicteze prețul întregii piețe.

Acest model a devenit ineficient și injust, mai ales într-o perioadă în care ponderea energiei regenerabile mai ieftine este în creștere. Dacă 10 % din energie e produsă pe cărbune, care e mai scumpă, e absurd ca restul de 90 % de energie consumată, produsă din surse regenerabile care au cost de producție mai mic, să fie vândută la același preț ca și energia produsă pe cărbune.

Avem nevoie de un sistem de tarifare a energiei care să acopere costurile reale de producție și să facă profit firmelor, dar în niciun caz genul de cost, cum se întâmplă în prezent, care produce profituri imense firmelor, dar face produsele și serviciile ineficiente. Renunțarea la prețul marginal pentru stabilirea prețului la energie este imperativă pentru reducerea prețului energiei în Europa, ceea ce va conduce la reducerea sărăciei și protejarea familiilor.

**Luis-Vicențiu Lazarus (NI).** – Domnule președinte, dragi colegi, după cum știți, România și-a ales în sfârșit președintele. După o serie de încălcări ale Constituției care au presupus atât lichidarea unor candidați, cât și anularea efectivă a alegerilor, în sfârșit avem un președinte care de circa o lună de zile nu e în stare să găsească un prim-ministru.

Întrucât jumătate din poporul român are senzația că dumneavoastră, Bruxelles-ul și Strasbourgul, ați pus președintele în România, vă rog respectuos să ne puneți și un prim-ministru. Puneți-ne un prim-ministru ca să știe și România încotro merge, care va fi viața ei economică și socială.

Nu, lăsăm la o parte suveranismul, că înțeleg că suveranismul nu mai este important și că oricum vă displace acel suveranism care este creator de stat modern și care este păstrător de tradiții și obiceiuri. Acel suveranism care se opune până la urmă implicării instituțiilor de guvernanță globală care să vină peste noi și să ne impună ce să mâncăm, cum să mâncăm, ce să facem, cât să stăm în casă, cât să cheltuim, ce bani să cheltuim și până la urmă să ne impună tot stilul de viață.

Pe când globalismul pare a fi mai la modă, acel globalism care nu reprezintă nimic altceva decât o societate în declin, o societate care uniformizează…

*(Președintele a retras cuvântul vorbitorului)*

**President.** – Thank you very much. I'm really trying to keep the time.

**Branko Grims (PPE).** – Med in po končani drugi svetovni vojni so socialisti pod rdečo zvezdo nad slovenskim narodom izvršili genocid, zločin, ki ne zastara. Pomorili so cvet slovenskega naroda. V nekaterih delih Slovenije so pomorili prav vse moške, ne glede na starost, do zadnjega. Genocid.

Najbolj znan primer tega so Rovte nad Logatcem. Sovraštvo jih žene še danes in ne dovolijo niti prekopa trupel pobitih dojenčkov iz okolice Škofje Loke, ostanki 1450 žrtev iz Macesnove gorice pa ležijo v vrečah.

Kršena je pravica do groba in pieteta je tisto, kar loči človeka od živali. Genocid je treba obsoditi. Vsaka žrtev si zasluži vsaj svoj bel križ v glavnem mestu in priznanje vsi, ki so se borili proti totalitarizmu. Bog vas živi! Bog živi Evropo! Bog živi mojo domovino Slovenijo.

**Johan Danielsson (S&D).** – Herr talman! Vecka efter vecka störs tusentals flygplan och fartyg av falska GPS signaler i Östersjöområdet. Piloter vittnar om varningslampor som börjar blinka, system som tappar kontakten. GPS-signaler manipuleras och fartyg som befinner sig på svenskt vatten ser ut som att de befinner sig i Ryssland.

Sedan 2022 ökar de här störningarna kraftigt. Det här är en farlig utveckling för Sverige och för övriga Europa. Effekterna drabbar flyget och sjöfarten, men också vår elförsörjning, banktjänster och kommunikationer är beroende av satellitnavigering.

Förra veckan skrev 13 EU-länder ett gemensamt brev med krav på åtgärder. Man kräver bland annat starkare tekniskt skydd för våra satellitsystem, alternativa navigationssystem som backup. Nu är det dags för EU-kommissionen att agera och se till att skapa säkerhet kring hela Östersjön.

**Mélanie Disdier (PfE).** – Monsieur le Président, quelle farce! La directive «Oiseaux» brandit l'étendard de la protection des espèces et des habitats Natura 2000, mais le futur parc éolien offshore de Dunkerque piétine allègrement ces engagements. Les études le prouvent: la faune aviaire court un grave danger. Les oiseaux marins et migrateurs, eux, n'ont pas signé pour ce carnage orchestré par ces guillotines volantes. L'arrêt du parc d'Aumelas, en France, nous le dit fermement: la biodiversité doit terrasser les ambitions mercantiles de vos amis écologistes de salon.

Ce projet ne respecte pas la directive «Oiseaux». Par pure obsession pour vos moulins à vent gavés aux subventions, vous mettez en péril nos espèces aviaires et la biodiversité. Quelles mesures précises épargneront les habitats naturels de ces zones Natura 2000, notamment en Flandre? La Commission est plus prompte à fermer les yeux sur les actions des lobbys énergétiques européens qu'à préserver les industries essentielles pour l'Europe. La crédibilité de l'Europe et la fin de son double standard moral se joue ici.

**Valérie Deloge (PfE).** – Monsieur le Président, alors que la France importe plus de 30 % de la viande qu'elle consomme, Macron et von der Leyen veulent ouvrir grand les portes de l'Europe à des produits d'Amérique du Sud qui ne respectent pas nos normes. L'accord avec le Mercosur est une absurdité économique, écologique et stratégique. Macron joue un double jeu: il prétend défendre notre agriculture tout en se disant prêt à signer l'accord à condition de quelques clauses de sauvegarde. Des miettes.

La réalité est implacable: la production de viande française s'effondre et les troupeaux ont diminué de 10 % en dix ans. Pendant ce temps, la Commission européenne de von der Leyen continue son forcing sans écouter les peuples ni respecter les équilibres agricoles. Le président brésilien l'a dit, la voix de la France ne compte plus.

Je le dis avec force: je suis contre l'accord avec le Mercosur. Nous devons reconquérir nos productions, redonner un avenir à nos jeunes, simplifier les règles. Ce qu'il faut, c'est de la cohérence et du respect pour ceux qui nous nourrissent. Je défends sans faille et avec détermination nos éleveurs, piliers de notre souveraineté alimentaire.

**Tiago Moreira de Sá (PfE).** – Senhor Presidente, na doutrina da *Ordo Amoris,* Santo Agostinho ensinava que o amor deve ser ordenado: do mais próximo para o mais afastado. Primeiro a Deus, depois à família, à comunidade e só depois aos mais distantes.

Hoje, com o reagrupamento familiar no centro da política migratória, é essencial afirmar a nossa posição frontalmente contra políticas que promovem a imigração descontrolada.

Portugal já tem 1,6 milhões de imigrantes. Sem limites, ultrapassaremos os 2 milhões. Esta pressão apaga a nossa identidade, compromete a nossa segurança, desafia a coesão nacional e coloca em risco Schengen, que celebra agora 40 anos.

Temos de ter coração, mas também cabeça. A generosidade não tem de ser ingénua. A nossa primeira obrigação é com a nossa comunidade e com quem nos elegeu. O rio fora do leito torna-se dilúvio. O remédio, sem medida, faz adoecer. Até o bem, quando desgovernado, pode destruir.

Para que não destruamos a coesão dos nossos países e a Europa de Schengen, combateremos o reagrupamento familiar de migrantes.

**President.** – Thank you very much. That concludes the 1-minute speeches. Thank you, Executive Vice-President, for listening until the end.

## 24. Agenda of the next sitting

**Predsedajúci .** – Nasledujúce rokovanie sa uskutoční zajtra v utorok 17. júna so začiatkom o deviatej hodine ráno. Program schôdze bol zverejnený, je k dispozícii na webovom sídle Európskeho parlamentu.

## 25. Approval of the minutes of the sitting

**Predsedajúci .** – Zápisnica z tohto rokovania bude predložená parlamentu na schválenie zajtra na začiatku popoludňajšieho rokovania.

## 26. Closure of the sitting

*(Rokovanie sa skončilo o 21:58 h.)*

*Key to symbols used*

| | |
|---|---|
| * | Consultation procedure |
| *** | Consent procedure |
| ***I | Ordinary legislative procedure: first reading |
| ***II | Ordinary legislative procedure: second reading |
| ***III | Ordinary legislative procedure: third reading |

(The type of procedure is determined by the legal basis proposed in the draft act.)

*Abbreviations used for Parliamentary Committees*

| | |
|---|---|
| AFET | Committee on Foreign Affairs |
| SEDE | Committee on Security and Defence |
| DEVE | Committee on Development |
| INTA | Committee on International Trade |
| BUDG | Committee on Budgets |
| CONT | Committee on Budgetary Control |
| ECON | Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs |
| EMPL | Committee on Employment and Social Affairs |
| ENVI | Committee on the Environment, Climate and Food Safety |
| SANT | Committee on Public Health |
| ITRE | Committee on Industry, Research and Energy |
| IMCO | Committee on the Internal Market and Consumer Protection |
| TRAN | Committee on Transport and Tourism |
| REGI | Committee on Regional Development |
| AGRI | Committee on Agriculture and Rural Development |
| PECH | Committee on Fisheries |
| CULT | Committee on Culture and Education |
| JURI | Committee on Legal Affairs |
| LIBE | Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs |
| AFCO | Committee on Constitutional Affairs |
| FEMM | Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality |
| PETI | Committee on Petitions |
| | |
| DROI | Subcommittee on Human Rights |
| FISC | Subcommittee on Tax Matters |

*Abbreviations used for Political Groups*

| | |
|---|---|
| PPE | Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) |
| S&D | Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament |
| PfE | Patriots for Europe Group |
| ECR | European Conservatives and Reformists Group |
| Renew | Renew Europe Group |
| Verts/ALE | Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance |
| The Left | The Left Group in the European Parliament – GUE/NGL |
| ESN | Europe of Sovereign Nations Group |
| NI | Non-attached Members |