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FULDSTÆNDIGT FORHANDLINGSREFERAT DEN 11. FEBRUAR 2025

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FULDSTÆNDIGT FORHANDLINGSREFERAT DEN 11. FEBRUAR 2025**IN THE CHAIR: CRISTEL SCHALDEMOSE***Vice-President***1. Åbning af mødet***(The sitting opened at 09:00)***2. Forberedelse til en ny handelsæra: multilateralt samarbejde eller toldsatser (forhandling)**

President. – The first item on the agenda is the debate on the Council and Commission statements on preparedness for a new trade era: multilateral cooperation or tariffs (2025/2551(RSP)).

Adam Szlápka, *President-in-Office of the Council.* – Madam President, honourable Members, Commissioner, the EU is a firm supporter of multilateral trade cooperation, while recognising that multilateral institutions need to be reformed to make them fit for the challenges of our time.

For over three decades, the World Trade Organization has provided a stable, rules-based framework to advance key objectives: raising living standards and facilitating global trade of goods and services. Crucially, global trade rules provide assurance and stability. The WTO has fostered cooperation and supported development across the globe by helping developing economies to build their trade capacity and by creating a more inclusive trading system.

However, today's international trade landscape is being increasingly shaped by geopolitical tensions and the weaponisation of trade and economic challenges, increasing the risk of global economic fragmentation and a shift from a rules-based to a power-based order.

As the world's largest trading bloc and the largest investor, the EU has a fundamental interest in maintaining a rules-based system, which remains the most effective safeguard against economic fragmentation. And it is clear that a fragmented trading system would benefit no one. In fact, the least developed and most vulnerable developing countries would be most affected.

Madam President, honourable Members, Commissioner, the EU is committed to working on the much-needed substantive reform of the WTO. We need to adapt it to the challenges of the twenty-first century – in particular those related to trade and industrial policy, trade and environment, and trade and inclusion – as well as restoring a fully functioning dispute settlement system.

Further to playing a leadership role in the WTO, the EU has developed the largest network of trade agreements with partners across the globe. We have free trade agreements in place with 76 countries in the world, covering around 46 % of the EU trade.

We continue to believe that open, rules-based and fair international trade is primarily a force for good. By opening new markets, trade enhances economies of scale, contributes to productivity and innovation, and supports jobs. Diversification of trade relations also improves access to the inputs that our producers need. All this contributes to reducing dependencies and enhancing our resilience and economic security.

However, we are not naïve in the face of today's realities. This means we are not afraid of using the instruments at our disposal to tackle unfair competition, level the playing field and enhance our economic security. When necessary, we can protect our economy from technological leakages, overcapacity and other unfair practices.

Having faced multiple crises and deep changes in the last years, the EU has equipped itself with multiple instruments and tools, making us stronger, more autonomous, more sovereign and more resilient.

Maroš Šefčovič, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, dear Minister, honourable Members of the European Parliament, Europe faces an increasingly complex world marked by, among other things, rivalry and unpredictability that impacts our trade relations around the world.

In the EU, we know that challenging times call for more multilateral governance and rules-based international cooperation, not less. This is why the EU remains committed to championing rules-based trade, with the revitalised World Trade Organization at its core. This is of clear economic interest, as we conduct 55 % of our external trade under the WTO's most-favoured-nation rules.

At the same time, we must ensure the system is fit to tackle today's pressing challenges. This includes industrial policies, overcapacities and a global level playing field, as well as climate change and the digital transition. Trade, like any business, thrives on predictability and fair rules, so such revitalisation is key to rebuilding trust and restoring collaboration between trading partners, and ultimately key to the effectiveness of the WTO. After all, trade is the engine, if not the essence, of multilateralism.

Beyond the WTO, the G7 and G20 remain highly relevant for exchanging with our partners and addressing the tensions and frictions that affect open and rules-based global trade. The OECD always plays an important role in supporting multilateralism and international cooperation. Moreover, on issues that are particularly important to the EU, we are creating new structures for multilateral cooperation, for example, the Minerals Security Partnership Forum, which the EU co-chairs, or the Coalition of Trade Ministers on Climate, also co-led by the EU.

We will continue to make the best use of all these fora because, as President von der Leyen said recently, 'it is in no one's interest to break the bonds in the global economy'. So we will keep all lines of communications open. And I can assure you that the EU is prepared to face up to any challenges this new era will bring in the field of trade.

Our fast-growing network of trade agreements – the world's largest, consisting of some 44 preferential trade agreements with 76 countries – connects our single market with markets around the globe and gives us and our businesses the opportunity to grow, innovate and compete. And we continue to expand this network even further.

As you know, we finalised negotiations for the EU-Mercosur partnership agreement and our agreement with Switzerland late last year. A few weeks ago, we concluded talks to modernise the EU-Mexico trade agreement and relaunched the negotiations with Malaysia. And I can tell you that there is a clear momentum.

Many third countries are seeking continuity, stability and predictability in their trade partners, so they turn to us. Our economy is one of the world's most open, a fact reflected in our high level of trade to GDP ratio of 45 %. And trade not only provides our businesses with new export opportunities, but it also guarantees access to critical inputs for the European economy.

Two thirds of all inputs for production come from outside of the European Union. Therefore, we continue full steam ahead with trade negotiations with India, Indonesia, Thailand, Philippines and others, and we are looking into the possibilities for deepening trade ties with the Gulf countries. We are also working on new tailor-made forms of engagement that will contribute to our overarching objective, boosting the EU's global competitiveness. These include trade and technology councils, sustainable investment facilitation agreements, digital trade agreements and the pioneering clean trade and investment partnerships.

One thing remains the same, however: we seek mutually beneficial partnerships centred around stability, fairness and sustainability. And this sets us apart and is an increasingly strong selling point. At the same time, whenever needed, we will protect our openness, our industry and our single market. And this brings me to the EU's economic security, another imperative in today's world of stark competition.

First, we are strengthening the tools at our disposal but also ensuring their effective use. This includes the revision of the FDI Screening Regulation, as well as moving towards an EU approach on dual-use export controls and outbound investment.

Second, under the European economic security strategy, we are assessing key risks to our economic security. An in-depth understanding of these threats will inform our mitigating measures, all to be crafted in a proportionate and targeted manner. And ultimately, we will develop a doctrine on the use of our economic security tools to ensure they are deployed when needed, in a coordinated and consistent way.

And third, we are engaging on economic security, both in G7 Plus format and bilaterally. Further strengthening ties with partners who want to cooperate to address the risks we face is of key importance, especially in the geopolitics of today.

Now, turning to our relations with the United States. Unfortunately, tariffs came back overnight. The President of the United States signed a proclamation imposing 25 % tariffs on all steel and aluminium imports into the US as from 12 March 2025. He has also announced reciprocal tariffs on other products, coming this week. We deeply regret these decisions and announcements.

The EU sees no justification for the imposition of tariffs on our exports, which is economically counterproductive, especially given the deeply integrated production chains established through our extensive transatlantic trade and investment ties. Tariffs are taxes – bad for businesses, worse for consumers – and by imposing tariffs, the US will be taxing its own citizens, raising costs for its own business and fuelling inflation.

In addition, tariffs are not only harmful for the trading partners directly involved but also risk having disruptive effects for many others, as well as the global trading system as a whole. Put simply, it is a lose-lose scenario. And, as I said last time I was here, we will always protect our interests from unjustified measures, in line with our values. And this time has come, and we are currently assessing the scope of the measures announced overnight and will be responding in a firm and proportionate way by countermeasures.

We will act to safeguard our economic interests. We will protect our workers, businesses and consumers. This is the way to protect European interest, but it is not our preferred scenario. We remain committed to constructive dialogue. We stand ready for negotiations and to find mutually beneficial solutions where possible. There is a lot at stake for both sides. We want to make it work, not least because it simply makes sense.

Jörgen Warborn, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, Minister, Commissioner, it is evident that we are living in an increasingly unpredictable and uncertain trade area. Whilst China is using subsidies to boost their businesses, US is using tariffs to support theirs.

The EU is, sadly, only one of the few global actors that really are playing by the international rules-based order today. The EU now must stand united in our approach towards the Trump trade policy. Fragmentation will only weaken our process. We have a very well developed trade defence toolbox and it is ready to be used, but only after diplomacy and negotiation have failed – because the US is a close ally, it is a traditional partner of us, it is a strategic friend and we need to work together with them. A tit-for-tat trade war will not benefit us. Most importantly, when we answer to the US threats, we have to do it in a WTO-compatible manner because if we don't, this will only increase the insecurity for European businesses and citizens.

Whilst China and the US are playing by their own rules at the moment, we need to have even more strategic partners around the world. We need to continue with the Mercosur countries. We need to continue the negotiations with India. We need to finalise the modernised trade with Mexico and speed up the process with Indonesia. Trump is now closing inwards, the US is closing inwards and we in Europe we must look outwards.

Iratxe García Pérez, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señora presidenta, señor comisario, señorías, nos encontramos en un momento decisivo para la economía global. El presidente de los Estados Unidos intimida con aranceles injustificados a sus principales socios comerciales, incluyendo a México, Colombia, Canadá y China, y amenaza con extender esta guerra comercial sin sentido a la Unión Europea.

Señorías, no nos equivoquemos: el comercio ha sido una de las mayores fuentes de prosperidad de nuestra era. Según el Banco Mundial, desde 1990 el comercio ha impulsado los ingresos globales en un 24 % y ha sacado a más de mil millones de personas de la pobreza.

El proteccionismo amenaza con destruir este progreso. Y, ante la deriva destructiva de Trump, ¿qué solución tiene la extrema derecha de los falsos patriotas? Se arrodillarán ante Trump mientras su delirio proteccionista aumenta los precios y pone en peligro millones de puestos de trabajo en sectores como el acero, el aluminio, el automóvil y la agricultura.

Señorías, no podemos quedarnos de brazos cruzados. Respondamos con firmeza y con una visión estratégica para proteger a las clases trabajadoras. Somos la Unión Europea: somos un poder normativo, un poder de mercado y somos la mayor potencia comercial del mundo.

Reforcemos nuestro mercado único, porque una Unión más integrada será nuestra mejor defensa ante ataques externos. Si eliminamos barreras internas y reducimos la dependencia de mercados inestables, nuestras empresas podrán competir con mayor solidez.

Diversifiquemos nuestros acuerdos comerciales: en lugar de aislarnos o depender de un solo socio, aceleremos las negociaciones con mercados emergentes y bloques estratégicos en América Latina, en África y en Asia. Seamos firmes en la defensa de nuestros sectores más afectados. Si Washington nos golpea con aranceles ilegales, respondamos con aranceles en sectores estratégicos para la economía estadounidense. Recurramos al Reglamento sobre cumplimiento, utilicemos los derechos de salvaguardia y despleguemos el Reglamento frente a la coerción para cerrar nuestro mercado a sus bienes y servicios.

Madam President, the US president thinks that international trade is a game that can only have one winner. But history shows us that trade is a source of shared wealth and that protectionism only leads to blockages and confrontation. - Trump has chosen the wrong path, the path that took Europe from the Great Depression to the Second World War.

100 years later, trade wars have presented a major challenge but also a major opportunity. An opportunity to show that Europe is stronger when it is united. An opportunity to defend the rules-based trade system that has brought prosperity and stability to millions of people, and an opportunity to continue our fight for a fairer and more equal world.

Klara Dostalova, *za skupinu Pře*. – Paní předsedající, pane komisaři, dnes tu máme debatu s názvem *Preparedness for a new trade era*. Omlouvám se, ale o jaké připravenosti tady chceme dneska mluvit? Byla snad Komise připravena na Trumpova cla? Nebyla. Byla připravena na levné čínské dovozy, které ničí náš průmysl? Nebyla. Byla připravena na energetickou krizi, kterou sama pomohla vyvolat? No nebyla.

Ale tentokrát, tentokrát, vážení kolegové, to určitě bude jiné. Komise přece bedlivě sleduje situaci, analyzuje dopady a připravuje strategické dokumenty. A co tedy konkrétně udělá? No, vytvoří pracovní skupinu, možná dokonce i kulatý stůl. A když bude nejhůř, vydá ambiciózní akční plán, který ale nebude nikdo respektovat.

Zatímco Amerika zavádí cla, Brusel zavádí hlubokou reflexi. Zatímco Čína podporuje svůj průmysl, my podporujeme inkluzivní obchodní rámec. A zatímco ostatní hájí své zájmy, my sepisujeme směrnice o etických standardech dovozu banánů. Takhle se podle Evropské komise buduje ekonomická mocnost, dámy a pánové.

A co kdybychom jednou řekli dost Bruselu, který jen sleduje, jak se Evropa propadá? Evropa musí chránit své zájmy, protože v obchodě neexistují přátelé, existují jen zájmy, a pokud budeme dále slabí, svět s námi počítat nebude.

Daniele Polato, *a nome del gruppo ECR*. – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, buongiorno Ministro, buongiorno Commissario Šefčovič, il protezionismo da parte degli Stati Uniti non è una novità. A partire dagli anni '70, solo i Presidenti Bush e Clinton non hanno introdotto nuovi dazi.

Alle sinistre, sempre pronte a usare due pesi e due misure in base al colore politico, ricordo che Biden aveva confermato i dazi che colpivano le esportazioni agroalimentari *Made in Italy* in relazione alla disputa Boeing-Airbus. È stato Biden, e non Trump, a varare dazi fino al 41,67 % ai produttori di alluminio italiani. È stato Biden, e non Trump, a varare dazi del 102,5 % sulle auto elettriche cinesi.

Come europei dobbiamo rimanere uniti e difendere i nostri interessi e le nostre imprese. Dobbiamo evitare una guerra commerciale con gli USA e cooperare fin da subito con l'amministrazione Trump. Il nostro problema non è Washington, che persegue giustamente i propri interessi.

A preoccuparci di più sono la crisi economica della Germania, dovuta alle scelte folli di Verdi e socialdemocratici, le proposte della Commissione che penalizzano ancora il settore del vino o le quasi raddoppiate importazioni di gas russo da parte di Francia, Belgio e Spagna. Siamo arrivati ad oltre 16,5 milioni di tonnellate, in palese contrasto con le ambizioni del *Green Deal*, che prevedevano la riduzione dei combustibili fossili, ed aumentando i profitti della Russia, alla faccia delle sanzioni.

Se vogliamo essere protagonisti nella nuova era delle relazioni commerciali, dobbiamo cambiare totalmente approccio.

Karin Karlsbro, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Madam President, Donald Trump has been elected as the new president of the United States, not the world. With tariffs and barriers, he promises to make America great and force others to dance to his tune. But what President Trump doesn't say is that the price will be paid by the American consumers.

It's absurd that the new president is pushing us into a trade war. Instead, we should be joining forces to face the threats from our common enemies, Russia and China, and stand up for rules-based trade.

The Emperor is naked. Trade wars make us all poorer. To our friends around the world, I want to say we are open for business. To the US, I want to state that we are ready to respond. When the US seeks to divide us, the strength of the EU lies in our European unity.

Anna Cavazzini, *im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin! Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, eines vorweg: Es ist sehr gut, dass wir heute über Zölle diskutieren. Aber es ist auch ganz klar, dass wir schauen müssen, was in den USA selber gerade passiert. Die Rechte des Parlaments werden ausgehebelt, nicht gewählte Menschen haben Zugriff auf das komplette Zahlungssystem, und ganze Behörden werden zerstört. Wir müssen sagen, dass das, was passiert, eigentlich einem Staatsstreich gleicht. Darüber müssen wir auch reden.

Aber jetzt zu den Zöllen. Eines muss klar sein: Willkürliche Zölle machen die Menschen ärmer – hier und in den USA. Sie heizen die Inflation an, sie zerstören Wohlstand und sind eine Gefahr für die Weltwirtschaft. Und das finde ich schon ganz interessant: Die extreme Rechte hier wirft sich Trump zu Füßen und findet ihn toll. Dabei wird Trump Europa schwächen – unsere Wirtschaft und das Einkommen der Europäerinnen und Europäer. Und Sie schwächen mit Ihrer Unterstützung Trump und die Interessen Europas. Unter patriotisch stelle ich mir etwas anderes vor.

Jetzt aber zu dem, was wir in der Europäischen Union machen müssen. Wir müssen uns sehr gut auf den Ernstfall vorbereiten. Wir müssen zusammenhalten. Das ist ganz wichtig, denn nur geschlossen können wir Einfluss haben. Die EU darf sich nicht erpressen lassen wegen der drohenden Zölle und darf unsere eigenen Gesetze nicht zurückdrehen. Dass da gestern schon gesagt wurde, wir machen den AI Act wieder auf, ist wirklich skandalös. Wir müssen gemeinsame Interessen mit den USA herausarbeiten und kooperativ sein. Aber auch, wie Sie das gesagt haben, Herr Šefčovič, kluge Gegenzölle vorbereiten, denn wir haben mit einem der größten Märkte der Welt eine wahnsinnige Macht, und die müssen wir auch nutzen gegenüber Trump.

Manon Aubry, *au nom du groupe The Left*. – Madame la Présidente, Donald Trump multiplie les attaques, les menaces et les outrances. Et l'Union européenne, qu'est-ce qu'elle fait? Elle regarde ses chaussures, ses pompes. Pire, elle se soumet.

Retrait de l'OMS, suppression de l'aide humanitaire, sortie de l'accord de Paris, du Conseil des droits de l'homme de l'ONU, sanctions contre la Cour pénale internationale et même l'abjecte menace de transformer la bande de Gaza en un gigantesque complexe touristique: voilà un aperçu du funeste bilan de Donald Trump et de ses sbires milliardaires en l'espace de quelques jours à la Maison-Blanche.

Face à cette politique du pire, quelle réaction de l'Union européenne? Rien.

Ah si, j'ai bien trouvé un communiqué qui dit qu'il faudrait approfondir nos relations transatlantiques. Trump veut nous dépouiller et c'est tout juste si vous ne tendez pas l'autre joue, Monsieur le Commissaire, histoire de rester dans le giron des États-Unis, même quand son dirigeant d'extrême droite foule aux pieds tous les principes du droit international et met une cible dans le dos des immigrés et des minorités LGBT.

Cet alignement inconditionnel sur les États-Unis est une voie sans issue qui précipite l'Europe vers sa propre ruine. Ironiquement, ceux qui se nomment les Patriotes – pas très nombreux, d'ailleurs, ce matin – au sein de ce Parlement, l'extrême droite, sont aussi les plus prompts à idolâtrer Elon Musk et à marcher la tête baissée dans les pas de Trump.

Alors, je vous le demande: combien de provocations supplémentaires faudra-t-il pour que les dirigeants européens cessent de lui obéir, le doigt sur la couture du pantalon, paralysés par la perspective d'une guerre commerciale?

Oui, l'administration Trump ne cesse d'agiter l'épouvantail des droits de douane sur les produits européens. Et nous, nous devrions avoir peur, alors que notre économie pèse le même poids et que nous disposons d'outils pour nous défendre et riposter? Arrêtez d'être tétanisé, Monsieur Šefčovič. À ceux qui nous accuseront d'alimenter la guerre économique par des mesures protectionnistes, ne soyez pas dupes, parce qu'elle existe déjà depuis bien longtemps et que les dirigeants européens nous en rendent les dindons de la farce et sont en train de nous la faire perdre.

Cette guerre, c'est celle menée par le capitalisme qui met en concurrence les peuples et détruit la planète. Mais plutôt que de tirer les leçons de ses échecs, l'Union européenne continue de donner les pleins pouvoirs aux multinationales. Et eureka! Elle se dit: «Tiens, allons signer encore plus d'accords de libre-échange», ou même les nouveaux mantras de l'Union européenne, «dérégulation» et «simplification» d'une Union européenne qui en réalité perd sa boussole, au point de détruire les seuls progrès sociaux arrachés ces dernières années, à commencer par le devoir de vigilance des multinationales.

Alors oui, Monsieur Šefčovič, l'Europe doit reprendre en main son destin et réduire ses dépendances vis-à-vis des États-Unis, du reste du monde. Comment se fait-il que nous devrions importer depuis l'autre bout de la planète des médicaments ou des panneaux solaires qu'on sait pourtant produire ici?

À l'heure où l'Union européenne multiplie ces nouveaux accords, il est temps d'en finir avec le libre-échange. Il est temps de changer radicalement les règles pour produire à l'échelle de notre continent ce dont nous avons besoin, retrouver notre souveraineté sur l'énergie, l'industrie, l'agriculture et l'alimentation via un véritable protectionnisme solidaire. Voilà le chemin que doit emprunter l'Europe pour faire face aux périls qui nous guettent. Sans cela, nous courons à notre propre perte.

René Aust, *im Namen der ESN-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin! Meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren, Zölle sind Steuern. Ich glaube, es ist das erste Mal in der Geschichte der Europäischen Union, dass Sie sich gegen höhere Steuern wehren.

Aber in der Tat ist es richtig, dass diejenigen, die durch höhere Zölle im Ausland unseren Unternehmen schaden wollen – dass wir uns dementsprechend auch wehren müssen, um die Interessen unserer Unternehmen zu beschützen. Nicht weil wir US-amerikanischen Unternehmen schaden wollen, sondern weil wir die US-Regierung zum Einlenken bewegen wollen, dass sie unseren Unternehmen eben nicht schadet.

Aber die Probleme, die wir auf den Weltmärkten haben, sind mehr als nur drohende Zölle, sondern die Europäische Union selbst treibt die Unternehmen in die verlierende Wettbewerbsfähigkeit – Verbotspolitik, Regulierungswut, Berichtspflichten, hohe Steuer- und Abgabenlast. Wer also glaubt, nur mit höheren Zöllen auf die neue Situation der Weltwirtschaft reagieren zu können, wird der Sache nicht gerecht.

Wir brauchen eine andere, intelligente Wirtschafts- und Handelspolitik. Die Unternehmen müssen entlastet werden. Ein Betrieb muss produzieren, statt Formulare auszufüllen. Steuern sind zu senken, damit diese Unternehmen mehr Geld haben, um investieren zu können. Wir brauchen eine andere, eine interessenorientierte, partnerschaftliche Außenpolitik, die unsere Handelspartner in der Welt vermehrt, statt einer belehrenden, besserwisserischen feministischen Außenpolitik, die uns in der Welt isoliert. Auch Donald Trump müssen wir die Hand für Kooperationen reichen.

Meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren,

(Die Präsidentin entzieht dem Redner das Wort.)

President. – Thank you. The time is over.

We have taken the first round of speakers on behalf of the groups and I will now open the blue card option.

Please, colleagues, be so kind as to stick to your speaking time, because we have a very, very busy morning here in the Chamber, and if you stick to your speaking time, more people will be able to speak.

Michał Szczerba (PPE). – Madam President, this debate is very timely because substantially the US President raised tariffs on steel and aluminium imports. In Europe, the steel industry accounts for 300 000 jobs and indirectly for up to 2.53 million. In my country, Poland, 18 000 people work directly on steel.

The United States is our key strategic partner. We share common values, strong economic ties, and a commitment to global stability. We must remain focused on the fundamental goal: supporting a fellow democracy in its defence against an aggressive autocratic regime. Its failure would be a strategic defeat for us all. Allies should not be burdened by excessive tariffs.

Let me quote Ronald Reagan, who said these words in the times of fight between the free world and the evil empire: 'Our peaceful trading partners are not our enemies. They are our allies. We should beware of the demagogues who are ready to declare a trade war against our friends – weakening our economy, our national security, and the entire free world.' Let's focus on common enemies instead of seeking enemies among the allies. The US and the EU must stay the course.

Kathleen Van Brempt (S&D). – Madam President, Commissioner, colleagues. I think everybody knows that you don't stop a bully by giving him what he wants. He will only bully you more. Trump's tariffs are a blatant attack on multilateralism, on basic WTO principles and on the transatlantic partnership.

No, we are not interested in a trade war. Trade wars only hurt people and businesses, and they push prices up and purchasing power down. So of course we're open for dialogue, but let it be clear: when tariffs hit us, we must take immediate retaliatory action. So, Mr Commissioner, it is important that we take countermeasures both within the WTO and with our trade defences.

And let it also be crystal clear: we will not respond to blackmail, and we will not change European legislation to please the United States, because giving Trump what he wants will hurt Europe and European citizens, and it will only leave him wanting more.

Christophe Bay (PSE). – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, nous sommes aujourd'hui à un tournant décisif pour l'avenir commercial de l'Europe. L'Union européenne, fidèle à ses dogmes, continue de prôner un multilatéralisme aveugle qui nous affaiblit de jour en jour.

Prenons l'exemple du libre-échange à travers le Mercosur. Pour la France, c'est une catastrophe annoncée. Nos agriculteurs, déjà étranglés par des normes toujours plus absurdes, devront affronter une concurrence déloyale de produits brésiliens ou argentins cultivés sans les mêmes exigences sanitaires ou environnementales.

Dans le même temps, que font les grandes puissances? Donald Trump l'a bien compris. Les tarifs douaniers sont un levier de puissance. Il n'a pas hésité à imposer des taxes sur l'acier et l'aluminium contre le Canada, le Mexique et hélas même l'Europe, prouvant que l'Amérique défend avant tout ses intérêts. Et nous, l'Europe, fidèle à son rôle d'élève modèle pétri de bons sentiments, continue d'ouvrir ses portes en espérant la réciprocité qui n'arrivera jamais.

Trump pose un défi à l'Union européenne. Je ne suis pas sûr, à l'heure actuelle, que nous soyons intellectuellement en mesure de le relever. Regardons la réalité en face. À l'heure où les tarifs douaniers redeviennent un instrument de protection économique, nous devons cesser de croire au mythe du libre-échange heureux. Nous avons des modèles économiques différents, des industries spécifiques et des besoins qui exigent de la souplesse.

Refusons cette soumission au multilatéralisme destructeur. Exigeons d'abord une vraie préférence européenne pour nos entreprises, nos agriculteurs et nos travailleurs.

Stephen Nikola Bartulica (ECR). – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, kolegice i kolege, američki predsjednik Trump nije najveći problem za Europu. I prije njegovog povratka na vlast, europski udjel u svjetskom gospodarstvu je u padu – već godinama. Zašto se to događa? Ima više razloga. Jedan od njih je sigurno hiperregulacija u Bruxellesu. Dakle, nemoguće je na ovaj način nastaviti. Zatim bih rekao da, ako Europa ne napusti hitno zelenu agendu, dolazimo u opasnost da postanemo irelevantni. Već godinama guši industriju i jednostavno je nemoguće na ovaj način uređivati odnose u našim zemljama. Kao znak da stvari dobro ne funkcioniraju, navest ću samo podatak da Europa uvozi preko 70 % robe koju naši ljudi konzumiraju. Sedamdeset posto. Dakle, nismo u stanju ni približno ostvariti ono što nam je potrebno za svakodnevni život. Dakle, Europa hitno treba promjene. Ne možemo ovako nastaviti, a ove priče o deklaracijama za djelovanje sigurno ne pokrivaju stvarno stanje.

Marie-Pierre Vedrenne (Renew). – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, Monsieur le Ministre, tous les signaux envoyés par l'administration Trump sont clairs. La pression s'accumule. Imposer des droits de douane ou recourir au chantage économique comme outil de déstabilisation peut sembler une stratégie séduisante. En réalité, c'est une impasse.

Lancer une offensive contre un partenaire historique, c'est ouvrir un conflit dont nul ne sait quand il prendra fin. Après les affrontements, il n'y aura ni vainqueur, ni bénéficiaire. Ni les États, ni les industries, ni les citoyens n'en sortiront gagnants, ni en Europe, ni aux États-Unis. Mais soyons clairs: la véritable question pour les Européens n'est pas de savoir si Donald Trump mettra ses menaces à exécution, mais quand et comment. Et face à cela, notre pire ennemi ne doit pas être nous-mêmes.

L'Union européenne doit répondre avec fermeté en restant unie et déterminée. Nous, Européens, nous avons les moyens d'agir et nous le ferons. Qu'il s'agisse d'imposer des droits de douane, d'utiliser l'instrument sur la coercition économique ou de recourir à l'OMC, rien ne doit être mis de côté, tout doit être envisagé.

(L'oratrice accepte une question carton bleu)

Manon Aubry (The Left), question «carton bleu». – Madame Vedrenne, j'apprécie que vous aimiez autant que moi le débat dans cette enceinte. Vous avez dit à juste titre que nous avons les moyens d'agir en tant qu'entité européenne. On est une véritable puissance économique. Mais dans ce cas-là, pourquoi se donner les moyens d'agir, d'un côté, et, de l'autre, laisser nos industries européennes se faire dépouiller et surtout signer à tour de bras des accords de libre-échange avec les pays du monde entier?

Je sais que vous avez des réserves sur celui avec le Mercosur, mais derrière il y a le Mexique, la Malaisie, l'Inde, la Chine, l'Australie. Vous savez comme moi que c'est aussi organiser notre propre dépendance à l'étranger. Donc je vois une certaine contradiction dans votre discours.

Marie-Pierre Vedrenne (Renew), *réponse carton bleu*. – Je m'attendais à cette question et je m'attends surtout à la petite vidéo derrière, mensongère, comme vous avez l'habitude de le faire, Madame Aubry. J'ai hâte de la voir et de voir ce que vont faire vos collaborateurs sur les réseaux sociaux.

Mais Madame Aubry, moi, j'assume tout ce que je dis: défendre les intérêts européens, travailler sur une politique de commerce qui évolue en lien avec la Commission européenne, renforcer une politique industrielle, travailler sur la politique de concurrence – que oui, moi, j'estime être de concurrence –, et je ne suis pas dans une logique comme vous de dire: «Oh, stop aux accords de libre-échange parce qu'ils sont mauvais!»

À un moment, il faut faire évoluer les choses. Vous êtes toujours dans des logiques d'opposition, vous ne proposez rien et vous décrédibilisez la France.

Diana Riba i Giner (Verts/ALE). – Señora presidenta, señor comisario, señor presidente en ejercicio del Consejo, la situación geopolítica global nos lleva a reformular nuestras alianzas, a encontrar nuevos socios. Y en esto creo que hay un consenso. Pero lo que no podemos hacer es engañar. No podemos hablar de soberanía estratégica de la Unión Europea y, al mismo tiempo, querer ratificar acuerdos comerciales que sepultan nuestro sector primario y, por lo tanto, una de nuestras soberanías más importantes: la alimentaria.

Estamos en una nueva era, sí. Y, por lo tanto, la Unión Europea debe promover acuerdos más justos, más sostenibles, que ayuden a ampliar los derechos y no a reducirlos. Acuerdos multilaterales que beneficien a la mayoría y no a la minoría privilegiada de siempre. Acuerdos que no utilicen el sector primario o aquello que comemos como moneda de cambio. Más vale una propuesta buena estructural que veinte coyunturales.

La situación global no es excusa para hacer pasar por el embudo acuerdos como el celebrado con el Mercosur ni ningún otro acuerdo que ponga en riesgo nuestro sistema alimentario, nuestro clima y nuestros derechos laborales.

Lynn Boylan (The Left). – *A Uachtaráin*, as we see the EU become more transactional globally, we are witnessing a massive step backwards in our global relationships. The binary debate between tariffs or more of the same neoliberal trade agendas reveals the stunning shortsightedness of EU trade policy. What we need is sustainable, socially just trade which protects workers and our planet, not trade at all costs. Decades of structural adjustment programmes and forced liberalisation of developing economies has been a disaster for many countries in the Global South.

President Trump has made it clear that he will use tariffs to bully other countries, to accede to his demands in other areas of public policy, for example on migration and drugs. The EU must stand up. We are at a crossroads. We need not more of the same, or to fight for our own right to bully others, but we need to fight for trade relations that are people- and climate-centred and that respect multilateral cooperation.

Fabio De Masi (NI). – Frau Präsidentin! Meine Damen und Herren, Donald Trump hat Zölle auf Aluminium und Stahl angekündigt, und das ist ja auch keine Überraschung. Aber wir hier in Europa haben uns mit unseren Sanktionen verwundbar und abhängig von den Amerikanern gemacht. Wir – unsere Unternehmen – haben das Fünffache der Energiepreise im Vergleich zu den USA. Und gleichzeitig haben diese Sanktionen überhaupt keinen Beitrag dazu geleistet, den Krieg in der Ukraine zu beenden. Währenddessen haben die Amerikaner lustig weiter Uran zum Beispiel aus Russland eingekauft.

Das heißt, wir müssen erst einmal wieder über unsere eigenen Interessen hier in Europa nachdenken und diese Sanktionen beenden, die uns selbst viel mehr schaden, als dass sie Putins Fähigkeit zur Kriegsführung treffen würden. Dann können wir auch mit Donald Trump auf Augenhöhe verhandeln.

Und zweitens sind wir natürlich nicht völlig wehrlos, denn wir sind immer noch ein sehr großer Binnenmarkt in der Welt. Apple will dieses iPhone zum Beispiel nicht nur in Liechtenstein verkaufen oder in irgendeiner Steueroase, sondern in Deutschland oder Frankreich. Und deswegen brauchen wir endlich Straf- und Quellensteuern auf Finanzflüsse in Steueroasen, auch auf die US-Big-Tech-Unternehmen, wenn sie hier nicht anständig Steuern zahlen.

Juan Ignacio Zoido Álvarez (PPE). – Señora presidenta, señor comisario, Donald Trump no deja a nadie indiferente, esto es innegable. Es una figura polarizadora y los extremos de este Parlamento lo están empleando como arma arrojadiza para defender sus intereses partidistas.

Por un lado, la izquierda se está dedicando a insultarlo y vilipendiarlo. Han llegado a tildarlo de nazi y fascista, calificativos que —además de resultar caricaturescos— probablemente no sean la mejor manera de persuadir diplomáticamente al líder de nuestro mayor aliado.

Y, en el otro extremo, no dudan en deshacerse en elogios hacia Trump. Y lo hacen a pesar del daño que ya hizo en el pasado a nuestros agricultores y ganaderos, y a pesar de los aranceles con los que está amenazando a nuestras empresas. He de reconocer que cubrir de alabanzas a quien pretende perjudicar a tus compatriotas me resulta, sinceramente, muy poco patriótico.

Por eso, necesitamos un enfoque moderado, firme para reaccionar, pero sobre todo flexible para negociar. Al margen de quien se siente en la Casa Blanca, no podemos permitirnos ninguna ruptura, porque Estados Unidos ha sido, es y debe seguir siendo nuestro principal aliado. Como dijo el presidente Reagan en las playas de Normandía, la alianza transatlántica es el mejor escudo para la libertad, la prosperidad y la paz.

Trabajemos todos desde Bruselas y desde Washington para mantener vivo ese escudo.

(El orador acepta responder a una pregunta formulada con arreglo al procedimiento de la «tarjeta azul»)

Petras Gražulis (ESN), *pakėlus mėlynąją kortelę pateiktas klausimas.* – Kaip Jūs ir minėjote, Jungtinės Amerikos Valstijos yra mūsų sąjungininkai tiek NATO, tiek kitu aspektu. Tai gal mums reikėtų sėsti už derybų stalo ir, kaip Trumpas prašo, pirkime energetinius išteklius, dujas iš Amerikos, o ne iš Rusijos? Ir manau, kad jeigu mes sėsimės ir derėsime, mes rasime kompromisą. Čia trunksta dialogas. Ar Jūs taip nematote?

Juan Ignacio Zoido Álvarez (PPE), *respuesta de «tarjeta azul».* – Mire, me ha hecho una serie de reflexiones sobre lo que usted cree que se debe de hacer. Yo precisamente lo que acabo de pedir en este momento aquí, en mi intervención, ha sido que tengamos un enfoque moderado, que ni por un extremo ni por el otro lleguemos a una posición intransigente; acabo de decir que tenemos que ser firmes para reaccionar, pero muy flexibles para negociar. Sobre los extremos concretos, es una reflexión que usted ha hecho: creo que es uno de los temas de los que ha mencionado que se deben tratar.

Pero insisto: lo importante es que tengamos nuestra autonomía para reaccionar y para negociar. Tenemos que ser, sin duda alguna, y seguir siendo, como también he dicho, protectores y, sobre todo, colaboradores de los grandes socios que hemos tenido a lo largo de nuestra historia.

Γιάννης Μανιάτης (S&D). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, τις πρώτες τρεις βδομάδες της Προεδρίας Trump, βλέπουμε μια συντονισμένη επίθεση απέναντι στο διεθνές κανονιστικό πλαίσιο που δημιουργήσαμε μετά τον Β' Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο.

Οι δασμοί 25% σε χάλυβα και αλουμίνιο δεν προστατεύουν τους Αμερικανούς παραγωγούς, όπως ο Πρόεδρος των Ηνωμένων Πολιτειών νομίζει. Αντίθετα, κάνει τους πάντες πιο φτωχούς, με μόνο τελικά κερδισμένο την Κίνα, η οποία, όπως γνωρίζουμε πολύ καλά, στηρίζει τη βιομηχανία της σε πολύ ισχυρές κρατικές επιδοτήσεις.

Η Ευρωπαϊκή Επιτροπή οφείλει να λάβει κάθε απαραίτητο μέτρο για να προστατεύσει την ευρωπαϊκή βιομηχανική παραγωγική βάση, όπως επίσης και τις θέσεις εργασίας που αυτή δημιουργεί. Τα εργαλεία υπάρχουν, αρκεί να είμαστε ενωμένοι και να έχουμε την αποφασιστική πολιτική βούληση για αποτελεσματικά αντίμετρα.

Ασφαλώς είναι προς το συμφέρον όλων να κρατήσουμε τους διαύλους επικοινωνίας ανοιχτούς. Όμως, αυτό δεν σημαίνει ότι θα υποκύψουμε στους εκβιασμούς και τις απαιτήσεις του κυρίου Trump. Ήρθε η ώρα η Ευρωπαϊκή Επιτροπή να αποδείξει ότι μπορεί να σταθεί στο ύψος των περιστάσεων.

Anna Bryłka (NI). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Komisarzu! Panie Ministrze! Stany Zjednoczone otrząsnęły się z wpływów zielonych lobbystów i powróciły na ścieżkę zdrowego rozsądku. Czy się to komuś podoba, czy nie, mamy do czynienia z powrotem protekcyjizmu gospodarczego i maksymalizacji wysiłków na rzecz odbudowy konkurencyjności. Jak powinna odpowiedzieć Unia Europejska? Zlikwidować przyczyny utraty gospodarczej konkurencyjności. A co robi Unia Europejska? Dokładnie coś odwrotnego. W imię interesów niemieckich próbuje przeforsować umowę z krajami Mercosur, która zniszczy europejską produkcję rolną i uzależni Europę od dostaw żywności. Zamiast wydobywać paliwa kopalne, chce uzależnić Europę od słońca i wiatru. Zamiast postawić na radykalną deregulację, uwolnienie cen energii i przedsiębiorczość Europejczyków, tworzy tony niepotrzebnych przepisów i dokumentów, doprowadzając do masowego

upadku firm. Wszystko po to, bo komuś wydaje się, że przez zeroemisyjność w Europie uratujemy planetę.

Czy wy nie widzicie, że Chińczycy, a teraz także Amerykanie, po prostu się z nas śmieją? Ostatnie decyzje nowej administracji Stanów Zjednoczonych to tak naprawdę najbardziej agresywne posunięcie w handlu międzynarodowym od dekad. Jeśli nowe cła będą obowiązywać dłuższy czas, radykalnie zmienią się stosunki handlowe Stanów Zjednoczonych i poniekąd sparaliżują światową gospodarkę. Jaka jest odpowiedź Komisji Europejskiej, która w imieniu nas wszystkich decyduje o polityce handlowej i gospodarczej Unii? Absolutnie nie taka, jakiej Europa potrzebuje. A jaki powinien być wasz pierwszy krok? Poparcie dla inicjatywy Patriotów dla Europy zawieszającej Europejski Zielony Ład. To jest prawdziwa szansa dla Europy.

Svenja Hahn (Renew). – Frau Präsidentin! Subventionen, Abschottung und erzwungener Know-how-Transfer, dem sehen sich europäische Unternehmen in anderen Ländern gegenüber. Und zu Hause, in der EU, gab es in den letzten Jahren vor allem Regulierung statt eines wettbewerbsfähigeren Binnenmarkts.

Wirtschaftliche Abhängigkeiten sind für Autokratien wie China eine Waffe gegen uns Demokratien, und für Trump sind Zölle ein Druckmittel. Die EU hadert mit sich selbst, anstatt konsequent neue Märkte zu erschließen. Dabei brauchen wir jetzt mehr Handel mit mehr Partnern. Eine pragmatische Lösung mit den USA, gerne auch erst mal in einzelnen Sektoren. Das ist übrigens auch die Chance, doch noch ein Handelsabkommen mit Indien zustande zu bekommen. Jedes EU-Land, das CETA noch nicht ratifiziert hat, muss es sofort tun; das stärkt Kanada und uns den Rücken gegen Trump-zölle. Das neue Handelsabkommen mit Mexiko muss umgehend ratifiziert werden, und das Mercosur-Abkommen darf nicht genauso faktenfrei kaputtdemonstriert werden wie damals TTIP – Mercosur muss jetzt kommen!

Handelspolitik ist ein Schlachtfeld zwischen Autokratie und Demokratie, und die EU wird in dieser Zeit, in dieser neuen Zeit, nur erfolgreich sein, wenn wir wirtschaftlich und geopolitisch vernetzt sind: Partnerschaft statt Abschottung, Handel statt Protektionismus, und Wachstum statt Stagnation.

(Die Rednerin ist damit einverstanden, auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“ zu antworten.)

Damian Boeselager (Verts/ALE), blue-card question. – Thank you, Ms Hahn, for your intervention. I was just wanting to share a question that I have. If we see trade as a bit of a broader collaboration, if we look at, for example, how we use the digital infrastructure when it comes to cloud infrastructure, if we look at the raw materials that we need from the US, it seems that our whole economy is really built on collaboration with the US. I'm quite afraid of what it would mean to disentangle this.

So, how do you think we should assess the risk of a potential trade war in all of these fields, the broader fields of digital infrastructure and such?

Svenja Hahn (Renew), blue-card answer. – In general, more trade with more partners makes us more versatile and less dependent on individual partners. So diversifying our trade and having more trade agreements is the thing that the EU needs to do now.

We need to talk with the US for finding solutions in specific sectors, like we're doing in the Trade and Technology Council, and if we have more partners, that will strengthen us, that will strengthen our partners. We need more dialogue with the US now more than ever. We do not need less dialogue.

Majdouline Sbai (Verts/ALE). – Madame la Présidente, dans son célèbre roman 1984, George Orwell a cette phrase: «Tout se perdait dans le brouillard. [...] le mensonge devenait la vérité.»

Alors, au lieu de naviguer à vue dans ce brouillard créé par Donald Trump, en ordre dispersé, revenons-en aux faits. L'industrie de l'acier en Europe traverse une crise inédite, ses exportations ayant été divisées par deux en dix ans. Mais les excédents commerciaux de l'Europe vers les États-Unis ne représentent que 0,3 % de notre PIB.

Nous n'avons pas à avoir peur, mais à agir. Relocalisons la production des biens que nous consommons en Europe, car notre marché intérieur est notre force. Renforçons le pacte vert, notre autonomie stratégique et notre souveraineté, en particulier dans l'alimentation et l'énergie. On ne doit plus laisser les actionnaires des multinationales décider seuls de notre avenir industriel.

Et surtout, soyons solidaires face à cette tentative d'intimidation, ces attaques sur nos démocraties. Ensemble, nous pouvons devenir une puissance sociale et écologique.

Rudi Kennes (The Left). – Madam President, 'you get a tariff and you get a tariff and you all get a tariff'. This is Donald Trump's new favourite threat. At least when he's not threatening to buy or even invade your country, of course. He just announced a tariff on aluminium and steel which will have serious consequences for the European industrial sector and for industrial workers. And what's the European response? We deeply regret. Like Trump will care. It's ridiculous.

Trump tariffs will hit Europe's working class hard, with higher prices and massive loss of jobs. But the EU does not care to protect its workers. No, no, no. They only care to please wealthy people like Trump, Musk and the other billionaires in the United States Government. We cannot be weak against Trump attacks. Europe needs to be strong and not by doing the same stupid things like Trump, but instead to work with other countries and partners around the globe.

To fight for the working class of Europe, we need a foreign policy other than just being the lapdog of the United States.

Lídia Pereira (PPE). – Senhora Presidente, Donald Trump está a instrumentalizar a política aduaneira para impor a sua vontade. Está a transformar a diplomacia económica em diplomacia transaccional. Tudo indica que vai tentar obrigar-nos a comprar gás natural e aumentar as despesas com equipamento militar norte-americano. Mas a Europa é o maior bloco comercial do mundo. Temos de ser firmes. Não podemos permitir que Trump use a política aduaneira para nos condicionar na transição para as energias limpas, nem para comprometer o desenvolvimento da indústria europeia da defesa. A Europa já foi empurrada para muitas crises por não ter antecipado os desafios. Temos de substituir importações por produção europeia. Temos de diversificar os destinos das nossas exportações, trabalhar as relações com a Índia e com o Japão, ratificar o acordo comercial do Mercosul. Está em causa a nossa autonomia estratégica. Se Washington acha que pode testar os nossos limites, nós aqui não podemos hesitar.

(A oradora aceita responder a uma pergunta «cartão azul»)

João Oliveira (The Left), Pergunta segundo o procedimento «cartão azul». – Senhora Deputada Lídia Pereira, a primeira pergunta que lhe queria fazer é se acha mesmo que há uma incompatibilidade entre o aprofundamento do multilateralismo e a utilização da política comercial, incluindo as taxas aduaneiras, para proteger setores estratégicos? A nós parece-nos que não há contradição nenhuma, porque ambos podem ser instrumentos de desenvolvimento das relações comerciais, naturalmente protegendo aquilo que é relevante em cada circunstância, para cada espaço. E a segunda questão que lhe queria fazer é precisamente essa. Depois de o PSD, o PS e o CDS terem entregado à União Europeia a competência exclusiva da política comercial, deixando as nossas decisões e a proteção dos nossos setores estratégicos nas decisões das grandes potências da União Europeia, como é que a senhora deputada avalia as consequências profundamente negativas que isso tem tido para Portugal?

Lídia Pereira (PPE), Resposta segundo o procedimento «cartão azul». – Muito obrigada pela pergunta, Senhor Deputado, e eu devolvo-lhe com outra pergunta. O Senhor Deputado tem coragem de chegar a uma empresa portuguesa, ou uma empresa francesa ou espanhola, às empresas portuguesas, a uma pequena média empresa, e dizer-lhe: esqueça, não pode investir na sua internacionalização, não pode exportar, tem de se confinar a um espaço mais restrito. Aquilo que a União Europeia faz é precisamente utilizar os acordos de comércio para conseguirmos alavancar a nossa posição geopolítica no mundo. E, portanto, eu creio que nós, perante estes desafios, temos duas opções: ou enfiámos a cabeça na areia ou fazemos aquilo que nos deve impelir a promover a autonomia estratégica. E, nesse aspeto «...».

(a Presidente retira a palavra à oradora)

Bernd Lange (S&D). – Frau Präsidentin! Herr Minister! Herr Kommissar! Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Schon Isaac Newton wusste ja, dass eine Aktion immer eine Gegenreaktion auslöst. Und das erleben wir natürlich jetzt auch. Ich habe heute Morgen die Order des Präsidenten Trump durchgelesen. Er hat im Grunde seine Zölle von 2018 wieder voll und ganz in Kraft gesetzt und alle Ausnahmetatbestände, auch unsere Quoten zollfreier Importe, abgeschafft. Nebenbei: übrigens auch gegen die Ukraine, was ich sehr unanständig finde, denn sie brauchen Möglichkeiten des Exports.

Das heißt natürlich, dass unsere Gegenreaktion auch eintritt, dass wir ab 1. April auch unsere Gegenzölle gegenüber den USA wieder einsetzen werden. Und Herr Kommissar, wenn Herr Trump auch auf Autos und auf Pharma Zölle setzen wird, gehe ich davon aus, dass wir genauso entschlossen Gegenmaßnahmen – eine Gegenreaktion gegen den USA-Tarifdschunzel – einleiten werden, wie wir es bei den Stahlzöllen gemacht haben.

Jorge Buxadé Villalba (Pfe). – Señora presidente, patéticos y peligrosamente fanáticos. Llevan ustedes treinta y cinco años machacando a los europeos con prohibiciones y restricciones, subidas de impuestos, tasas, contribuciones, persiguiendo y sancionando. Y, ahora, como Donald Trump impone aranceles a la importación de determinados bienes para proteger su economía, ustedes lo convierten en chivo expiatorio.

Ustedes han inventado el xenocapitalismo, un sistema económico en virtud del cual la producción y el empleo extranjeros son beneficiados sistemáticamente en detrimento de la producción y el empleo propios. Han arruinado el campo, la industria, el transporte, la pesca, imponiendo autoaranceles a la producción nacional. ¿Qué son, si no, los derechos de emisión de CO2 o el Mecanismo de Ajuste en Frontera por Carbono? ¿Aranceles al acero? ¡Menudos hipócritas! Ustedes han destruido la producción de acero en Europa al condenar la industria electrointensiva con su renuncia a la energía nuclear, al gas y al petróleo.

Solo los patriotas que defendemos la propiedad privada defendemos la libertad de comerciar, que se opone a la competencia desleal extranjera. ¿Tomates? De Marruecos. ¿Naranjas? De Sudáfrica. ¿Cebollas? De Senegal. ¿Textil? De Bangladesh. ¿Coches o buques? De China. Ustedes han promovido la salida de capitales y han expulsado la inversión productiva.

Durante años hemos advertido que su Agenda 2030 y su Pacto Verde condenaban a Europa. Ojalá los vientos de cambio traigan buenos Gobiernos que suspendan el Pacto Verde, renuncien a la agenda globalista, bajen impuestos, eliminen trabas y prohibiciones y renegocien todos los acuerdos comerciales para proteger la producción europea. Solo así el genio europeo renacerá y haremos a Europa grande otra vez.

(El orador acepta responder a una pregunta formulada con arreglo al procedimiento de la «tarjeta azul»)

Cristina Maestre (S&D), pregunta de «tarjeta azul». – Señor Buxadé, a usted le gusta mucho todo lo que hace Trump, porque usted está también en el bando de los que quieren romper la convivencia y el orden mundial.

Y el mayor gesto de patriotismo —usted que tanto se autoatribuye esta característica— lo está dando al dar palmas con las orejas ante esta guerra comercial que va a perjudicar a la industria europea y también a la española; va a impedir que nuestros industriales, que nuestros productos —los europeos y los españoles— puedan competir en el mercado internacional. Y usted da palmas con las orejas.

¿Me puede usted decir qué le va a explicar a la industria del acero, del aluminio, a los agricultores si también se aplican los aranceles...

(la presidenta retira la palabra a la oradora)

Jorge Buxadé Villalba (Pfe), respuesta de «tarjeta azul». – Señora Maestre, sí, a los agricultores, a los ganaderos, a los pescadores, a la industria del acero y del aluminio, a todos los autónomos españoles les digo que los culpables de su ruina son Pedro Sánchez y el Gobierno de la Comisión Europea.

Y ellos lo saben perfectamente: ustedes han subido todos los impuestos, han subido las tasas, han impuesto nuevas contribuciones, prohibiciones y limitaciones a su actividad. Cuando ustedes expropiaron centenares de olivos para poner placas solares, están destruyendo el campo europeo.

Con lo cual yo no aplaudo nada. Yo lo que hago es criticarles a ustedes, denunciarles y señalar que nosotros tenemos una alternativa que pasa por la libertad, por el respeto a la propiedad privada, la bajada de impuestos y la prosperidad de Europa.

Sophie Wilmès (Renew). – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Ministre, Monsieur le Commissaire, l'Europe est la plus grande puissance commerciale et le marché le plus vaste. Malgré cela, nous sommes nerveux à chaque déclaration venue de Washington.

Sur la menace des droits de douane, notre première ligne de défense, c'est évidemment la dissuasion. Sans révéler tout son jeu, il est temps que l'Europe montre clairement que, même si ce n'est pas son scénario privilégié, elle est capable de résister, de répliquer et de sauvegarder ces secteurs.

Ces droits de douane seront probablement aussi un prétexte pour négocier autre chose. Vous le savez, le Président Trump envisage chaque relation de manière transactionnelle et on voit que ça ne s'arrête pas à l'économie.

Alors je vous le dis aussi, Monsieur le Commissaire, tracez une ligne rouge vif. Cette ligne rouge vif, c'est ce que nous ne marchandons pas, donc pas non plus nos valeurs fondamentales, qui, on l'a compris, ennuient par exemple certains patrons de la *tech* américaine.

Les citoyens ne l'accepteraient pas, car nos citoyens et nos secteurs sont aujourd'hui en attente de relations commerciales justes et équilibrées, à la hauteur de ce que nous sommes, en fait: une grande puissance commerciale qui puise sa valeur dans sa force.

Virginijus Sinkevičius (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, dear colleagues, the United States imposed tariffs on EU steel and aluminium. This action is not only unjustified, but it's also deeply concerning for the future of the transatlantic cooperation.

Let me be clear: we do not desire this outcome. Imposing tariffs between allies is counterproductive and frankly absurd. Nevertheless, the EU has to respond firmly. Even so, trade wars weaken our shared economic strength and global influence.

That said, tariffs and targeted economic measures can be important tools when dealing with regimes that threaten global security and stability, such as Russia and Belarus. In such cases, targeted action is not just justified, it is crucial.

The Commission's proposal to impose tariffs on Russian and Belarusian agricultural products and fertilisers is a step in the right direction, helping to reduce dependencies, strengthen domestic production and diversify our supply chains.

We must fully utilise this tool and remain united in upholding a rules-based international order.

Željana Zovko (PPE). – Madam President, in the *Chronicle of a Death Foretold*, Gabriel García Márquez is speaking about the death that will happen, and this is what we are speaking about for many months here, asking the Commissioner to send someone to speak to the Trump administration, to talk to the people and to see this transactional deal that we can make with this new administration.

But what happened? We are listening about a lobbyist firm being hired in order to build the bridges. This is our preventive diplomacy, ladies and gentlemen, that the European Union is doing. We don't have a contact and that's a crucial thing.

Last night's wake-up call – while we were sleeping, they were working – calls to strengthen our competitiveness, to invest in research and innovation, to reinforce our resilience in our economy and diplomacy.

As European leaders and the tech experts gather in Paris, Europe sends a strong message: with our own investment and expertise, we can lead in research and technology, attracting companies at least from Europe and investment firms from the EU, while we still have time.

While we much focus on a trade in goods, the US had a EUR 104 billion trade surplus in services with the EU in 2023. We must leverage this advantage.

Stefano Bonaccini (S&D). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, l'aggressività della presidenza Trump ci pone davanti a uno spartiacque: rafforzare l'Europa oggi o condannarla all'irrelevanza domani?

Superamento del diritto di veto, passare dall'unione monetaria a una più efficace unione politica, diversificare i mercati: alcune scelte strategiche che permetterebbero all'Europa di essere all'altezza di competere con nuove e vecchie potenze.

Di fronte alla minaccia dell'arma protezionistica dovremo rispondere insieme, senza esitazioni, per difendere i nostri interessi e quelli di imprese e lavoratori che hanno la sola colpa di saper fare bene. O ci si chiama Patrioti per fare gli interessi degli altri? Se ogni Stato penserà invece in modo miope di cavarsela da solo, ci si autocondanna all'irrelevanza.

L'impatto dei dazi è indiscriminato. In Germania avrebbero conseguenze pesanti anche, ad esempio, sul sistema produttivo italiano, o viceversa. Sappiamo da che parte stare: con quelli che si impegneranno perché prevalga dialogo e ragionevolezza, in un mondo che ha bisogno di costruire ponti, non certo di alzare muri.

András László (PFE). – Madam President, where there's a will, there's a way. With tariffs, the new Trump administration has showed the world how quickly countries will change their position and cooperate to stop illegal immigration.

Several countries are now accepting the return of their unwanted nationals from America and beefing up border protection. And Donald Trump's approval ratings are through the roof. Let's make Europe great again. Let us in Europe apply the same recipe.

The EU is the largest market in the world. The EU is one of the largest donors of aid in the world. We should use tariffs and economic means against countries that refuse to accept the return of their nationals from Europe.

Colombia, Mexico, Canada; initially, they all refused to cooperate with America. When Donald Trump announced extra tariffs, they quickly agreed to receive their nationals and send extra troops to the border to stop the flow of illegal migrants and drugs.

Tariffs were quickly suspended. Trade continues, but the borders are more secure.

This is how it's done. This is how to make European borders secure again.

(The speaker agreed to take a blue-card question)

Radan Kanev (PPE), blue-card question. – First, colleague, I very much agree with you that we should use our single market as leverage because it is a huge leverage in international and trade relations. Then I have two very brief questions to you.

Do you say that Europe must be more united, that Europe must act together, that we need more and stronger Europe in order to defend together our interests? That is the main point.

András László (PFE), blue-card answer. – No, what I'm saying is that the EU Migration and Asylum Pact sucks and it failed even before application. What we should be doing is working together to defend our external borders together.

Unfortunately, this House denies the possibility of Frontex doing that. If we don't protect our external borders together, if we don't step up against third countries who refuse to accept their unwanted nationals from Europe, then in fact we should use the common market as a tool. That's what I'm saying.

Barry Cowen (Renew). – Madam President, the economic ties between Europe and the US are amongst the strongest there is globally, with trade flows exceeding 1.5 trillion annually. The EU exported 156 billion more in goods to the US, while the US holds a 104 billion surplus in services. So it is a partnership of mutual benefit, one that tariffs would only damage.

Ireland's deep historic and economic ties to the US are well known. Equally known, however, is the fact that our success is also built on EU membership and the solidarity we received during key periods and challenges like Brexit and the COVID-19 pandemic. As such, it's fair to say that the potential for tariffs to turn allies into adversaries leaves few with more to lose than Ireland.

But as the geopolitical challenges emerge, we in Ireland and the delegation here from Ireland will continue to push the EU to strengthen its own competitiveness, tackle energy costs, address infrastructure deficits and secure our place in the global economy. At the same time, Ireland knows that the EU must stand united. Protectionism weakens all of us. The EU should engage early, defend open trade and ensure that cooperation, not division, shapes our future.

Luděk Niedermayer (PPE). – Madam President, high unjustified tariffs don't make economies stronger. They don't make economies more competitive. It doesn't solve the fiscal problem. This was proved many, many times, but obviously Donald Trump is right, he can take this way if he wants. We as Europeans must stay united and negotiate in our interest, also to protect multilateralism.

At the same time, we should clearly understand what cards we have in our hands. It's true that Europe has big surplus in trade in goods, but US firms have big surplus in trading of services. At the same time, US firms, especially large digital firms, are using EU single market with very free access to generate huge profits. So, we should understand what cards we have in our hands and they are not weak.

We should negotiate with the US as with our friends, as well allies, but when we get into hard negotiation, we should really understand that we have a good position to defend our interests and also to fight for the multilateral trade relationships in order to help the global economy to be stronger.

(The speaker agreed to take a blue-card question)

Maria Grapini (S&D), *întrebare adresată conform procedurii „cartonașului albastru”.* – Stimate coleg, ați spus de mai multe ori „trebuie”, „trebuie să facem relații cu Statele Unite”, dar nu ați spus nimic concret. Ce ați propune concret să facă Uniunea Europeană în relația cu Statele Unite? Credeți că politica de acorduri comerciale a Uniunii Europene este suficientă? Protejează suficient industria din Uniunea Europeană? Ce ar trebui concret? O propunere din partea dumneavoastră pentru Comisia Europeană.

Luděk Niedermayer (PPE), *blue-card answer.* – I just think the first: negotiate with EU to try to reduce our harm. The second: promote the single market that will make our economy stronger. And the third: develop the trade relationship with other countries through trade agreements.

This is a way which I would propose.

President. – This was the last blue card I accept in this debate because we don't have more time.

Raphaël Glucksmann (S&D). – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, Monsieur le Ministre, chers collègues, le président des États-Unis décide de tarifs qui vont heurter notre production, qui vont mettre à mal les industries européennes. Et que font les pseudo Patriotes? Au lieu de prôner la résistance à leur nouveau héros, ce qu'ils font, c'est qu'ils attaquent le pacte vert, le pacte sur la migration et l'asile et qu'ils n'ont pas un mot pour défendre les productions européennes contre celui qui les met à mal en ce moment même, c'est-à-dire Donald Trump. Oui, Donald Trump dont vous êtes les affiliés dans cette enceinte.

Alors, nous qui sommes réellement des patriotes, nous qui voulons réellement défendre les industries européennes, nous demandons à la Commission d'être beaucoup plus ferme.

Nous avons les instruments qui permettront de faire face à ce rapport de force imposé par la nouvelle administration américaine: instrument pour l'exercice des douanes et des droits de l'Union, instrument de lutte contre les subventions étrangères, instrument de coercition, règlement sur les services numériques. Nous avons les outils pour résister et nous, en tant que patriotes, nous défendrons les intérêts des Européens contre l'administration américaine s'il le faut.

Ľubica Karvašová (Renew). – Madam President, congratulations to those who saw Donald Trump's arrival as a hope. Ideological wars were more crucial for you than the prosperity of the European economy. To sell this as a defeat of liberal democracy was also important to you. You care more about the interests of businessmen like Elon Musk but you are not here today to talk.

The trade war between strategic partners will only lead to defeat for all – we know this. Therefore, we need to cooperate with the United States more in areas which are mutually beneficial to all of us – energy security, defence and China. If the US is not interested, then our answer must be resolute and united – and I stress the word.

We also have to protect European companies and industries – steel, automotive and others – because some regions might be collapsing, including the Slavic ones. And we also need to make an offer for companies and investors in the US to come to Europe to invest in our industries and economy, including the clean technology. So let us ask for cooperation, but let us not be blackmailed by anyone.

Sebastião Bugalho (PPE). – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Comissário, o título deste debate pergunta «cooperação ou tarifas?», quando a maior economia do planeta acena com tarifas, não num ambiente de cooperação, mas de intimidação. Para uma união de Estados e para qualquer empresa, mais danoso do que uma tarifa é a ameaça de tarifas. Essa é uma imprevisibilidade que não é apenas económica, que vai da diplomacia ao mercado de trabalho, do poder de compra ao poder da força. Olhar as tarifas como *quid pro quo*, anunciando-as num dia e suspendendo-as no outro, fere a relação entre governantes, mas também o capital de quem investe e o salário de quem trabalha. Para uma economia social de mercado, como a nossa, uma tarifa é um imposto; para quem está do outro lado do Atlântico, uma tarifa é hoje uma sanção aos seus aliados.

Durante quatro anos, podemos não saber com o que contamos, mas, depois destes quatro anos, os nossos parceiros saberão com quem poderão contar. Com uma Europa que negocia, mas não é chantageada, com uma Europa que é interlocutora, mas que não abdica do mercado, de uma ordem internacional com regras e responsabilidade.

Javier Moreno Sánchez (S&D). – Señora presidenta, señor comisario, ¿queremos guerras comerciales o acuerdos comerciales? Los socialistas españoles abogamos por el multilateralismo y la legalidad internacional con una OMC reformada y eficaz: frente a la ley del más fuerte, cooperación, negociación y defensa firme de nuestros intereses.

Las guerras comerciales que propugnan los Estados Unidos y China pueden ser una oportunidad para la Unión Europea, confiemos en nosotros mismos. Somos la mayor potencia comercial del mundo y con el mayor mercado interior: debemos reforzarlo. Debemos lograr nuestra autonomía estratégica abierta con una rápida mejora de nuestra competitividad. Si bien tenemos que negociar firmemente con Estados Unidos y China, tenemos que aliarnos con socios que comparten nuestros valores y principios como México, Canadá, el Mercosur, Japón o Nueva Zelanda, entre otros.

Sabemos dónde llevan el nacionalismo, el proteccionismo y el imperialismo: a la guerra. Trabajemos para que siga cruzando las fronteras el comercio justo y sostenible, y no los ejércitos.

Nicolás Pascual de la Parte (PPE). – Señora presidenta, la guerra comercial declarada por Trump ya se veía venir, porque la anunció durante la campaña electoral. Los aranceles comerciales de Trump tienen una doble dimensión: una dimensión exterior y una interior. La dimensión exterior consiste en utilizarlas como armas de coacción para una negociación contra los interlocutores comerciales, para poner a la defensiva a su interlocutor, pero la dimensión interior es más importante, porque una vez que Trump ha anunciado que va a bajar el impuesto de sociedades —el *corporate tax*— del 35 al 15 %, eso le va a producir un descuadre en las cuentas nacionales que tendrá que cuadrar con los ingresos por las importaciones a través de los aranceles. Es decir, estos van a compensar el hueco fiscal que deje la reducción del impuesto de sociedades.

Por tanto, los aranceles van a estar allí durante años y, ante eso, la Unión Europea tiene que reaccionar convirtiéndose en el garante del libre comercio internacional, empezando por la ratificación del Acuerdo con Mercosur, la ratificación del Acuerdo Global Modernizado con México y estableciendo acuerdos con la India y con Japón. Somos el principal socio comercial del mundo, pero también dependemos más que nadie del comercio y por tanto tenemos que...

(el presidente retira la palabra al orador)

Λουκάς Φουρλάς (PPE). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, οι Ηνωμένες Πολιτείες είναι και θα παραμείνουν στρατηγικός εταίρος της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης. Οι ιστορικοί δεσμοί μας και η εμπορική μας σχέση είναι ζωτικής σημασίας. Ωστόσο, η συνεργασία δεν μπορεί να βασίζεται στην αδυναμία. Η Ευρώπη δεν πρέπει να είναι ο αδύναμος κρίκος με κανέναν. Σε κάθε συνεργασία, πρέπει να είμαστε ισχυρός παίκτης.

Αυτό σημαίνει ότι επιβάλλεται να λάβουμε μέτρα και να προβούμε σε ουσιαστικές ενέργειες. Να διασφαλίσουμε ότι οι ευρωπαϊκές επιχειρήσεις και οι πολίτες μας δεν θα είναι οι χαμένοι των εμπορικών αντιπαραθέσεων. Η απάντησή μας στους δασμούς δεν μπορεί να είναι μόνο λεκτική. Χρειάζεται στρατηγική προετοιμασία. Μια ισχυρή, ενωμένη και αποφασιστική Ευρώπη είναι η μόνη που μπορεί να επιβάλει τον σεβασμό και να διαμορφώσει το διεθνές εμπόριο.

Πολυμερής συνεργασία ή δασμοί; Η απάντηση είναι ξεκάθαρη. Συνεργασία, αλλά από θέση ισχύος και λήψη αντιμέτρων για προστασία των ευρωπαϊκών συμφερόντων, τα οποία θα ήθελα να ακούσω.

Dirk Gotink (PPE). – Voorzitter, Trump trekt de lijn van vorige Amerikaanse presidenten door. Het is “America First” en dat is niet eigen aan Trump. De Inflation Reduction Act heeft met allerlei fiscale voordelen ook massaal bedrijven weggevoerd uit Europa, naar de Verenigde Staten. Zij kiezen voor re-industrialisering en koopkrachtherstel. Ook in Europa zijn we hiermee begonnen; we moeten hiermee doorgaan, ten voordele van de Europese industrie en bestaanszekerheid.

De VS zijn onze allerbelangrijkste partner ter wereld, maar onredelijke en oneerlijke acties kunnen we natuurlijk niet onbeantwoord laten. Daarom moeten we slim zijn. Verregaande, sectorbrede tegentarieven zijn riskant en kunnen onze eigen economie schaden. Zeker als dit verder escaleert tot een handelsoorlog. Dat moeten we voorkomen. Onze burgers en bedrijven floreren dankzij de internationale handel, die essentieel is voor ons welzijn, onze bestaanszekerheid en onze groei. Het belangrijkste is dat we echt werk maken van onze concurrentiekracht. We moeten zorgen dat we weerbaarder worden. Verlaag de regeldruk, investeer in de economie en versterk onze industrie.

Salvatore De Meo (PPE). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signor Ministro, signor Commissario, in uno scenario commerciale globale in fermento e in continua evoluzione, l'unica domanda che dobbiamo porci è come rendere l'Europa realmente autonoma, forte e competitiva.

Non possiamo limitarci a inseguire le scelte altrui. Le guerre commerciali non sono la soluzione, anzi rischiano di essere peggiori di quelle armate. L'Europa è un mercato grande e ricco, ma senza una politica commerciale ambiziosa, senza investimenti concreti in innovazione e senza una drastica riduzione della burocrazia rischiamo di essere prigionieri non solo delle decisioni altrui, ma prigionieri di noi stessi. Va bene diversificare i nostri rapporti commerciali, ma è necessario rafforzare le nostre filiere produttive e difendere le nostre imprese non con una ossessiva e frenetica iper-regolamentazione, ma con strumenti concreti che aumentino la competitività globale.

Se vogliamo essere un attore credibile e autorevole nello scenario internazionale, dobbiamo smettere di reagire e iniziare ad agire, perché un'Europa forte non teme il confronto, ma lo guida.

Catch-the-eye procedure

Vytienis Povilas Andriukaitis (S&D). – Madam President, the European Union's response to Trump's actions is to take immediate retaliatory actions, both within the WTO and by using our trade defence instruments, imposing tariffs and pursuing remedies through the Enforcement Regulation, the Anti-Coercion Instrument and the Safeguarding Regulation. We cannot afford to let Trump divide us. Only the unity of our actions will determine the success of our response.

We will pursue our own agenda, developing global standards on issues like climate change and clean industry, defending rules-based multilateral cooperation and developing our trade agreements with Mercosur and other partners, as you mentioned.

Now is a very difficult time for our patriots, our sovereign groups, because they see how difficult it is to speak about about the conservative agenda and far-right ideas.

Sebastian Tynkkynen (ECR). – Madam President, a trade war with our most important international partner is a highly undesirable outcome. Instead of trying to intentionally wage it, we could at least hear what President Trump has to say.

I think we should, even without Trump's statements, cease all LNG imports from Russia, increase our defence spending and cut off our dependencies on China. Because the sad truth is, what other alternative do we even have? Lean more towards China and still hold on to Russian energy? We all should understand the fatality of that road.

And we must remember – currently, we need the US more than they need us, and that is why we only stand to lose from a potential trade war. But President Trump is a deal-maker and there are deals to make for Europe too.

Billy Kelleher (Renew). – Madam President, a very important debate here today in the Chamber. Certainly, we don't want a situation where we make decisions on ideological views about whether we like President Trump or dislike him. But we must do it strategically. And obviously, Europe has to stand firm in the potential threats of tariffs and tax changes.

But from our perspective, we have to ensure that whatever tariffs we put in place, that we don't do collateral damage to our own industries. And what I find extraordinary is those that were advocating for President Trump and Elon Musk and all during the last number of months, will they be the same people that will arrive in the car factories in Germany, Slovakia and the Czech Republic and elsewhere telling them why they are laying off workers due to the fact of tariffs on European products, on European manufacturing? Because, simply, tariffs will ensure that European industries will struggle. And equally, from an American perspective, they will equally struggle in America. So longer term, a trade war is of no benefit either to Europe or the US itself.

I would urge the Commission that in drafting up its proposed retaliatory measures, that I would look at it strategically, but that they would also continue to engage. Continue to engage, Commissioner. We all know that longer term, there is no benefit in a trade war. It won't benefit the workers in European factories, and it won't benefit those in American companies either.

SĒDI VADA: ROBERTS ZĪLE

Priekšsēdētāja vietnieks

Lukas Sieper (NI). – Mr President, dear people of Europe, I think Donald Trump would be happy about the frequency of the name Trump being mentioned here today, but let me be clear: he is not our friend.

Someone who tries to dismantle the rule of law cannot be our friend. Someone whose friends perform a Nazi salute at a public event cannot be our friend. And I know this is hard for us because the US, historically speaking, is our friend. But Trump? Trump is nothing more than a spineless schoolyard bully and that's how we need to treat him.

But to beat the bully, you have to be able to pack a punch yourself. And that, Germany cannot do. Estonia cannot do. Spain cannot do. But Europe, a strong Europe can do. Give this Parliament the right to initiative. Abolish the unanimity principle and the exceptions to the four freedoms of the internal market due to national interests. Together we stand.

(Brīvā mikrofona uzstāšanās beigas.)

Maria Grapini (S&D). – Domnule președinte, de la 9 fără 10 particip la dezbateri și m-am înscris prima la „catch-the-eye”. Nu înțeleg să nu fim anunțați că nu ni se dă „catch-the-eye” pentru că am pus un cartonaș. Asta trebuie să se spună la începutul ședinței, pentru a decide dacă eu pun cartonaș sau îmi păstrez „catch-the-eye”-ul. Este absolut nepoliticos și neregulamentar.

President. – I am informed, taking over the chairing now, that you are not registered in catch-the-eye, as far as I understand.

It was decided by my previous colleague Vice-President. And because we are at the time limit, we are delaying the vote. And that's why. It was her decision; I cannot change it. Please understand.

Maroš Šefčovič, Member of the Commission. – Mr President, dear Minister, honourable Members of the of the European Parliament, our timely debate has proven how important international trade and multilateralism are for our place in the world, for our businesses and our jobs here.

To all those who would like to close the EU in, in any form of protectionism, I would like to remind you that almost half of our GDP depends on our exports, that 30 million people are working in export-related jobs, and two thirds of our production in the European Union gets inputs from abroad.

So I believe that just these few arguments highlight how important trade is for the competitiveness of the European Union. Our clear stance on predictability, rules-based order, and focus on mutually advantageous partnerships underscores our position of the global trade superpower and important trading partner. Therefore, you see the increased interest and new dynamics in our FTA negotiations, and this sends a clear signal: if someone wants to erect barriers, we extend our hand and offer a free and fair trade partnership.

Mr Warborn, Ms García Pérez, Ms Hahn, Ms Pereira, Mr Moreno Sánchez and many, many of you supported this and in this regard, I have one strong plea: let's be faster and more efficient. We do not have the luxury of time anymore. We cannot negotiate for decades and have ramifications that last long years. With each FTA we concluded broad benefits, new jobs, new markets, new opportunities for our businesses, and therefore our debate today was very important, even though it was very much marked by the recent US announcement on steel and aluminium. We have been very clear. And I would like to reassure Mr Lange and Ms Wilmès that unjustified tariffs like this will not go unanswered, that they will trigger firm and proportionate countermeasures. And I repeat that we will protect our workers, businesses and consumers.

At the same time, let me recall that the EU-US relationship is largest on this planet: the volume of our trade represents EUR 1.5 trillion per year; EUR 4 billion worth of goods and services is crossing the Atlantic Ocean every day; 5 million jobs on both sides of the Atlantic depend on this trade; and EUR 5 trillion is the value of the EU-US assets on both sides of the Atlantic. Looking at these massive volumes, the US deficit is EUR 50 billion in trade of goods and services – this is 3 % of our mutual trade. And taking into account that up to EUR 300 billion flies to the US as investment from our pension funds and saving accounts of our citizens every year, I am convinced that we should cherish and further develop our relationship.

Therefore, we highlight the importance of constructive negotiations to resolve and not to further aggravate the situation. And in this regard, I would like to reassure Ms Van Brempt and also Mr Kelleher that we have no interest in a trade war. We are ready for the constructive negotiations and we are also prepared for constructive engagement.

By the way, this morning the President of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, will meet US Vice-President Mr Vance, and I will engage with my counterparts on these very issues in the coming days. So also, I would like to reassure Ms Zovko that we are ready for engagements and we are preparing for these talks.

The last point many of you highlighted was the unity. Unity is our most important leverage and the feature which turned Europe into a global trading superhouse. I can promise you that I'll do my best to work with you, with our Member States and with our business leaders to make sure that our unity is as strong as ever.

Adam Szlápka, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Mr President, honourable Members, Commissioner, many thanks for this interesting debate on what is a fast-evolving topic. Let me reiterate what I said in my opening remarks: the EU remains committed to the multilateral trading system, with the WTO as its core. We do so because it works.

We, however, are not blind to the current geopolitical context and remain ready to use all our instruments to defend ourselves and the multilateral system in which we operate. In fact, being more assertive in protecting our economy from unilateral and unfair trade measures is not incompatible with working towards a positive multilateral agenda.

As with so many other challenges that we face today, EU unity is our strongest asset to protect our trade interests.

Priekšsēdētājs. – Debates ir slēgtas.

Rakstiski paziņojumi (178. pants)

Maria Grapini (S&D), *în scris*. – Domnule Comisar Šefčovič,

Constat că doamna Președinte Ursula von der Leyen lipsește din nou de la o dezbatere foarte importantă: O nouă eră comercială!

Întreb Comisia, oare este conștientă că economia globală se rezonează? Este pregătită UE pentru o reformă a Organizației Mondiale a Comerțului? Cum va utiliza UE relațiile comerciale pe bază de reguli, când alții le utilizează ca arme?

Acordurile comerciale trebuie făcute în așa fel încât să nu distrugă producția europeană. Vorbeați despre acorduri cu India, cu mai multe state din Asia și Africa, dar aceste state au un *Green Deal*. Au poverile standardelor pe care le au producătorii europeni? Cum pot rămâne competitive companiile europene având în vedere acorduri comerciale care îi pun în relații inegale, la asta trebuie să răspundeți în calitate de Comisie Europeană care negociați.

Ați anunțat că acordul Mercosur a fost negociat de Comisia Europeană și că ați finalizat negocierea! De ce nu le-ați prezentat Parlamentului în forma finală negociată?

Nu distrugeți agricultura și industria europeană!

Jüri Ratas (PPE), *kirjalikult*. – Euroopa Liit toetab kindlalt mitmepoolset kaubanduskoostööd, kuid samas peame olema valmis vastama võimalikele uutele väljakutsetele. Maailma suurima kaubandusblokina ja suurima investorina on ELil põhiühi säilitada reeglitel põhinev süsteem. Meil on vabakaubanduslepingud 76 maailma riigiga, mis hõlmavad ligi poolt ELi kaubavahetusest. Meie majandus on üks maailma avatumaid, väliskaubandus on 45% SKPst. Seega sidemete lõhkumine ei ole meie huvides.

Kahjuks täna on Euroopa silmitsi üha keerulisema maailmaga, rivaalitsemisega ja ettearvamatusena. Hoiame kõik side-liinid avatuna, kuid me ei ole naiivsed. Tariifid tulid meie ellu tagasi. USA president Donald Trump kehtestas alates märtsist 25% tollimaksud kogu USA-sse imporditavaid terase ja alumiiniumi impordile, ähvardusi on teisigi. Meil on nende otsuste pärast kahju. Tariifid on ettevõtetele halvad, tarbijatele halvemad ning tariifide kehtestamisega maksustab USA ka oma kodanikke, tõstab oma ettevõtete kulusid ja soodustab inflatsiooni.

Täna saime taas kord kinnitust, et EL on alati valmis kaitsma oma huve, oma töötajaid, ettevõtteid ja tarbijaid.

Bogdan Rzońca (ECR), *na piśmie*. – Przyjęty przez Radę pakiet dotyczący VAT w epoce cyfrowej stanowi istotny krok w modernizacji systemu podatkowego Unii Europejskiej. Zmiany obejmują m.in. wprowadzenie raportowania cyfrowego w czasie rzeczywistym, uaktualnione regulacje dotyczące gospodarek platformowych oraz jednolitą rejestrację VAT dla sprzedaży transgranicznej. Te reformy mają potencjał usprawnienia funkcjonowania jednolitego rynku oraz ułatwienia działalności przedsiębiorstwom.

Niemniej jednak, istnieją kwestie sporne, które wymagają dalszej analizy. System uznanych dostawców, początkowo dobrowolny, stanie się obowiązkowy od 2030 r., co budzi wątpliwości w kontekście jego wpływu na mniejsze podmioty gospodarcze. Na szczęście, możliwość zwolnienia MŚP z obowiązków sprawozdawczych daje pewną elastyczność, co jest pozytywnym aspektem nowego pakietu.

Ponadto ponowne wprowadzenie faktur zbiorczych i większa elastyczność systemów fakturowania to zmiany, które mogą zmniejszyć obciążenia administracyjne dla firm. Jest to krok w dobrym kierunku, jednak niezbędne są dalsze działania zmierzające do uproszczenia przepisów i zmniejszenia biurokracji.

Europa musi dążyć do reform, które zwiększą jej konkurencyjność i atrakcyjność inwestycyjną. Nadmierna regulacja może hamować rozwój gospodarczy, dlatego powinniśmy dążyć do zrównoważonych rozwiązań, które wspierają innowacyjność i wzrost gospodarczy.

Susana Solís Pérez (PPE), *por escrito*. – El Atlántico es hoy más ancho y profundo. Su orilla estadounidense nunca había estado tan lejos de la europea. Las últimas decisiones de Trump juegan a favor de Rusia y China y en contra de la UE.

En lo económico, Europa afronta un desafío inmediato: el regreso de los aranceles estadounidenses. Trump ya nos ha anunciado un 25 % sobre las importaciones de acero y aluminio, hecho que revoca el sistema de cuotas sin aranceles de Biden. Para España, un plus: el arancel *antidumping* del 28,5 % a nuestras torres eólicas.

Las tarifas son herramientas de presión política que debilitan a los exportadores, pero su impacto interno en EE. UU. también es grave: con la reducción del impuesto de sociedades del 35 % al 15 %, Trump genera un déficit fiscal que pretende compensar con los ingresos arancelarios. Es decir, llegan para quedarse.

Europa debe respetar y hacer respetar las reglas, ampliar socios estratégicos, mirar al exterior sin cerrarse en el nacionalismo: no jugar con la disrupción, que creó dos infiernos en el siglo XX. La gran casa europea del siglo XXI se construyó para que aquello no volviera a ocurrir.

3. Fortsættelse af EU's urokkelige støtte til Ukraine efter tre år med Ruslands angrebskrig (forhandling)

Priekšsēdētājs. – Nākamais darba kārtības punkts ir debates par Padomes un Komisijas paziņojumiem par pastāvīgu un nelokāmu ES atbalstu Ukrainai trīs gadus, kopš Krievija izvērsusi agresijas karu (2025/2528(RSP)).

Adam Szlápka, President-in-Office of the Council. – Mr President, honourable members, Commissioner, we are approaching a tragic anniversary: the three-year mark of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine. On 23 February 2022, Russia, a permanent member of the UN Security Council, launched unprovoked, unjustified and illegal aggression against Ukraine, in manifest violation of the basic principles of the UN Charter and international law. But let us not forget that Russia's war of aggression started back in 2013, with the illegal annexation of Crimea and subsequent violence in Donbas.

The consequences are tragic for Ukraine. Russia's continued deliberate attacks against civilians, targets and energy systems in the middle of winter cause massive civilian casualties and human suffering. Furthermore, Russia has targeted food storage and Ukraine's ports, aggravating global food insecurity. And the fallout goes far beyond Ukraine. Russia's war of aggression is a direct threat to Europe and wider international system. It has polarised international relations, it has undermined the rules-based international order, and it has fuelled a global crisis, especially regarding food and energy.

Since the beginning, the EU has been at the forefront of the international reaction against Russia's war of aggression. The EU has not only resolutely condemned Russia's aggression, but provided an unprecedented level of political, financial, economic, humanitarian, military and diplomatic support to Ukraine and its people. In the past three years, the EU and its Member States have provided about EUR 134 billion in support for Ukraine and its people. This includes more than EUR 67 billion in financial, economic and humanitarian support, more than EUR 38 billion in military support, and about EUR 70 billion in support for refugees within the EU.

Regarding assistance to refugees in particular, let me underline the enormous endeavour that EU societies, including in my country, Poland, have undertaken to welcome more than 4 million people fleeing Russia's aggression. This makes the EU, without a doubt, the largest provider of support to Ukraine.

We are also using the extraordinary revenues generated by immobilised Russian assets to help Ukraine's self-defence and reconstruction. The first tranche of EUR 1.5 billion was released last summer, and a second tranche of EUR 1.9 billion is coming in April. In addition, the EU has subscribed to the G7 loan for Ukraine, where we are the main contributor. Our support is continuing. This year alone, EU support to Ukraine's budget will be over EUR 30 billion. In parallel, the EU has imposed 15 packages of massive and unprecedented sanctions against Russia, aimed to significantly curtail its ability to sustain war efforts. Currently, we are discussing the 16th package of restrictive measures aiming for its adoption by the third anniversary of Russia's invasion.

The support provided by EU institutions and Member States are also extended to many other areas, including accountability for the crime of aggression, where work to establish a special tribunal is advancing. Despite the challenges caused by Russia's war of aggression, Ukraine's reform progress following the opening of the accession negotiation is commendable. We remain committed to support Ukraine in its efforts. Furthermore, the EU has also been at the forefront of political support for Ukraine, both in bilateral contacts with third countries and international fora, where we have sponsored all UN General Assembly resolutions on Ukraine.

Today, let me once again confirm our unwavering support for Ukraine and its people for as long as it takes and as intensely as needed. Ukraine must prevail. *Slava Ukraini*.

Marta Kos, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, how many times after the Second World War we said never again. Then we had a war on the territory of former Yugoslavia. Soon we will mark three years since the beginning of Russia's full scale invasion of Ukraine. Mr President, honourable Members of the European Parliament, this is a sombre milestone.

During these three years, the Ukrainian people have endured unimaginable hardship. Families have been torn apart and many lives have forever changed. Three years of children learning to read in underground schools. Three years of people worrying about their loved ones. Three years of running for shelter almost every night.

But through the darkness, the Ukrainian people have shown impressive bravery and resilience. Ukrainians have stood together to defend not only their land, but also their values, their freedom and their future. A future that they see as a Member of the European Union.

On my first day in office, during my visit to Kyiv, I met Maksym Butkevych, a human rights activist. He had spent two years in Russian captivity. He told me: 'what helped me survive was believing in values'. Values gave him hope. He looked at the European Union as a guardian of human dignity, of freedom and democracy, of solidarity and human rights. His dream of a better tomorrow gave him hope during the darkest times.

Many in Ukraine look to Europe because they have seen a world without values, a world of brutality, injustice and impunity. This is the fundamental issue at the heart of this war. What kind of world do we want to live in? A world where military power dictates the fate of nations? Or a world built on rules that ensure that every nation has the right to decide its own future?

The courage and resilience of the Ukrainian people have inspired the world. But inspiration alone is not enough. This is not just Ukraine's fight. It is a fight for the values that define all of us and for Europe's very own security. Ukraine needs our continued political, economic and military support. Ukraine's fight is also our fight for a Europe that values justice over aggression, and unity over division. By supporting Ukraine, we are also safeguarding the very foundations of European peace and security. Together, we must remain resolute.

The European Commission, together with all institutions and Member States, has mobilised unprecedented support for Ukraine on many fronts. Military support to continue its courageous fight against the aggressor; humanitarian assistance for millions of Ukrainians, both those in the country and those seeking protection in the EU; economic and financial support to ensure that the state can maintain essential public services and that the economy continues functioning.

This includes repairing energy infrastructure – a constant target of Russian attacks – and ensuring with the solidarity lanes that Ukrainian exports can reach the global markets where Ukrainian grain is most needed. We are also setting the foundations of Ukraine's recovery and reconstruction after the devastation of the war, and we are also supporting Ukraine to implement ambitious reforms that will bring it closer to EU membership.

On all these fronts, the European Commission is responding decisively in coordination with the Member States. By now, combined support from the EU and Member States exceeds EUR 134 billion. Together, we are the largest international donor and the largest public investor in Ukraine's defence sector.

Let me give you some examples. We have established the Ukraine facility, which is providing up to EUR 50 billion in grants and loans. This helps Ukraine continue functioning and advance its ambitious reform agenda. The Ukraine facility comes on top of more than EUR 28 billion in macro-financial assistance that the EU has provided since 2022.

We have also mobilised EUR 48.5 billion in crucial military support. We have contributed over one million rounds of ammunition and will have trained 75 000 soldiers by the end of this winter. 4.5 million people who fled the war have received temporary protection in the EU, and we are working closely with international and European financial institutions to set the foundations of Ukraine's recovery and the reconstruction.

The EU has taken resolute steps to support Ukraine and our commitment must not waver. Ukraine deserves just peace. We must put Ukraine in a position of strength, especially ahead of potential discussions to end this war of aggression. Ukraine will need strong, credible, long-term security guarantees to deter future attacks.

The EU will continue using revenues from immobilised Russian assets to support the Ukraine's defence industry, provide ammunition and air defence, and finance urgent reparations of energy infrastructure. Work is ongoing to integrate EU and Ukrainian industrial bases, and the European Union is preparing further sanctions packages to further hamper Russia's ability to wage this war.

At the same time, we will continue supporting Ukraine to implement the necessary reforms in their path towards the European Union. This is where they belong. The Ukrainian people are undertaking tremendous efforts under very difficult circumstances, and the European Union should recognise this. This is the merit-based nature of the EU enlargement policy. We should match their efforts and open the first negotiation cluster on fundamentals as soon as possible this year.

Our European message to Ukraine is clear: Ukraine is part of our European family. We will stand with you and we will bring you in the European Union where you belong.

Michael Gahler, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Mr President, Commissioner, Presidency, colleagues, dear Ukrainian friends, it is with sorrow, but also outrage and undiminished resolve, that we commemorate the third anniversary of Russia's full-scale, illegal and unprovoked war of aggression against the Ukrainian nation. Our thoughts are with those who gave the ultimate sacrifice for the freedom of their country, and their families and loved ones.

The character of Putin's Russia is that of a terrorist state that respects no international law, disregards basic human rights and basic principles that the civilised world has agreed upon, even in times of war. Both Ukrainian and Russian lives are irrelevant in the imperialist agenda of the dictator and the Kremlin.

It is this Parliament that has and will always defend Ukraine's legitimate resistance, as Ukrainians defend our values and are attacked exactly for this reason. Ukrainians are the first to seek an end to this dreadful war. We insist that on upcoming occasions, like the Munich Security Conference, nothing is discussed about Ukraine without Ukraine, and nothing is decided without involving us Europeans. We will be prepared to assume greater responsibility when it comes to guaranteeing Ukraine proper security, and prepare their membership in the EU and NATO. Those arguing for a grey zone of any form only invite the Russian aggressor to progress whenever convenient.

We will achieve our goals in unity and with a united Ukraine. I therefore call on the Ukrainian presidential administration and those in their line of command to refrain from partisan games. Stop curtailing the rights of the opposition in Parliament. Stop depriving the former president of his rights as a member of Parliament. Your enemy – our enemy – sits in the Kremlin, not in the Verkhovna Rada. *Slava Ukraini!*

Γιάννης Μανιάτης, *εξ ονόματος της ομάδας S&D*. – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, αγαπητοί συνάδελφοι, σε λίγες μέρες συμπληρώνονται τρία χρόνια από τη βάρβαρη επίθεση του Vladimir Putin στην Ουκρανία. Ενώ η ρωσική ηγεσία πίστευε ότι ο πόλεμος θα διαρκέσει μόνο λίγες μέρες, ο ηρωισμός και η αποφασιστικότητα των Ουκρανών είχαν ως αποτέλεσμα να αντιστέκονται σθεναρά στις επιθέσεις των Ρώσων και επιπλέον οι Ρώσοι να χρησιμοποιήσουν μέχρι και Βορειοκορεάτες στρατιώτες.

Ως Ευρώπη, θα συνεχίσουμε την παροχή οικονομικής και ανθρωπιστικής βοήθειας, ώστε να μπορεί η Ουκρανία να διατηρήσει βασικές υπηρεσίες για τους πολίτες της. Να διαμορφώσουμε συνθήκες για την οικονομική και κοινωνική της ανάκαμψη μετά τον πόλεμο. Σε αυτή την προσπάθεια, είναι καιρός να εφαρμόσουμε κατ' αναλογία την αρχή «ο ρυπαίων πληρώνει» και να αξιοποιήσουμε τις κατασχεμένες ρωσικές περιουσίες.

Η Ουκρανία έχει ανάγκη τη στήριξή μας και σε αμυντικό εξοπλισμό, ώστε να μπορεί να προστατεύσει αποτελεσματικά τους πολίτες και τις υποδομές της που δέχονται καθημερινά επιθέσεις. Να υπερασπιστεί τα σύνορά της. Δεν είναι μόνο μια πράξη αλληλεγγύης, αλλά μια κοινή επένδυση στην ασφάλεια και την ευημερία όλης της ηπείρου. Ιδιαίτερα για χώρες όπως η Ελλάδα, που βρίσκεται στα σύνορα της Ευρώπης απέναντι σε μια αναθεωρητική δύναμη όπως η Τουρκία, είναι ζωτικής σημασίας να διασφαλίσουμε ότι τα ευρωπαϊκά σύνορα δεν μπορούν να αλλάζουν με τη βία.

Csaba Dömötör, a P/E képviselőcsoport nevében. – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! Ami a háborúval kapcsolatos alapvetéseket illeti, elítéljük Oroszország katonai agresszióját. Ukrajnának joga van megvédeni területi épségét, a bajbajutottaknak pedig segítő kezét kell nyújtani. Ezért is tanul több ezer Ukrajnából menekült gyermek Magyarországon.

De beszélünk kell a gazdasági vonatkozásokról is, mert ebben a Házban gyakran úgy tesznek hitet a háborús politika folytatása mellett, hogy sohasem beszélnek ennek gazdasági terheiről.

Az Európai Tanács oldalán van egy összesítés. Ezek szerint az EU és a tagállamok eddig nem kevesebb, mint 134 milliárd euróval támogatták a háborút. Ez háromszor akkora összeg, mint amennyi regionális fejlesztési forrást a mostani időszakban kifizettek. Akkora összeg ment már a háborúra, mint a teljes hétéves uniós költségvetés 10 százaléka. Brutális.

Ennél csak a jövőbeni kilátások sokkal inkább, mert tudjuk, hogy az Egyesült Államok visszavesz a háborús kiadásokból, de a négypartii baloldali koalíció itt, ebben a Házban feltétel nélkül menne tovább az eddigi úton, azaz épp ennyit vagy még többet költene háborús célokra.

Mindezt úgy, hogy az európai gazdaság stagnál, így több pénz biztosan nem lesz. De akkor mondják el, legyenek szívesek, hogy honnan kellene elvenni ezeket az összegeket? A kohéziós alapokból, az Erasmusból vagy éppen a gáztól?

Jól tudjuk, hogy ez utóbbira vannak már tervek. Azt, hogy mit gondolnak erről a Biden-adminisztráció által pénzzel kitömött médiumok, azt láthattuk a címlapokon. Itt az ideje, hogy azokat is megkérdézzék, akik állják a számlát, az európai embereket. Sok mindent mondanak, és sok mindent kérnek majd, de egyvalamit biztosan: ne velük fizetessék meg a háborút.

Adam Bielan, on behalf of the ECR Group. – Mr President, dear Commissioners, 24 February will mark three years since Russia launched its full-scale war of aggression against Ukraine – three years of brutality, destruction and immense sacrifice. Ukraine has stood firm, fighting not only for its sovereignty but for the very principles that define Europe – freedom and democracy.

Today, let us not forget the tremendous costs Ukraine has been paying for standing against Russia for Europe's security: Bucha's horrors, far over 10 000 civilian deaths, tremendous military losses, 10 million refugees, and Ukraine's shattered infrastructures. These wounds will scar generations.

Europe has responded. We have imposed unprecedented sanctions, reduced our reliance on Russian energy, strengthened defence cooperation and increased military support. Yet, disturbingly, some voices still call for easing these sanctions.

I am proud to say today that my country, Poland, has been at the forefront of military, diplomatic and humanitarian aid to Ukraine. We have committed nearly 5 % of our GDP – the highest in the EU relative to our economy. Our support was among the first to reach the Ukrainian front in significant quantities. We provided the largest number of heavy weapons and remain one of the top countries hosting Ukrainian refugees.

Under former Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki's leadership, Poland was one of the first to send tanks, fighter jets and ammunition. And let us not forget the historic visit of March 2022, when Mr Morawiecki, Deputy Prime Minister Jarosław Kaczyński, along with Czech and Slovenian leaders, became the first foreign leaders to stand with President Zelenskyy in Kyiv. Their message was clear then, and it remains clear today: Ukraine is not alone.

Our duty is clear: we must stand with Ukraine – not only now, but in the long rebuilding ahead. The war's outcome must be defined by Ukraine with unwavering European support.

Petras Auštrevičius, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Mr President, Madam Commissioner, Minister, dear colleagues, Ukraine, hand in hand with its Western partners, has withstood three years of bloody and devastating aggression by Russia and its proxies. Respecting the immense price paid by defenders of Ukraine and the defenders of our European values, the European Union efforts must now focus on the following.

First, the EU, from the very beginning and fully, must participate in the forthcoming ceasefire or peace talks. The outcome of these negotiations will determine the long-term future security of Europe. Second, we must continue our military assistance to Ukraine and provide it with maximum security guarantees. Russia has no intention of changing, and we must be ready. Third, we must continue to work hand in hand to help Ukraine reform and integrate into the European Union.

I really hope that the three years of Russian aggression and the horrors it has inflicted on the Ukrainian people have revealed the true face of Russian imperialism and international terrorism, and that we have learned a lesson for the future that we must not forget, for the victory of Ukraine and ours.

Villy Søvndal, *for Verts/ALE-Gruppen*. – Hr. formand! 3 år! I 3 år er mennesker i Ukraine blevet terroriseret hver eneste dag. Det, vi ser fra Putins krigsmaskine, er intet mindre end et rædselsfuldt angreb på et land, på uskyldige og forsvarsløse civile, et brud på al international ret. Konsekvent forsøger han at lamme landet med angreb på kritisk infrastruktur. Uskyldige mennesker gennemlever nu den tredje barske vinter uden lys, uden varme.

Sammen har Europa og USA ført an i en fælles støtte til den ukrainske frihedskamp. Men nu virker vores stærke samarbejde til at blive usikkert med det amerikanske valg af en selvcentreret oligark. Derfor er det så vigtigt, at vi i Europa ikke ryster på hånden. Vi kan mere, end vi gør, og vi skal gøre det klart også over for Putin, at han ikke vil ende som sejrherre efter den nådesløse, uprovokerede angrebskrig, som han selv har startet. Vi kan gøre mere, og vi skal gøre mere.

Danilo Della Valle, *a nome del gruppo The Left*. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, l'Europa non può essere tagliata fuori dai negoziati di pace in Ucraina: così si lamentava qualche giorno fa sui media un alto dirigente europeo. Queste sono lacrime di coccodrillo di una classe politica – che va da von der Leyen a Kallas, alla Meloni, fino ai Verdi tedeschi – che ha fallito su tutta la linea e che ha portato l'Europa a perdere credibilità nel mondo.

La gestione di questa guerra probabilmente verrà studiata nei prossimi anni nelle università di tutto il mondo come esempio del più grande fallimento in politica estera da quando esiste l'Unione europea.

Sono anni che vi diciamo di svegliarvi, di riprendere in mano la situazione in Ucraina cercando le condizioni per una via diplomatica, ma invece avete preferito imbracciare i fucili, le armi, i missili, i droni e i caccia. E magari qualcuno avrebbe mandato ben volentieri i nostri eserciti sul campo di battaglia, pur di compiacere qualche lobby delle armi.

Nonostante le profezie sbagliate, nonostante il sabotaggio del Nord Stream 2, in questo Parlamento si continuano ad ascoltare discorsi deliranti sul fatto che l'unica strada per la pace sia la vittoria sul campo o la resa totale della Russia e si continuano a votare risoluzioni che non tengono conto dello scenario attuale. Avete preso ordini da Biden e forse ora li prenderete anche da Trump, nonostante gli Stati Uniti sembra vogliano cambiare strategia.

Adesso basta, fermatevi. Tre anni di errori non vi sono bastati? Sono i cittadini europei a pagare i costi di questa assurda guerra e sono i cittadini ucraini a soffrire, perché voi non siete riusciti ad assumere quel ruolo di mediazione e diplomazia che da sempre contraddistingue l'Europa. Oggi, lasciando l'iniziativa di pace agli Stati Uniti di Trump, l'UE rischia di essere triste spettatrice della storia, che si decide in altri luoghi. Ritorniamo a parlare di pace.

Petras Gražulis, *ESN frakcijos vardu*. – Gerbiamas pirmininke, jeigu Europa būtų vieninga, stipri ir principinga, karo Ukrainoje nebūtų. Būtų pakakę pasakyti Europos Sąjungos lyderiams Putinui, kad mes visomis priemonėmis ginsime Europą... Putinas, ne... Ukrainą, Putinas nebūtų ryžęsis pulti Ukrainos. Europa labai galinga vien rezoliucijomis. Taip, suteikė didžiulę paramą finansinę, bet nepakankamą. Taip pat ir karinę paramą suteikė nepakankamą. Ir Putinas kuo toliau, tuo labiau skinasi į Ukrainos vidų. Ar jums ne gėda, Europos Sąjunga, vienai iš galingiausių ekonomikų, kad dabar Amerikos prezidentas Trumpas pažadėjo sustabdyti šią karą? Tai pažeminimas Europos. Jūs patys turėjote išspręsti šitas problemas. Čia yra pliurpalai vieni, o realių darbų – tokių, kokių reikia Ukrainos pagalbai, – nėra.

Rasa Juknevičienė (PPE). – Mr President, this debate on Ukraine is fundamentally about us, about Europe and its future. Our future has two opposing scenarios: one in the event of a Ukrainian victory, the other, very dark, if we fail to help Ukraine to win.

In Davos, President Zelenskyy said, 'Let's not forget, there is no ocean separating European countries from Russia. And European leaders should remember this.' He called on Europe to get serious about its security. That's why we need a clear plan for Ukraine's victory now. We need to act fast. I stress, a victory plan! It's not just about weapons. That's the most important thing today. But there is more. It's also about enlargement. About energy policy. About technology. About industry. About everything that will make Europe a global player.

It's impossible without Ukraine. There will be no long-lasting peace in Europe without a Ukrainian victory. There will be no strong and competitive Europe without a free Ukraine and a defeated imperialistic colonial Russia. *Slava Ukraini!*

Kathleen Van Brempt (S&D). – Voorzitter, het is bijna onvoorstelbaar, maar het zijn inderdaad drie jaren. Drie jaren van onafgebroken Russische agressie tegen Oekraïne. Drie jaren van doelbewuste aanvallen op steden en dorpen en cruciale infrastructuur, met minstens 12 000 burgerslachtoffers en 20 000 gekidnapte en gedeporteerde kinderen. De cijfers zijn verschrikkelijk.

Maar gelukkig zijn het ook drie jaren van eensgezindheid en een sterk Europees antwoord, een sterke Europese veroordeling van deze illegale en brutale oorlog. Drie jaren van Europese solidariteit en steun aan Oekraïne en — hierover heerst grote eensgezindheid in dit Parlement — deze steun zullen we blijven geven, *as long as it takes*.

De toekomst van Oekraïne is Europees, zoveel is duidelijk. En dus moeten we na drie jaar oorlog beginnen te denken aan de wederopbouw en versterking van de democratie in Oekraïne, ook al is de oorlog nog niet gedaan. Eerlijke en vrije verkiezingen zijn waarschijnlijk nog niet voor morgen, maar we moeten ze wel voorbereiden, zodat we na de oorlog ook echt klaar zijn om van Oekraïne een vrij, open en progressief land te maken, een Oekraïne met sterke democratische instellingen en een sterke rechtsstaat, en klaarstaan met onze hulp, zodat Oekraïne de weg vindt naar het Europese lidmaatschap.

Pierre-Romain Thionnet (Pfe). – Monsieur le Président, vue depuis les capitales européennes et leurs opinions, la guerre qui fait rage depuis bientôt trois ans est pêle-mêle la lutte entre le bien et le mal, entre la démocratie et l'autocratie ou, pour d'autres, la guerre que fait l'OTAN à la Russie.

Au-delà des considérations diplomatiques et stratégiques, on a négligé le sens profond de ce conflit. Cette guerre déclenchée par Moscou est, pour les Ukrainiens, une guerre de libération nationale. Espérons-le, la dernière qu'ils aient à mener.

Déjà entre 1917 et 1920, l'Ukraine avait proclamé son indépendance. Mais contrairement aux Polonais, aux Finlandais ou aux Baltes, elle n'avait pas pu la conserver, car ébranlée de l'intérieur ou renversée de l'extérieur.

L'Ukraine ne peut donc revendiquer une longue continuité étatique et cela autorise certains à lui nier le droit d'exister. Dans le discours de Poutine sur l'Ukraine, on croit parfois entendre Metternich, qui qualifiait l'Italie de simple «expression géographique». Au XIX^e siècle comme aujourd'hui, le langage des empires a toujours dénigré et combattu le printemps des peuples.

Ballottés entre de puissants voisins et malgré les tentatives d'éradication de leur culture, les Ukrainiens ont une identité affirmée. Dans le soldat ukrainien qui tient le front, on devine le cosaque épris de liberté qui garde la frontière.

Cette guerre fait finalement la lumière sur l'une des grandes questions posées par la chute de l'URSS, celle de la possibilité d'une Russie post-impériale. L'invasion de l'Ukraine par la Russie nous indique le choix fait aujourd'hui par cette dernière. Tandis que la Russie emprunte une voie qui l'éloigne de l'État-nation, l'Ukraine en devient un chaque jour davantage.

Reinis Pozņaks (ECR). – Godātais sēdes vadītāj! Labdien, komisāres kundze! Labdien, kolēģi! Pirms kāda laika SEDE komitejā viesojās NATO ģenerālsekrētārs Rutes kungs. Viņš teica, ka, ja nepietiekami investēsim savā aizsardzībā, tad mums var nākties pārcelties uz Jaunzēlandi vai mācīties krievu valodu.

Es papildināšu Rutes kunga teikto. Tāda iespēja būs tikai tiem, kuriem paveiksies. Tiem, kuri būs mazāk veiksmīgi, var nākties lopu vagonos pārcelties uz kādu ciematu Sibīrijā. Vēl mazāk veiksmīgie tiks nošauti viņu pašu māju pagrabos atbilstoši iepriekš sagatavotiem sarakstiem. Tādi saraksti cita starpā ir arī tagad. Jo gan Baltijas valstis, gan Ukraina šim visam jau ir gājušas cauri padomju okupācijas laikā. Ukraina tam iet cauri atkal. Un mēs redzam, ka Krievijas metodēs jau 80 gadus nekas nav mainījies un nemainīsies.

Tādēļ atbalsts Ukrainai ir lielākā un labākā, un efektīvākā investīcija mūsu pašu drošībā un aizsardzībā.

Marie-Agnes Strack-Zimmermann (Renew). – Herr Präsident! Frau Kommissarin! Drei Jahre Morden, Zerstören, Vergewaltigen, Verschleppen, und Europa muss auch weiterhin an der Seite der Ukraine stehen, hinschauen, den Menschen erklären, was da passiert.

Und ja, wenn es Friedensgespräche geben sollte, dann wird 80 Jahre nach Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges, aus dem wir als Europa gestärkt herausgegangen sind, Europa an der Seite der Ukraine mit an dem Tisch sitzen. Nicht Russland und nicht die Vereinigten Staaten werden entscheiden, wie unsere Zukunft auf unserem Kontinent aussehen wird. Wir werden Sicherheitsgarantien geben müssen, und wir werden auch bei dem Wiederaufbau an der Seite stehen müssen.

Meine Damen und Herren, es ist schrecklich genug, dass es immer noch – oder immer wieder oder immer mehr – rechte Politiker und linke Politiker gibt, die das Lied Wladimir Putins singen, die das Narrativ singen, dass die Ukraine selber schuld sei oder wir selbst schuld seien.

Meine Damen und Herren, wir als Demokraten haben die Mehrheit in diesem Haus, und wir werden nicht zulassen, dass dieses Narrativ auf fruchtbaren Boden fällt.

(Die Rednerin ist damit einverstanden, auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“ zu antworten.)

Alexander Sell (ESN), Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“. – Vielen Dank, Frau Strack-Zimmermann, dass Sie die Frage zulassen. Sie haben sich ja immer für Waffenlieferungen an die Ukraine ausgesprochen, Russland müsse militärisch besiegt werden. Mittlerweile sind über 1 Million Ukrainer und Russen tot oder verstümmelt. Deswegen hat Donald Trump angekündigt, das Sterben beenden zu wollen, und hat dazu auch mit dem russischen Präsidenten telefoniert. Sie dagegen haben Gespräche mit dem russischen Präsidenten immer abgelehnt. Mich würde deswegen interessieren: Wollen Sie weiterhin Offensivwaffen wie den Taurus an die Ukraine liefern? Oder können wir angesichts der Friedensinitiative aus Washington darauf hoffen, dass Sie sich wieder auf ihre Bütenreden im rheinischen Karneval beschränken werden?

Marie-Agnes Strack-Zimmermann (Renew), *Antwort auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“*. – Helau, kann ich da nur sagen. Schön, dass Sie gerade bestätigt haben, was ich gesagt habe. Sie trällern das Lied Putins. Ja, die Ukraine muss unterstützt werden, mit allem – humanitär, wirtschaftlich, militärisch.

Herr Trump hat gesagt, er wolle den Frieden in 24 Stunden erledigen. Jetzt sind wir bei 100 Tagen, denn auch Herr Trump weiß genau, wer auf der anderen Seite des Tisches sitzt. Und deswegen noch mal eine klare Ansage: humanitär, wirtschaftlich, militärisch. Es geht nämlich auch um Europa.

Und ich sage Ihnen eins, auch wenn Sie es nicht glauben wollen, aber Sie werden sich daran erinnern ... *(Der Präsident unterbricht die Rednerin)* ... er wird sich daran erinnern müssen. Wenn die Ukraine untergeht, war das nicht der letzte Krieg in Europa, und das werden auch Sie in Ihrem Gesang zu spüren bekommen.

Mārtiņš Staķis (Verts/ALE). – Mr President, dear friends, yes, we Latvians see Russia differently because we live beside it.

Just imagine an apartment building. We – Latvian and Estonian neighbours – live in the same floor and are improving our house day by day. But behind the door, on the east side, there is our unruly tenant living, Russia, who is aggressive, who is drunk, destructive. Our Ukrainian neighbour suffers the most. Every time they rebuild, Russia comes, steals, destroys and vandalises. Russia has attacked Ukraine 24 times in the last 300 years.

So, today they continue to terrorise our floor, but tomorrow, they will come to yours. And if you don't stop them, they will burn down the house. So, the history shows: ignoring the fire won't save you – it only lets the flames spread. That's why our unruly tenant deserves a very hard lesson.

Jonas Sjöstedt (The Left). – Herr talman! Vi har fått en amerikansk president som vet priset på allt, men värdet av inget. Trump verkar tro att han kan förhandla med Putin om Ukrainas framtid. Vi måste insistera på att vid varje förhandling ska det vara Ukraina som bestämmer vad de vill göra och Ukraina som sitter vid bordet.

Vår uppgift är att stärka Ukraina och landets frihetskamp, att öka stödet – det politiska stödet, det ekonomiska stödet och det militära stödet. Ryssland har inte rätt till en enda kvadratmeter av ukrainskt land. Putin är en krigsförbrytare, inte en statsman.

Vi kan göra mer. Fortfarande finansieras Rysslands olagliga angreppskrig på Ukraina av export av fossila bränslen. Fortfarande går tankarna genom Östersjön och Svarta havet. Det är dags att stoppa dem, att klämma åt Ryssland där det gör mest ont. Leve det fria Ukraina!

Petar Volgin (ESN). – Г-н Председател, от дълго време нормалните хора повтарят, че на войната в Украйна може да бъде сложен край само чрез мирни преговори. На тази съвсем разумна теза американската Демократическа партия, нейните булонки в Европейския съюз и купените от USAID политици, журналисти и анализатори отговаряха с лозунга: „Война до пълна победа на Зеленски!“ Хубавото е, че след президентските избори в Съединените щати там възтържествува нормалността и вероятно в скоро време наистина ще има мирни преговори и войната в Украйна ще спре. Само че колкото повече в Съединените щати възтържествува нормалното мислене, толкова повече в Европейския съюз се увеличава антируската истерия. Госпожите Урсула и Кая и подобните им ще продължават да настояват за „безусловна подкрепа“ и „война до последния украинец“. А не след дълго тези госпожи, както и другите неадекватни еврочиновници, ще се чудят защо не ги канят на мирните преговори. А дори и да ги поканят, те ще са в ролята на безсмислен предмет, подритван с досада от главните действащи лица. Това се случва с всеки, който се опитва да подмени истината с глупави илюзии.

Luboš Blaha (NI). – Vážený pán předsedající, vážení kolegovia, prepáčte, ale už som otrávený zo všetkej tej protiruskej nenávisti, ktorá nič nerieši. Namiesto toho uvediem tvrdé fakty. Po prvé, Ukrajina prišla o státisíce ľudí zbytočne. Keby sme sa s Rusmi dohodli v Istanbule, už dávno mohol byť mier. A keby sa to neťahalo k ruským hraniciam, žiadna vojna ani nemusela byť. Po druhé, Rusko v teréne víťazí a Ukrajina prehráva. Sankcie ubližujú Európe ďaleko viac ako Rusku. Po tretie, zelené k nám vypol plyn a správa sa voči členským štátom EÚ čoraz viac arogantne. Po štvrté, Spojené štáty zmenili kurz a Trump bude rokovať s Putinom. Toto je realita. A vy tu ďalej truchľujete ako malé deti a Európu vo svete už nikto neberie vážne. Takto to ďalej nejde, a preto vám oznamujem, že som s potešením prijal pozvanie od predsedu zahraničného výboru ruskej dумы Leonida Sluckého a začiatkom marca vycestujem do Moskvy na mierové rokovania. My sa s Rusmi musíme začať normálne rozprávať, inak mier nikdy nedosiahneme.

Sandra Kalniete (PPE). – Godātais sēdes vadītāj! Godātie kolēģi! Jau trīs gadus Krievija turpina karu Ukrainā. Nav ne mazāko pazīmju, ka Putins būtu gatavs karu izbeigt. Nē, viņš ir apņēmības pilns iznīcināt Ukrainas valsti un sagraut Eiropas drošības sistēmu.

Putins zina, ka Eiropas Savienības un ASV atbalsts Ukrainai nav pietiekams, lai tā uzvarētu. Mēs neesam izdarījuši tik daudz ne sankciju, ne atbalsta ziņā, lai Putins saprastu, ka viņš karu zaudēs, un būtu spiests sēsties pie sarunu galda.

Pat ja cīņas tuvākajā nākotnē apstāsies, mums būs jāapbruņo Ukraina un jāturpina attīstīt tās ieroču ražošanas spējas. Mums ir jānodrošina, ka Krievija neatsāk agresiju. Tas nozīmēs lielus ieguldījumus Ukrainā un arī Eiropas Savienības austrumu flanga nostiprināšanā. Mēs nedrīkstam pieņemt Krievijas ultimātus vai absurdas teritoriālas prasības. Mūsu prasība ir stingras drošības garantijas Ukrainai un Krievijas atturēšanas spējas. Mūsu vietā to neviens nedarīs.

Sven Mikser (S&D). – Mr President, dear colleagues, three years into this war, the fundamentals have not changed. The consequences for European security of a potential Russian victory look as dire today as they did three years ago. So we have to get our act together and start giving Ukraine what it needs in quantities it needs to win this war. And we should admit to ourselves that whatever the resolution of the war in Ukraine, Russia will remain a clear and imminent threat to Europe's security, so we also have to dramatically improve our defences, including our defence industrial capability.

One thing has changed, though: pro-Russian populists are in a stronger position today than they were three years ago, both in this august chamber as well as in an increasing number of European capitals. This underscores the need to protect and strengthen our democratic structures, which in turn underscores the need for just and responsible social policies in Europe, for democracy and social stability at home are directly linked to our ability to provide sufficient support to Ukraine.

Viktória Ferenc (PSE). – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! Háború, háború, háború. Három éve ezt halljuk nap mint nap a médiából. Szörnyű kimondani, de lassan hozzászoktunk. Megtanultunk együtt élni a ténnyel, hogy Európában háború dúl.

Azonban Ukrajna lakossága számára ez nem csak egy megdöbbentő statisztika, egy szörnyű felvétel a harcmező történéseiről, hanem a mindennapi valóságuk része. A háború nemcsak az ország fizikai, de az emberek lelkiállapotára is hatással van, súlyos és visszavonhatatlan hatással. Milliók hagyták el otthonaikat, családok szakadtak szét, gyermekek nőnek fel apák nélkül, nők váltak kényszerből családfenntartóvá.

A lakosság mintegy felére csökkent. Kimerült és kilátástalanságban él. A társadalmat mára csupán egyetlen dolog élteni: remény a mielőbbi békében. Tudjuk azonban, hogy a tartós béke nem a fegyverek zajában, hanem a tárgyalóasztalnál születik.

Az Európai Uniónak hűen eredeti rendeltetéséhez a béke nagykövetévé kell válnia. Tűzszünetre és béketárgyalásokra van szükség, és nem az emberéleteket követelő háború elhúzódtását kell támogatnunk. Kötelességünk a béke megteremtése, hogy véget vessünk az emberi szenvedéseknek, és hogy megvédjük a háború árnyékában cseperedő gyermekek és fiatalok lelki egészségét, hogy elindulhasson végre egy jövő építése a számukra.

Alberico Gambino (ECR). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signora Commissaria, dopo tre anni di brutale attacco da parte della Russia all'Ucraina, il nostro dovere è chiaro: l'Unione europea deve mantenere saldo il suo sostegno all'Ucraina, non solo per la difesa della sua sovranità, ma anche per garantire sicurezza all'intero continente.

Il nostro obiettivo deve essere la pace, giusta e duratura. Questo significa continuare a sostenere Kiev con gli aiuti necessari, ma al contempo intensificare gli sforzi diplomatici per cercare una soluzione politica al conflitto, sostenendo ogni iniziativa che possa portare al tavolo delle trattative e porre fine alla sofferenza di milioni di persone.

In questo contesto, a mio avviso, la cooperazione transatlantica è essenziale per affrontare questa crisi con unità e determinazione. Ricordiamo che il dialogo con gli Stati Uniti è imprescindibile, poiché restano il nostro principale alleato e partner fondamentale in un'epoca di sfide globali e interconnesse.

L'Unione europea non può permettersi esitazioni. Dobbiamo proseguire con fermezza nell'assistenza a Kiev, senza mai perdere di vista l'imperativo della pace e del...

(Il Presidente toglie la parola all'oratore)

Hilde Vautmans (Renew). – Voorzitter, velen hebben het hier al gezegd: vandaag is het drie jaar geleden dat die afschuwelijke oorlog van Rusland tegen Oekraïne begon. We hebben Oekraïne drie jaar lang gesteund. Eensgezind, gelukkig maar. Maar laten we eerlijk zijn: halfslachtig en met de voet op de rem. We hebben Rusland gesanctioneerd. Eensgezind, maar ook halfslachtig. We zitten inmiddels aan het vijftiende sanctiepakket. Daarmee hebben we niet alleen de miserie van de Oekraïners gerekt, maar ook onze eigen pijn. Vandaag staat de gasprijs op zijn hoogste peil in twee jaar. Wij betalen het gelag. De oorlog duurt veel te lang.

Laten we vandaag afspreken dat deze oorlog dit jaar ten einde komt. Er zijn drie manieren om vrede te bereiken:

1. Lever die wapens nu en volledig.
2. Voer sancties in tegen iedereen.
3. Maak Europa sterker.

Sergey Lagodinsky (Verts/ALE). – Mr President, I wish to speak in Ukrainian. *(The speaker continued in a non-EU language)*

President. – Unfortunately, there is No Ukrainian interpretation.

Sergey Lagodinsky (Verts/ALE). – There is!

President. – There is? Then I really was not informed. Sorry about that. You can start again.

Sergey Lagodinsky (Verts/ALE). – *(The speaker used a non-EU language)* Nothing without Ukraine, nothing without Ukraine and without Europe. *(The speaker continued in a non-EU language)*

Hans Neuhoﬀ (ESN). – Herr Präsident! Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Die Jahre des russischen Angriffskriegs gegen die Ukraine sind auch die Jahre des finalen geopolitischen Versagens der EU. Final ist dieses Versagen, weil es den Endpunkt einer Entwicklung darstellt, an deren Anfang die Entscheidung der USA steht, die Ukraine in die NATO zu bringen.

Seit einem Vierteljahrhundert lassen sich die Europäer inzwischen von den USA am Nasenring durch die geopolitische Arena führen. Nehmen Sie bitte zur Kenntnis, Frau Strack-Zimmermann, dass die Verhandlungen zur Beendigung des Ukrainekrieges ohne Sie, ohne Frau von der Leyen, ohne die europäischen Staats- und Regierungschefs geführt werden – ja, womöglich ohne die Ukraine selbst. Die Europäer dürfen am Ende nur eines, nämlich die Rechnung bezahlen.

Meine Damen und Herren, wenn es noch eines Beweises bedurft hätte, dass es sich bei diesem Krieg um eine geostrategische Auseinandersetzung zwischen zwei Großmächten handelt, wenn es noch eines Beweises bedurft hätte, dass die EU kein relevanter geopolitischer Akteur ist, dann ist er hiermit erbracht worden.

Fabio De Masi (NI). – Herr Präsident! Meine Damen und Herren, die Ukrainer wurden tatsächlich verraten, aber aus anderen Gründen, als viele von Ihnen hier meinen. Wir haben sie über drei Jahre in einen nicht gewinnbaren Stellvertreterkrieg geschickt. Und alle Gespräche über den Verzicht auf die NATO-Perspektive für die Ukraine wurden zurückgewiesen. Selbst der ehemalige Sicherheitsberater von Obama, Charles Kupchan, hat das als einen großen Fehler bezeichnet. 2021 hat man diese Gespräche zurückgewiesen. 2022 waren wir so nah an einem Friedensschluss, und das wurde zurückgewiesen. Man hat den Ukrainern gesagt, sie sollen weiterkämpfen.

Welches Ergebnis haben wir jetzt? Über 1 Million Tote und Verletzte. Die Jungen haben das Land verlassen. Das Land ist völlig zerstört und wirtschaftlich abhängig. Und es wird ein Teil seines Territoriums verlieren. Dafür tragen Sie mit Ihren blutleeren Durchhalteparolen die politische Verantwortung. Es ist Zeit, dieses Desaster zu beenden. Wir brauchen Verhandlungen, einen Waffenstillstand und gegenseitige Sicherheitsversprechen. Aber diese blutleeren Durchhalteparolen, die werden in die Geschichtsbücher eingehen als ein historischer Irrtum.

Michał Szczerba (PPE). – Panie Przewodniczący! Pani Komisarz! Panie Ministrze! Trzy lata wojny i trzy lata niezachwianego wsparcia sojuszników europejskich. Naszym celem jest to, żeby Ukraina zwyciężyła, żeby Ukraina się odbudowała i była silnym europejskim państwem. Ukraina wzmacnia Europę, czyni ją silniejszą, bezpieczniejszą i będzie potężniejsza gospodarczo.

Trzy sprawy, które chcę poruszyć. Po pierwsze to wspólna strategia migracyjna i nadciągający kryzys demograficzny na Ukrainie. Ukrainę w ciągu tych trzech lat opuściło co najmniej 7,5 miliona obywateli i obywateli. Żeby Ukraina mogła dalej się rozwijać te osoby muszą wrócić na Ukrainę. Kryzys demograficzny jest potężny. Średnia wieku mocno wzrosła.

Drugi temat to wsparcie dla weteranów. Pani Komisarz, to bardzo ważna sprawa. Gdy skończy się ta wojna, będą 2 miliony weteranów. Trzeba im również pomóc finansowo, społecznie, psychologicznie. Będą przez lata leczyć traumy.

I trzecia sprawa to wsparcie w dialogu politycznym. Wtedy, kiedy Ukraina będzie sobie...

(Przewodniczący odebrał mówcy głos)

Thijs Reuten (S&D). – Mr President, three years of a full-scale invasion and Russian brutality, and what did we learn? Ukraine has already won. Ukraine will be an EU member and we will be stronger with them. And Europe is stronger and more resilient than many thought. Yes, we did a lot financially and militarily. But was it enough? Was it enough? No. We delivered too late and too little on crucial military support to protect Ukrainians and to defend Europe. Yes, to defend Europe!

It is not over: promises of quick peace without leverage over Putin don't work. Peace through strength, not without Ukraine. About Ukraine is also about our strength, and also not about Europe without Europe. We can enable Ukraine militarily, curb the shadow fleet, reinforce sanctions and fight Putin's influence in Europe. Peace needs enforcement and solid security guarantees.

As we honour the brave Ukrainians, the brave heroes of Ukraine, we should all ask ourselves how much Europe is worth to us as we know it. And this is how much we need to invest in Ukraine.

Petra Steger (Pfe). – Herr Präsident! Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren, der Krieg in der Ukraine geht bald ins vierte Jahr, und Sie halten hier gefühlt mittlerweile die tausendste Debatte ab unter dem Titel Fortsetzung der bedingungslosen Solidarität.

Alle Bürger in Europa fragen sich mittlerweile: Warum eigentlich? Erstens, warum bedingungslos? Denn nichts in der Politik – und schon gar nicht Milliardenzahlungen und Waffen – sollte bedingungslos sein. Und zweitens, was ist eigentlich mit der Solidarität gegenüber der eigenen Bevölkerung? Wann hören Sie endlich damit auf, mit dieser Politik gegen die eigenen Interessen?

Wie wäre es mal mit einem neuen Titel hier im Plenum? Zum Beispiel: Zeit für Frieden. Das wäre jetzt angebracht! Nein, auf die Idee kommen Sie nicht einmal. Seit Beginn dieses abscheulichen Krieges gab es vom angeblichen Friedensprojekt der Europäischen Union keine einzige Friedensinitiative. Stattdessen gefährden Sie unsere Sicherheit und opfern unseren Wohlstand, und das Ganze – und das ist das Schädigste –, ohne dass Sie die Bürger jemals gefragt haben, ob ihnen das überhaupt recht ist, ob sie überhaupt bereit sind, die Kosten für all das hier zu tragen.

Wann erkennen Sie endlich die Zeichen der Zeit und setzen sich endlich für das ein, was Ihre eigentliche Aufgabe wäre, nämlich für Frieden? Nein, stattdessen manövrieren Sie uns in eine außenpolitische ...

(Der Präsident entzieht der Rednerin das Wort.)

Jaak Madison (ECR). – Mr President, it's always lovely to see how the Germans are fighting with each other in the Chamber.

Anyway, for three years, a lot of talk, no results. I think we have no doubt that in the next few months, we're going to have negotiations for the peace. So we will reach for that. But the problem is in which kind of terms we have. Today, currently in Europe, we don't have any kind of leader who will be equal to negotiate with Trump, Zelenskyy and Putin. Is it Kaja Kallas? Definitely not. Ursula? No. So, the problem now is that Europeans love to talk a lot and to make your own green deals, fight for the climate change, but in the reality, we have been talking for three years and now, of course, from the different sides, they are screaming about the human lives, how we need peace. But the problem is that we have had peace several times with Russia, and nobody has given a shit about the result – that their territories are occupied, people are murdered, killed, raped. And we are just loving to talk here for three years. Very lovely story.

The problem now is that we are not still investing enough for our defence. We are still the biggest importer of LNG from Russia. We are paying billions of euros to Russia to have war. Great ...

(The President cut off the speaker)

Bernard Guetta (Renew). – Monsieur le Président, eh bien non, Président Trump: contrairement à ce que vous dites, Vladimir Poutine n'est pas triste que cette guerre ait eu lieu. Cette guerre, il l'a voulue et préparée de longue date, car il voudrait rendre à la Russie son empire perdu. La seule chose dont il soit triste est que l'héroïsme des Ukrainiens l'ait empêché de marcher jusqu'à la frontière polonaise, jusqu'à la frontière de notre Union.

Alors cessez, Monsieur Trump, de nous parler de la douleur et de l'humanité de votre ami Vladimir, car, si cette guerre le faisait tant souffrir, il n'aurait pour l'arrêter qu'à rappeler ses troupes.

Et puis encore un mot, Monsieur le Président. S'il y a un reproche à faire à votre prédécesseur, ce n'est pas d'avoir soutenu l'Ukraine, mais de l'avoir toujours soutenue trop peu, trop tard. L'Histoire en jugera. Mais prenez garde à ce que votre pays et le monde ne portent déjà le plus sévère des jugements sur votre connivence avec ce Staline au petit pied.

Markéta Gregorová (Verts/ALE). – Pane předsedající, dnes si připomínáme tři roky od chvíle, kdy Rusko zahájilo svou brutální agresi proti Ukrajině. Bohužel se zde dnes několikrát objevila otázka, zda má smysl Ukrajinu podporovat. A tak se zeptám já jinak: Co by se stalo, kdybychom to neudělali? Kde by dnes byla Evropa, kdybychom zůstali pasivní, kdybychom neotevřeli dveře uprchlíkům, neukázali jednotu?

Ruské tanky by dnes možná stály na hranicích Polska, Slovenska nebo Pobaltí, na Ukrajině by proběhla genocida ukrajinského obyvatelstva. Agresori po celém světě by viděli, že válka se vyplácí a že Západ i Evropa jsou slabí a k rozebrání. Pokud vám nejde o hodnoty, jste u mě velmi chudí. Abych ale mluvila vaší řečí transakcí, cena za neutralitu by byla nesrovnatelně vyšší než cena naší pomoci. Proto musíme zůstat pevní. Proto musíme pokračovat. Sláva Ukrajině!

Zsuzsanna Borvendég (ESN). – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! Háttérhatalmi játszmák és a globális nagytőke érdekei tartják életben ezt a háborút immár három éve. Embereket gyilkolnak halomra miközben itt vitázunk, és ez minket magyarokat közelről érint.

Ugyanis Ukrajna nyugati része ezer évig a Magyar Királysághoz tartozott, és az önrendelkezés megtagadásával szakítottak el hazánktól ezt a régiót 1920-ban.

Az ott élő magyarokat és ruszinokat kényszersorozással viszik meghalni egy olyan ügyért, amelyhez semmi közük sincs, hiszen a jelenlegi ukrán állam a legalapvetőbb nemzetiségi jogaikat sem biztosítja.

Nem támogatásokról, hanem az azonnali tűzszünetről és a békerendezésről kell beszélnünk, főleg, ha Európa helyet akar majd kapni a tárgyalóasztalnál. A tartós béke megteremtéséhez a ma még tabunak számító határrendezést is napirendre kell tűzni. Ennek során pedig Magyarország nem mondhat le a kárpátjai magyarok és a ruszinok önrendelkezésének biztosításáról.

Pekka Toveri (PPE). – Mr President, dear colleagues, the war in Ukraine is now in a crucial phase. Ukraine is under great pressure, but Russia is not about to win this war. However, Putin seems to think so. Therefore, we need to act decisively to prove him wrong.

The Russian army is exhausted and its economy is weakening. Now it's time to support Ukraine by funding its defence industry, which is capable to produce material worth over EUR 20 billion annually, but it is currently funded only to 30 % of its capacity.

And we need to hit Russia's economy, for example, by stopping its shuttle fleet, which is used to fund this war and is threatening our seas with environmental catastrophe as we speak. These kind of actions are needed to force Russia to the negotiating table on Ukraine's terms, not on Putin's terms.

Ukraine needs peace and security against new Russian aggression. Here, those who worry about the money are selfish, those who talk about diplomacy don't know Russia. Russia respects only force and now it's time to use it. The time to act is now. *Slava Ukraini!*

Pina Picierno (S&D). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, questa notte Donald Trump ha dichiarato: «Un giorno l'Ucraina potrebbe diventare russa. Ci ripaghi subito con 500 miliardi in terre rare per gli investimenti che abbiamo effettuato». Ecco, io credo che queste parole siano figlie del peggiore mercantilismo sovranista. E noi in quest'Aula abbiamo il dovere di ricordare che la resistenza dell'Ucraina è lotta per la libertà, è lotta per la democrazia ed è lotta per la tutela dell'integrità territoriale europea.

Trump tratta, purtroppo, la lotta dei popoli per la libertà come una qualsiasi operazione commerciale da cui trarre profitti. Ma non ci sono affari da fare, Presidente Trump. C'è da difendere il diritto di un popolo alla libertà e all'indipendenza.

Da tre anni contiamo vittime innocenti che la Russia determina per la sua rincorsa ad un imperialismo abietto. Ora più che mai quest'Aula ha il dovere di schierarsi per la democrazia, contro la barbarie, per l'Ucraina e per l'Europa.

Michał Dworczyk (ECR). – Panie Przewodniczący! Koleżanki i Koledzy! Za dwa tygodnie miną trzy lata, odkąd Rosja zaatakowała brutalnie Ukrainę i dopuszcza się mordów na cywilach, jak i żołnierzach. To jednocześnie 1084 dni bohaterskiej obrony narodu ukraińskiego, który niezłomnie stawia opór w nierównej walce o wolność i niepodległość swojego kraju.

Polska towarzyszyła Ukrainie od pierwszego dnia wojny, również wtedy, kiedy wiele krajów Unii Europejskiej kalkulowało, czy warto taką pomoc podjąć, narażając swoje świetnie prosperujące interesy z Rosją. To polski ambasador, wówczas jako jedyny europejski ambasador, nie opuścił Kijowa i kontynuował swoją misję pomimo trwającej wojny.

I choć dzisiaj widzimy, jak konieczne jest możliwie szybkie zakończenie działań wojennych oraz przywrócenie pokoju, to musi się ono wiązać z zapewnieniem Ukrainie wiarygodnych i mocnych gwarancji bezpieczeństwa. Musimy zatem, jako Wspólnota Europejska, niezmiennie wspierać Ukrainę oraz jej dążenie w rozmowach pokojowych i jej stanowisko. Czas najwyższy, aby wspólna polityka bezpieczeństwa i pokoju w Europie budowana była w oparciu o rzeczywiste zapewnienie bezpieczeństwa wszystkim europejskim krajom, a nie przez pryzmat *business as usual*.

Helmut Brandstätter (Renew). – Mr President, Madam Commissioner, Minister, dear colleagues, many important things have been said. I want to concentrate on one group of the victims and that is the children.

Just imagine you have a child, you go to bed and you don't know if the child is still alive the next day in the morning, there might be a rocket from Russia. Imagine your child has cancer, you bring it to a hospital and it's killed by a rocket in this hospital. Imagine you have children and they are kidnapped, brought to another country where they tell you that your mother language doesn't really exist and that you have to learn a new one.

That's what's happening and that's one of the reasons why we have to support, why we have to continue to support the Ukrainians.

Herr Präsident! Ich möchte auf Deutsch meinen Mitbürgern in Österreich sagen: Putin kämpft auch gegen uns. Er führt gegen uns schon einen hybriden Krieg, und wenn er die Ukraine erobert haben sollte, steht er 500 km vor Wien. Putin möchte, dass wir nicht in Freiheit leben. Das, was ich in der Ukraine immer gehört habe – wir wollen nicht Sklaven Putins sein –, das gilt für uns alle in Europa. Deswegen halten wir zusammen für die Ukraine. *Slawa Ukrajini!*

Nicolás Pascual de la Parte (PPE). – Señor presidente, después de tres años de guerra, de devastación y de muerte, parece ser que estamos enfilando una perspectiva de negociación de paz. Pero una paz para Ucrania tiene que ser una paz justa, duradera, y una paz justa y duradera tiene que respetar los principios de la Carta de las Naciones Unidas: la intangibilidad de las fronteras, la integridad territorial, la independencia política, la libertad de cualquier Estado para elegir sus alianzas internacionales. Eso hemos de garantizárselo a los ucranianos.

Y, sobre todo, no puede haber una paz sin los ucranianos o por encima de los ucranianos. Son ellos los que tienen que decir cuáles son los términos de la paz. Y ahí es donde la Unión Europea tiene que ayudar. Tenemos que ayudar ofreciéndoles unas garantías de seguridad —bilaterales y colectivas— y ofreciéndoles también una perspectiva de ingreso en la Unión Europea y de ingreso en la OTAN en su momento.

No miremos tanto a lo que hacen los Estados Unidos, el presidente de los Estados Unidos, y fijémonos en qué somos capaces de hacer nosotros y qué plan colectivo tiene la Unión Europea para responder a esa perspectiva de paz que se abre en Ucrania. Hemos de enfrentarnos a esa realidad de una forma unida y con nuestro propio plan.

Raphaël Glucksmann (S&D). – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, il y a trois ans, nous avons tous dit ici que la guerre russe contre l'Ukraine était une guerre contre l'Europe. Nous avons eu raison de le dire. Mais avons-nous agi en conséquence? Les Ukrainiens ont étonné le monde par leur résistance héroïque, mais les dirigeants européens ont-ils été à la hauteur? Les 200 milliards d'avoirs publics russes gelés dans nos banques sont-ils saisis au moment où je vous parle? Les importations européennes de gaz naturel liquéfié ou la coopération française avec Rosatom ont-elles cessé? Avons-nous livré toutes les armes dont la résistance ukrainienne a besoin et fait tourner nos usines à plein régime pour l'équiper? Non, et c'est une faillite stratégique.

À Mar-a-Lago, l'Ukraine peut sembler loin et Trump peut penser jouer avec Poutine. Mais pas nous. Pour nous, Européens, ce sont notre sécurité et notre liberté qui sont en jeu en Ukraine. Pour nous Européens, la résistance ukrainienne est notre première ligne de défense. Alors n'écoutons pas les voix de la capitulation et de la soumission qui, à nouveau, ont pourri cette enceinte ce matin. N'écoutons pas les valets de Vladimir Poutine et disons avec force que la survie de l'Ukraine, c'est la liberté de l'Europe.

Sebastian Tynkynen (ECR). – Mr President, for three long years, Ukraine has stood on the front lines of freedom, facing the brutality of Putin's criminal regime. At the same time, Putin's Russia has shown the world its true nature: it's a terrorist organisation with a flag. Putin thought the war would be over in three days. He also thought Europe would turn its back on Ukraine. He was wrong.

What has Putin on his side besides countries like North Korea? Some MEPs here demand our defence capabilities to be restricted, repeat phrases from the Russian playbook and are betraying European values for cheap gas. To them I say, you will go down in history as traitors. The defenders of Ukraine will be remembered as heroes of Europe.

Davor Ivo Stier (PPE). – Poštovani predsjedavajući, kolegice i kolege, tri godine nakon ruske agresije na Ukrajinu moramo još jednom ponoviti: ovaj užasan rat bio je odluka Vladimira Putina.

On je kriv za agresiju, on je pokrenuo ovaj rat, on ga može odmah zaustaviti kada bi to htio, ali on to ne želi. Nažalost, ima i dalje onih koji nasjedaју na rusku propagandu, pa krivnju za rat traže kod žrtve ili kod onih koji pomažu žrtvi, ali ne traže odgovornost kod agresora. I zato žele sada pritisak staviti na žrtvu i, naravno, tako neće zaustaviti agresora.

Međutim, iako Rusija trenutno okupira Krim i još četiri oblasti, Rusija ipak nije i Rusija neće uspjeti slomiti Ukrajinu i neće je vratiti pod svoju dominaciju. Da, pregovori da, ali oni moraju imati u obzir da je Ukrajina zauvijek napustila ruski svijet i tamo se više nikada neće vratiti.

I zato moramo još jednom reći, nakon tri godine agresije živjela nam slobodna, neovisna i europska Ukrajina.

Marcos Ros Sempere (S&D). – Señor presidente, tres años de guerra, tres años de invasión, tres años de enfrentamiento entre el autoritarismo de Putin y los valores europeos por la resistencia de los ucranianos.

Desde el Parlamento Europeo seguimos apoyando al pueblo ucraniano con medidas como el Mecanismo para Ucrania —50 000 millones de euros hasta 2027— o el marco de asistencia financiera, que será financiado con los beneficios generados por los activos rusos congelados en la Unión. Pero necesitamos más: más ayuda militar, humanitaria y económica. Ucrania tiene que renacer tras la guerra: un país que mire al futuro y con los recursos necesarios para hacer frente a la reconstrucción y a la modernización tras el conflicto.

Ahora que el contexto geopolítico mundial palidece ante la deriva populista, la Unión Europea debe ser más que nunca el baluarte de la democracia y de los derechos humanos, y el lugar al que Ucrania debe encaminarse.

Arkadiusz Mularczyk (ECR). – Panie Przewodniczący! Szanowni Państwo! Dziś, po trzech latach brutalnej agresji Rosji na Ukrainę, musimy jasno powiedzieć – nasza solidarność nie może słabnąć. Historia uczy nas, że niezawisłość, suwerenność, wolność narodów są wartościami, których nie można oddać w imię fałszywego pokoju. Kraj, który reprezentuję – Polska, która doskonale wie, czym jest wojna, i zna jej długofalowe skutki. Po II wojnie światowej Polska przez dziesięciolecia ponosiła konsekwencje niemieckich zbrodni wojennych, które do dziś nie zostały rozliczone. Ukraińcy, podobnie jak my, będą się przez lata zmagać z biedą, z traumą, ze stratami, z kalectwem. Nie możemy pozwolić, żeby zostali sami. Bo kto, jeśli nie my, rozumie lepiej, czym jest być porzuconym przez Zachód.

Właśnie dzisiaj mija 80 lat od zakończenia konferencji jałtańskiej, która oddała centralną Europę pod okupację sowiecką. Brak działania i solidarności rozzuchwali Putina i zwiększył jego apetyt i aspiracje. A to droga wprost do katastrofalnych skutków dla Europy i jej przyszłości.

Reinhold Lopatka (PPE). – Mr President, colleague Steger, you should be ashamed of your speech. Three years have passed since Russia launched its brutal war of aggression against Ukraine, displacing millions and causing immeasurable suffering. And the spirit of the Ukrainian people remains unbroken, demonstrating remarkable resilience against Russian tyranny.

You and your party colleagues are still the voice of Russia here in the European Parliament, but the huge majority here is supporting Ukraine, not least because this struggle is also a struggle and a fight for democracy, freedom and the rule of law globally.

Russia's aggression threatens European and international stability and security. Therefore, we must enhance our support by increasing economic assistance for Ukraine's recovery and restructuring. We have to counter Russian propaganda and disinformation.

(The speaker agreed to take a blue-card question)

Alexander Jungbluth (ESN), Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“. – Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege, Sie haben gerade gesagt, dass wir das zu verantworten hätten, dass wir, sagen wir mal, für Russland sein sollten. Aber das ist absoluter Schwachsinn, sondern wir setzen uns für Friedensbestrebungen ein. Wir setzen uns ähnlich wie Präsident Trump dafür ein, dass wir endlich Friedensbedingungen haben, damit russische und ukrainische Soldaten nicht mehr sterben müssen. Und sagen Sie mir mal: Was ist denn Ihre Idee für eine Friedensbestrebung? Dass wir nicht immer nur davon sprechen, dass militärische Siege hergestellt werden müssen, wo noch mehr Soldaten sterben.

Reinhold Lopatka (PPE), *Antwort auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“*. – Eine kurze Antwort meinerseits: Putin kann in der Minute den Krieg beenden, sofort. Er hat es in seiner Hand.

Das Zweite: Die Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs hat bis heute einen Freundschaftsvertrag mit der Jedinaja Rossija, der Partei Putins. Er ist nicht aufgelöst worden. Das ist Ihr Problem: Sie stehen auf der falschen Seite! Wir bleiben weiter auf der Seite der Ukraine.

Tonino Picula (S&D). – Mr President, Madam Commissioner, dear colleagues, three years after morning news that changed the world, we can only echo our full support and commitment to Ukrainian people and their heroic fight against the Russian aggressor.

The war against Ukraine is now in its critical phase. While the situation remains uncertain in so many ways, it is important to stress that no negotiations can result victoriously and gainful for flagrant aggressor. It's not only an issue of negotiating peace, but keeping it.

Furthermore, this is not a war only affecting the European Union and the European continent, but also the United States and the rest of the world. The new administration in Washington cannot overlook this and float ideas that may only resonate with transactional logic.

We need to reject this information and cynicism, fuelled by the aggressor and his puppets, and stay committed to defend the international rule-based order and values on which European Union itself was formed. *Slava Ukraini!*

Mika Aaltola (PPE). – Arvoisa puhemies, Venäjä haki ennen brutaalia hyökkäyssotaansa suoraan neuvottelua Yhdysvaltojen kanssa Ukrainan neutralisoinnista, pilkkomisesta ja laajasta etupiiristään Euroopassa. Tähän ei suostuttu.

Tästä on pidettävä kiinni. Jos neuvotellaan, Venäjän on neuvoteltava lännen tukeman Ukrainan kanssa. Rauhaa voiman kautta. Venäjä ei ole terrorillaan saavuttanut tavoitteitaan. Se pyrkii nyt neuvottelupöydän kautta saamaan aikaan sen, mitä se ei ole sotilaallisesti saavuttanut.

Euroopan on jatkettava Ukrainan tukemista, koska Venäjän hyökkäyssodan ratkaisusta tulee yksi keskeinen kulmakivi uudelle eurooppalaiselle järjestykselle tai epäjärjestykselle. Jos emme pysy tiukkoina ja satsaa myös omaan puolustukseemme, kukaan ei kuuntele meitä. Veltolla Euroopalla ei ole roolia, kun päätämme itsestämme suurvaltarealismiin ja neoimperialismiin maailmassa. Jos Ukraina neutralisoidaan neuvottelupöydässä, kovat ajat vasta alkavat Euroopassa.

(Puhuja suostui vastaamaan sinisen kortin kysymykseen)

Merja Kyllönen (The Left), *blue-card question*. – Dear colleague Aaltola, I just want to ask from you that today here we have spoken about the war for three years, but Russia took Crimea already in 2014. How do you see it? Were we really too slow to act at the first point? Because I think the start point was really when Russia took Crimea already in 2014, and it's more than 10 years now.

Mika Aaltola (PPE), *blue-card answer*. – Yes, you are quite right. We woke up too late, and back in 2014, we were still under the illusion that gas will produce peace. And it did not. We actually woke up more when the Malaysia Airlines flight was shot down than we did when Crimea was taken over. That's a shame. Shame on us for that. Action needs to be taken. Loud words do not defend Ukraine.

Tobias Cremer (S&D). – Mr President, dear colleagues, as the Trump administration is about to unveil its plans for European security, Vladimir Putin continues to arm Russia for future attacks against NATO territory. And Europeans across all our countries are asking themselves, will Europe rise to the challenge? Or will we once again allow others to determine the future of our continent?

Colleagues, for nearly three years, Ukrainians have shown what is possible when courage means unity. For nearly three years, they have been defying the doubters and showing Putin that war only ends in disaster. So let us be courageous and united today. Let us move from the ad hoc decision-making to a long-term strategy of funding Ukraine in a socially sustainable way. Let us build a European defence industry that is capable of defending Ukraine and deterring future attacks from Russia, and let us clear the path for Ukrainian EU membership. Only thus can we prove to Putin, to Trump and to every European that in this moment of truth, Europe stands united ...

(The President cut off the speaker)

Riho Terras (PPE). – Mr President, Ukraine still stands. After ten years, this nation, the people of Ukraine have demonstrated extraordinary courage and resolution against a much larger and military capable enemy.

What has Europe done? Far too little. Europe should be ashamed how little we have delivered to Ukraine. Now, more than ever, Europe must act and contribute 0.25 % of the GDP to Ukraine. It should not be a slogan. It must be an achievable goal.

It is not just a moral obligation for us to help Ukraine. It is for our own security so that Europe can build up its defence before it is too late. Europe must stand its ground and not let Russia or Americans or whoever make deals without our say. We need to unite. We need more actions in helping Ukraine, in saving Europe. *Slava Ukraini!*

Ana Miguel Pedro (PPE). – Senhor Presidente, três anos. Três anos de destruição, de resistência, de coragem. Três anos desde que a Rússia tentou esmagar a Ucrânia, acreditando que o medo enfraqueceria a nossa resposta. Falharam. Três anos de cidades arrasadas, de famílias despedaçadas, de crianças que só conheceram a guerra. Três anos de bombardeamentos contra escolas, hospitais e lares. Três anos de crimes de guerra. Três anos que testaram a Europa, porque esta guerra nunca foi apenas sobre a Ucrânia, sempre foi sobre nós, sobre o que aceitamos, sobre o que toleramos, sobre se estamos dispostos a defender os valores que proclamamos. Três anos que nos mostraram que esta guerra não é apenas sobre tanques e mísseis, é sobre o futuro da ordem internacional. Se a Rússia vencer, provarão que a força recompensa, que a Europa recua, que os ditadores podem riscar fronteiras do mapa sem consequências. Três anos de sacrifício ucraniano, de teste à nossa determinação. Três anos de escolha, e a Europa tem apenas uma escolha possível: ficar ao lado da Ucrânia até ao fim.

Brīvais mikrofons

Hélder Sousa Silva (PPE). – Senhor Presidente, Senhora Comissária, caros colegas, contabilizamos, infelizmente, neste mês de fevereiro, três anos de guerra na Ucrânia, decorrente da ocupação ilegal que a Rússia unilateralmente decidiu fazer. Milhares de mortos e feridos, milhões de desalojados, biliões de euros de prejuízo, gerações perdidas e um povo destruído. O que é que o povo ucraniano fez para sofrer desta maneira? É a pergunta. Simplesmente querem ser membros da União Europeia e membros da NATO, querem entrar na primeira divisão mundial dos países que cultivam os valores da paz, dos direitos humanos e do Estado de direito. Querem ter justamente uma vida melhor. Não há guerras justas, mas esta é mesmo o cúmulo da injustiça. A União Europeia, desde o primeiro minuto, prestou o apoio ao povo e ao Governo ucraniano. A guerra contra a Ucrânia é também uma guerra contra a União Europeia, e por isso vamos continuar a apoiar o povo ucraniano e a Ucrânia até ser um país livre.

Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). – Señor presidente, después de tres años de cruel guerra de agresión de Putin contra Ucrania, hay tres lecciones muy claras. Activamos por primera vez la Directiva de protección temporal con un enorme esfuerzo financiero para ayudar a los países que han recibido once millones de personas desplazadas por la guerra, cuatro millones de las cuales se quedan indefinidamente en Europa.

Pero eso no puede ser en ningún caso ningún pretexto para no cumplir las obligaciones del Pacto sobre Migración y Asilo, ni siquiera para Polonia, que tan solidaria ha sido con los desplazados de la guerra de Ucrania. Pero, para sostener ese esfuerzo, es imprescindible que hagamos permanente el mecanismo que permite convertir la confiscación de bienes en sanciones permanentes contra Rusia. Ese mecanismo requiere reformar la actual legislación de sanciones de la Unión Europea.

Y, en tercer lugar, es imprescindible darle cuerpo sólido a la cooperación con la Corte Penal Internacional, tan cuestionada en estos momentos por la Administración Trump. En la Unión Europea hemos firmado el tratado penal internacional, con equipos conjuntos de investigación con...

(el presidente retira la palabra al orador)

Dainius Žalimas (Renew). – Mr President, there are only two ways to achieve long-lasting peace in a war of self-defence against aggression: victory or capitulation. However, only in the case of victory against an aggressor can we see legitimacy restored and justice achieved. This means the full restoration of Ukrainian sovereignty, full reparation for all the damages sustained by Ukraine, punishment by a special tribunal of the Russian and Belarusian leadership for the crime of aggression, as well as holding accountable all those responsible for war crimes. And, certainly, the implementation of other principles of President Zelenskyy's victory plan, such as the full membership of Ukraine in the European Union and NATO.

Justice cannot be separated from peace, and conditions of peace cannot be dictated by the aggressor. They should be determined by the victim and international law. Everything else is the fundamental failure for us political leaders of Europe. Our generation might be remembered with shame and disgust. Do we really want this to be our legacy?

Siegbert Frank Droese (ESN). – Herr Präsident! Ich möchte mich an den Kollegen Gahler wenden.

Sie hatten leidenschaftlich gerufen: *Slawa Ukrajini*. Ich möchte Sie daran erinnern, dass dieser Begriff von der Organisation Ukrainischer Nationalisten – 1929 gegründet – verwendet wurde. Diese Organisation verfolgte Polen, Juden, Sinti und Roma. In deren Kontinuität stehen Menschen wie Sie, die hier ausrufen *Slawa Ukrajini*.

Der Kollege Lopatka darf sich da ruhig mitangesprochen fühlen. Jeden Monat gibt es nun hier in dem Hohen Haus eine Debatte zur Ukraine, und am Ende wird der Krieg ohne die EU-Kommission und ohne dieses sogenannte Parlament hier beendet werden. Die Präsidenten Putin und Trump werden einen Deal schließen, den Krieg beenden, und Europa spielt in Europa keine Rolle.

Meine Damen und Herren, liebe Kollegen, darüber sollten wir hier in diesem Parlament mal diskutieren.

Ondřej Dostál (NI). – Mr President, dear colleagues, the interest of Ukraine or of Ukrainian people is not necessarily the same to interests of Zelenskyy regime, and the interest of Zelenskyy regime is not identical with the interests of central European states, as seen on the gas debate.

Thanks to the new Trump administration, we know for certain that the United States sponsored, by billions of dollars, the media, the NGOs, the quasi-fact checkers who violently attacked anyone who was anti-war in Europe and even in the United States. This abomination needs to be ended. We cannot suffer this foreign influence.

The real interest of Ukraine is the end of war and return to normal life. Our interest is a resumption of trade and prosperity. Let us discuss the option openly. I heard here that you would like to prohibit opinions or being told. This is not possible. Each of us MEPs has a full right to say what our political position is. Every child knows that.

(Brīvā mikrofona uzstāšanos beigas.)

Marta Kos, Member of the Commission. – Mr President, honourable Members, it is encouraging to hear today loud voices in the European Parliament supporting to continue the EU support to Ukraine and your clear request to the EU to do more.

We all recognise that the EU and its Member States have done a lot, but the needs remain huge. Our European assistance to the Ukraine is an investment – we have heard this today – in the Europeans' future. Ukraine has to be able to successfully defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity. This is not just about Ukraine. This is also about us, about our own security. We will continue providing financial and military assistance with the goal of putting Ukraine in the strongest position ahead of any potential discussions to finally end Russia's aggression and the suffering.

Ukraine – this is also what we heard – and the European Union should be involved in the peace talks, they will be, and we will continue advancing the accession process. All of Ukraine is undertaking tremendous efforts. We should not forget the circumstances under which the politicians, civil servants and society as a whole are working in the same direction to become a part of the European Union.

Our objective is to make substantial progress towards accession during this mandate. I am looking forward to the opening of negotiations on clusters, starting with fundamentals, when possible during the Polish Presidency in the first half of the year. The European Commission will continue supporting Ukraine in this process. And when we speak about helping Ukraine, we should not forget when the conflicts started. They started when Ukraine decided to go the European way, the way of democracy, the way of European values.

Again, I will quote Simone Veil. She said in 1979 that all the Member States are confronted with three big challenges: the challenge of peace, the challenge of freedom and the challenge of prosperity. We could add today the challenge of security. She also added that those challenges 'can only be met through the European dimension'. I am reassured to know that we can count on the support of the vast majority in this House for the future, especially also after the war when we will do the reconstruction.

Adam Szlápka, President-in-Office of the Council. – Mr President, honourable Members, Madam Commissioner, as I have outlined before, the EU and its Member States remain committed to providing massive, unprecedented support to Ukraine. We are and remain Ukraine's main supporter. But we are also at a critical juncture: many challenges lay ahead. Maximising EU support for Ukraine is one of the Polish Presidency's main goals. EU unity remains key. We need to increase our military support. Ukraine needs more ammunitions, more missiles, more air defence and more orders for the Ukrainian defence industry. And we need to continue putting pressure on Russia with our sanctions. It will be essential to bring Russia's unjust war to an end with a just peace in Ukraine, in line with the UN Charter and international law. Ukraine's sovereignty and security must be guaranteed.

Ukraine must be involved in peace negotiations and so must the EU, since peace in Ukraine will determine the European security landscape. We will support Ukraine beyond the war and support its reform efforts and its European path. This is a priority for the Polish Presidency. Madam Commissioner, the Polish Presidency is determined and ready for that process.

The European Council has stated it many times: the EU remains committed to supporting Ukraine's repair, recovery and reconstruction, in coordination with our international partners. I am confident that the EU and its Member States will be able to rise to those challenges.

Since we are commemorating the third anniversary of the full-scale aggression on Ukraine, we know that the war started with the illegal annexation of Crimea. I think here we should remind ourselves of one fact: in the revolution of dignity, when thousands of Ukrainians gathered on *Majdan Nezaležnosti* and they were fighting for democracy, freedom, independence, the values, we should remember that they gathered around the European flag.

President. – The debate is closed.

The vote will take place at the next part-session.

Rakstiski paziņojumi (178. pants)

Marc Angel (S&D), in writing. – It has been for three years now that the world is witnessing the horrors committed by Russia in Ukraine. The list of monstrosities is excessively long: war crimes such as indiscriminate attacks, torture, executions, use of chemical weapons, sexual and gender-based violence and abduction of hundreds of thousands of children. The destruction is beyond one's depth, simply immeasurable. Russia is trying to erase the past and steal the future of an entire country.

Those who think it is a Ukrainian problem should look closer because Europe is also under attack. Different war with different tools, but Russia is here to annihilate the European project by creating chaos.

Destruction is always easier than creating something valuable and long lasting. It requires the ability to see beyond our own short-term interest and recognise the long-term benefits of partnership. This is how the EU came to life.

We cannot afford to come back in a year and commemorate the fourth year of Russian aggression, nor can we allow an ill-fitted agreement negotiated over the head of Ukrainians. We must stand with Ukraine as long as it takes!

Ukraine is not up for grabs! Europe is not up for grabs!

Ondřej Krutílek (ECR), písemně. – S blížícím se výročím ruské invaze na Ukrajinu neuškodí si připomenout, že v den Putinova útoku jsme se mnozí obávali, že Kyjev i celá Ukrajina padnou do tří dnů. Ruským agresorům se ale Ukrajinu nepodařilo porazit ani po třech letech. Mýtus všemocné a neporazitelné ruské armády padl. Díky vůli Ukrajinců po národní svobodě, díky bezprecedentní pomoci mnoha států, které stojí na jejich straně, včetně mé domovské České republiky.

Je logické, že jsme z válečného vypětí už všichni unaveni. Oběti ukrajinského národa jsou obrovské. Nedopustíme ale, aby se opakoval Mnichov 1938 a Ukrajina byla donucena k nevýhodnému míru. Usilujme o příměří, ale nikoli za zády Ukrajinců. Neuznávejme případné linie příměří jako trvalé hranice. A hlavně nerušíme sankce, protože Rusko nepřestane být agresivní ani po zastavení bojů. V mé zemi o tom víme svoje.

Urmas Paet (Renew), kirjalikult. – Trumpi USA presidendiks saamise järel on küsitav USA edaspidine toetus Ukrainale. Seda nii rahaliselt kui ka muus mõttes. Ehk Euroopa roll Ukraina toetamisel muutub veelgi olulisemaks. Seoses Putini-meelsete jõudude levikuga Euroopas ja ELi liikmesriikide kasvava vastumeelsusega Ukraina toetust tugevdada, tuleb edaspidine abi Ukrainale kohe praegu kindlustada. Esimese sammuna peaks EL tagama, et Euroopas külmutatud Venemaa varad ei satuks tagasi Moskva kätte. Nimelt on ELis 200 miljardi euro väärtuses Venemaa külmutatud varasid ning kui võtta arvesse teistes G7 riikides asuvaid varasid, siis on see summa 300 miljardit. Oht, et need rahad liiguksid tagasi Moskvasse, on täiesti olemas Ungari peaministri Orbani pärast, kes ähvardab Venemaa-vastaste sanktsioonide pikendamisele lõpu teha. Et sanktsioonide pikendamine nõuab liikmesriikide hulgas ühehäälsust, siis tähendaks kasvõi ühe liikmesriigi vastuseis külmutatud varade naasmist Venemaale. Et seda ei juhtuks, tuleks pikendada sanktsiooniperioodi kuult kuult 36-le. Seejärel peaks EL vabastama varad Ukraina kasuks. See parandaks oluliselt Ukraina võiduvõimalusi sõjas. Üle kõige vajab Ukraina prognoositavust, et jätkata võitlust mitte ainult enda ellujäämise, vaid kogu Euroopa rahu, vabaduse ja julgeoleku eest. Arvestades, et USA ei ole enam see liitlane, kellega seni harjunud oleme, peab Euroopa ennast kokku võtma ka sõjaliselt ja ühtlasi parandama oma otsustusvõimelisust. Seepärast on laiemas pildis vajalik loobuda ühehäälsuse nõudest.

(Sēde uz neilgu laiku tika pārtraukta)

IN THE CHAIR: ROBERTA METSOLA

President

4. Genoptagelse af mødet

(The sitting resumed at 12:22)

5. Højtideligt møde — Tale af Ruslan Stefanchuk, formand for Verkhovna Rada

President. – Dear colleagues, it is my great honour to welcome to the European Parliament our dear friend Ruslan Stefanchuk, Chairman of Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada. Welcome.

(Applause)

This month marks three years since Russia launched its brutal, illegal and unprovoked full-scale invasion of Ukraine. Yet, as we enter the fourth winter of war, the world has witnessed the Ukrainian people rise up with courage, with defiance, with an unshakeable determination to defend their land and their freedom against all odds.

I am proud that this Parliament has stood with Ukraine from the very first moment – united, unwavering and resolute. And our partnership with the Verkhovna Rada has been critical in deepening our ties with the Ukrainian people and preparing Ukraine for its path towards membership.

We will keep pushing for peace, but we must not let go of what we mean by peace. Peace must be just. Peace must be dignified. And it must be based on the principle of 'nothing about Ukraine without Ukraine'.

(Applause)

And for that Ukraine must be in a position of strength. And that means Europe must do more. More financial support. More military aid. More diplomatic pressure. More humanitarian assistance. Because we know that the defence of Ukraine is also the defence of Europe. This is not just an attack on Ukraine. It is an attack on democracy, our way of life, on Europe.

So, it is my great pleasure to give the floor to you, dear Ruslan Stefanchuk, Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada.

Ruslan Stefanchuk, *Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada.* – (The following is a transcription of the interpretation of the original speech from Ukrainian into English)

Madam President of the European Parliament, dear Roberta, Madam Commissioner Kos, Members of the European Parliament, dear friends, I am delighted to have this great honour of coming back before you here in this Chamber. I already had an opportunity to address you here in June 2022. It was the eve of a historic day when Ukraine was granted candidate country status for accession to the European Union. And I can remember that day very clearly.

In particular, I remember the atmosphere of support – complete support – in this historic building, a building named after the French military nurse Louise Weiss. She was a legendary woman. She survived the horrors of both the First and the Second World Wars, and she decided to devote herself to overcoming aggression, influencing political processes and international relations.

And today, once again, I am greatly honoured to speak before you, to speak from this most authoritative rostrum of the European continent, to address you, Members of the European Parliament, and through you to speak to all the citizens of a free Europe.

I stand here before you as a representative of the Ukrainian Parliament, a son of the Ukrainian people. We are fighting and we shall prevail. We shall win. Therefore, Madam President, allow me to thank you for this opportunity. Dear Roberta, I really would like to personally give you thanks. Thank you for everything that you're doing for Ukraine and for Europe.

(Applause)

Dear colleagues, last year, elections were held here in Europe and they led to a renewed composition of this European Parliament. On the other hand, they also strengthened the fundamental foundations of Europe, committing ourselves to a united Europe, committing ourselves to common values and common principles.

Allow me, therefore, to say to you that both yesterday and today Ukraine may be tired, but Ukraine is undefeated and this undefeated Ukraine is deeply grateful to each and every one of you.

(Applause)

We are grateful. We're grateful for every vote. We're grateful for every resolution. We're grateful for every action you take in support of our struggle, a struggle for freedom and independence.

And, in particular, I would like to mention a resolution in this context. It's a resolution that deals with the need for continued European Union support for Ukraine, a resolution that you adopted on 17 July last year. Allow me to take this opportunity to express my gratitude for your support, the support that you have afforded to Ukraine in our struggle over the course of the last three years.

We're talking about more than 4 million Ukrainians who have been granted temporary protection status. And it was thanks to you and your colleagues that we were able to mobilise EUR 50 billion of military support for Ukraine and also for the programme entitled Ukraine Facility. The EU Military Assistance Mission to Ukraine has already trained more than 70 000 Ukrainian soldiers – my deepest gratitude to you for this.

Dear colleagues, in a fortnight, Ukrainians will commemorate for the third time the events of 24 February 2022, when early in the morning, Russia launched its massive rocket attacks targeting our cities and our villages, and where Russian troops began invading our territory, sowing death and destruction as they came. The war continues every day. Every night, innocent people are dying. Every day, children are fearing for their lives. They're afraid. Their mothers are grieving and crying. They cry for everything that they have lost.

Russia is inexorably trying to ruin our Ukrainian lands. Russia is making desperate attempts to move towards the west, towards Kyiv. But, dear friends, that also means that they are attempting to move towards Warsaw, towards Strasbourg, towards Brussels. And if Russia is not stopped in its tracks, it will only be a matter of time before Russian soldiers start kicking down the doors of a sleeping citizen in Budapest. This is what happened in 1956, remember. Or indeed targeting a citizen of Prague, which is what happened in 1968. And it's exactly what happened in Bucha and Irpin three years ago.

(Applause)

Please, dear friends, believe me when I say that the war is much closer than we might think.

In 1991, Ukraine became independent, and in 1994 our predecessors signed the Budapest Memorandum. And at the time, we thought that our trials were over forever. How naive we must have been. Today, we know perfectly well that history cannot be forgotten; all the lessons of history, old and new, can never be forgotten. History is not something we can take lightly. History must be well known and must be recalled, particularly when we're dealing with a history of aggression, occupation and abuse.

So the peoples enslaved by Russia, to what extent do they know this and remember this? Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians – they felt it first-hand. Moldovans, Georgians have learnt it. And I very much hope that they will never forget it. Because unpunished evil will continue to spread as long as we allow it to do so.

That is why, dear colleagues, I would say that peace can only be achieved if we stand strong. We have the power of our unity, of our determination. We have the power of putting consolidated pressure on the aggressor. And that is why each of us has a huge responsibility to bear for the fate of our countries, our peoples, for the fate of Europe, for the fate of a civilised world. Let's not forget that.

But, dear friends, the only way to stop an aggressive Russia and to achieve a just and lasting peace is to support Ukraine so strongly that the aggressor will not only be stopped in its tracks on Ukrainian soil, but also will face international sanctions and internal problems. We are well aware of the urgent needs of Ukraine. We need more air defence systems, more aeroplanes, more long-range artillery, more electronic warfare equipment, more investment into the Ukrainian military industry.

So, dear colleagues, what I would say to you is that the more effective the sanctions, the better off we will be. Sanctions cannot be avoided or circumvented: more determination in seizing and freezing Russian assets. We need fair and clear punishment for the terrible war crimes being committed, for the air strikes, the missile strikes on civilians, the torture and murder of civilians, our unarmed soldiers.

Russia has crossed all the red lines imaginable in this war. Ukraine is a victim of this aggression. And Ukraine, like its partners, has never crossed any of those red lines. Dear friends, the only lines that we have to erase today are the lines of fear, the lines of indecision, of delay and despair.

Ladies and gentlemen, I will never forget that day three years ago, four days after Russia's full-scale invasion when together with President Volodymyr Zelenskyy and the Prime Minister of my country, I signed Ukraine's application for membership of the European Union. I am proud to belong to a nation that, despite this unprovoked and brutal aggression, despite these terrible losses, has set itself a difficult but vital task, namely to become a member of a large European family. Dear friends, we have set ourselves a task, a task to return to a common European home.

Dear friends, since the creation of the European Union, none of the countries that have embarked on the path of integration into the EU, none of them has paid such a terrible price for the legitimate right to be a part of the European family as Ukraine, what Ukraine has paid and continues to pay. However, I'm convinced that Ukraine will become a member of the European Union.

(Applause)

And furthermore, dear friends, I would say that we will become stronger. We will come out stronger and better after this war, because we're committed to a reform process. Because one of our most important tasks ahead of us is to open our first cluster of negotiations during the Polish Presidency. That will be an incredible momentum given to further progress. So Ukraine is not just expressing its desire to be a part of the European Union. We're also seeking to make it a reality.

Madam President, Madam Commissioner, dear Members of the European Parliament, the next phase will be crucial for the outcome of this war, for the future of European security and for transatlantic unity. Our task will be to preserve what brings us together to secure a just and lasting peace for Ukraine and Europe. Establishing peace through strength is the only way to stop the world's tyrannies.

Like three years ago, millions of Ukrainians today once again are awaiting with great hope for good news to emerge from the European Parliament in Strasbourg, from Washington, London, Paris, Brussels, Berlin – news that demonstrates that we are not alone in this new and last war, that the war will soon be over because we have the strength, we have the justice of European and world democracy on our side. Dear friends, Madam President, neither you nor we can afford to not be there for this task. We must stand firm.

Dear friends, it is no coincidence that I mentioned the legendary Louise Weiss at the very beginning of my address to the House. She was driven by a sense of duty. She put on a uniform, and twice she stood up to defend her homeland as a military nurse and as a member of the resistance movement. She did so, as have millions of Ukrainians today. They are standing up to defend their dear homeland.

And owing to the current circumstances, I have twice spoken to this European Parliament in this Chamber, wearing my military uniform. But indeed, just like my dear compatriots, I have a great dream to replace this uniform with civilian clothes. That is my dream.

(Applause)

My dream – our dream – is to replace weapons with tools to work. We also dream of replacing air raid alerts with smartphones. We hope no longer to have to have such an application for air raid alerts on our smartphones in the future. We very much hope that we can erase these applications altogether in future.

Dear friends, we want to replace war with peace. Once again, thank you for your kind attention. Glory to Ukraine.

(The House rose and accorded the speaker a standing ovation)

President. – Thank you, Ruslan. I will never forget those moments in Kyiv at the start of the invasion. I told you then that we are with you. And as you can see, we stayed with you and we will stay with you. *Slava Ukraini!*

(The sitting was briefly suspended)

6. Genoptagelse af mødet

(The sitting resumed at 12:42)

7. Afstemningstid

President. – The next item is the vote.

7.1. Indgåelse af en aftale mellem Den Europæiske Union og regeringen for Folkerepublikken Bangladesh om visse aspekter af lufttrafik (A10-0005/2025 — Tomas Tobé) (afstemning)

President. – The first vote is on the report by Tomas Tobé on the conclusion of an agreement between the European Union and the government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh on certain aspects of air services (*see minutes, item 7.1*).

7.2. Indgåelse på Unionens vegne af protokollen (2024-2029) om gennemførelse af fiske-ripartnerskabsaftalen mellem Det Europæiske Fællesskab og Republikken Kap Verde (A10-0004/2025 - Paulo Do Nascimento Cabral) (afstemning)

President. – The next vote is on the report by Paulo do Nascimento Cabral on the conclusion, on behalf of the Union, of the Protocol (2024-2029) implementing the Fisheries Partnership Agreement between the European Community and the Republic of Cabo Verde (*see minutes, item 7.2*).

7.3. Forlængelse af aftalen om videnskabeligt og teknologisk samarbejde mellem Det Europæiske Fællesskab og Ukraine (A10-0007/2025 — Borys Budka) (afstemning)

President. – The next vote is on the report by Borys Budka on the renewal of the agreement on cooperation in science and technology between the European Community and Ukraine (*see minutes, item 7.3*).

7.4. Den Europæiske Centralbank — årsberetning 2024 (A10-0003/2025 — Anouk Van Brug) (afstemning)

President. – The next vote is on the report by Anouk Van Brug on the European Central Bank – annual report 2024 (*see minutes, item 7.4*).

(The vote closed)

(The sitting was suspended at 12:53)

PRESIDE: JAVI LÓPEZ

Vicepresidente

8. Genoptagelse af mødet

(Se reanuda la sesión a las 12.58 horas).

9. Godkendelse af protokollen fra foregående møde

El presidente. – El Acta de la sesión de ayer y los textos aprobados en ella están disponibles.

¿Alguien desea intervenir al respecto?

Se aprueba el Acta.

10. Behovet for at afhjælpe akut mangel på arbejdskraft og sikre kvalitetsjob inden for sundhedssektoren (forhandling)

El presidente. – El punto siguiente en el orden del día es el debate a partir de la declaración de la Comisión sobre la necesidad de abordar la acuciante escasez de mano de obra y garantizar puestos de trabajo de calidad en el sector de la asistencia sanitaria (2025/2529(RSP)).

Roxana Mînzatu, *Executive Vice-President of the Commission.* – Mr President, labour and skills shortages are a major challenge across the European Union, with the healthcare sector hit especially hard. We have a shortage of 1.2 million doctors, nurses and midwives across the European Union. High job strain affects 61 % of nurses and 43 % of doctors – well above the EU overall average of 30 %. It is a vicious cycle, with shortages leading to increased job strain, which causes interest in these careers to decline, worsening the shortages. At the same time, there are gaps in the skills pipeline and a growing demand for healthcare due to an ageing population.

Needless to say, our health systems are nothing without our health workers. If we want to maintain our cherished healthcare and be prepared for a possible future health crisis, then retaining the existing health workers and inspiring younger generations to enter and remain in the sector is crucial. Doing so will require work on different strands.

First, we should aim to increase the participation of under-represented groups in the labour market, especially women. The roadmap for women's rights and the new gender equality strategy will support women in achieving equality in employment and careers, and in combating stereotypes. And I take this opportunity to mention that today we are celebrating the International Day of Women and Girls in STEM.

Second, upskilling and reskilling is a must also for the care sector. In less than one month, we will present our Union of Skills.

Third, we need to improve working conditions if we want to make the healthcare profession more attractive. The Adequate Minimum Wage Directive, the European care strategy, and the health and safety strategy are steering policy efforts towards improving working conditions in healthcare, with a particular focus on care workers with lower qualifications. The EU Strategic Framework on Health and Safety at Work 2021-2027, for instance, dedicates special attention to the healthcare sector. Many of the initiatives put forward by the Commission, for instance, to protect workers against exposures from chemicals or carcinogens, are certainly contributing to protect healthcare workers and to improve their working conditions. Moreover, the upcoming quality jobs roadmap will promote fair wages, good working conditions, training and fair job transitions, notably by increasing collective bargaining coverage.

Fourth, the shortages of doctors and nurses are more acute in some Member States and less so in others. Exploiting the full potential of fair labour mobility within the single market would help alleviate the problem. On that, a new skills portability initiative under the Union of Skills that we will launch very soon will facilitate the mobility of health sector workers within the European Union, along with further measures to support the recognition of professional qualifications.

Fifth, investing in data collection and forecasting, for example through the EU4Health co-funded joint action known as 'Heroes', will allow us to better plan ahead.

And finally, we should support talent attraction from outside the European Union, building on the existing talent partnerships and the upcoming EU talent pool, in line with the Competitiveness Compass. Continued efforts to support the recognition of qualifications gained outside the EU will be a key part of this.

Let me recall that the European Union is providing significant financial support to Member States and social partners to address shortages, including EUR 43.3 billion allocated to skills under the European Social Fund Plus and more than EUR 40 billion for investments in the healthcare sector under the Recovery and Resilience Facility. As part of our preparedness efforts, we need to invest in training for healthcare professionals. This includes areas like cybersecurity, where we need both qualified cybersecurity professionals for the sector, and better cyber awareness of frontline health professionals. The new action plan on the cybersecurity of hospitals and healthcare providers addresses both these elements.

Honourable Members, our healthcare systems are an integral part of the European social model. It is what makes us proud as Europeans. But labour and skills shortages put the sustainability of this model at risk. Together with Commissioner Várhelyi and Executive Vice-President Ribera, we are determined to tackle this fundamental challenge. I look forward to today's exchange to inform this work.

Dennis Radtke, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident! Frau Kommissarin! Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Schon irgendwie ein bisschen skurril. Ich bin froh, dass wir heute mal wieder über dieses Thema diskutieren. Aber wenn man mal an die COVID-19-Pandemie zurückdenkt, da haben wir das Thema Gesundheitswesen, Gesundheitssektor und die Entwicklungen, die Notwendigkeiten rauf und runter diskutiert. Weil plötzlich jeder unmittelbar betroffen war und jeder Angst hatte. Bekomme ich denn auch die Versorgung, wenn ich mich jetzt mit dem Virus infiziere? Kriege ich dann die Unterstützung, die ich brauche?

Jetzt ist das Virus weg, und was von der COVID-19-Pandemie geblieben ist, ist im Grunde genommen eine Debatte. Was müssen wir jetzt eigentlich politisch alles aufarbeiten? Was ist falsch entschieden worden? Waren die Eingriffe zu weitgehend, ja oder nein? Aber am Ende diskutiert niemand mehr über die grundlegenden Probleme, die in unserem Gesundheitswesen geblieben sind, nämlich dass wir einen akuten Fachkräftemangel haben.

Wenn man sich mal überlegt, bis 2030 haben wir in der Europäischen Union einen Fachkräftemangel von 4 Millionen Arbeitskräften im Gesundheitswesen. Und das in einer Gesellschaft, die immer älter wird und wo der Bedarf an medizinischer Unterstützung ebenfalls immer größer wird. Das müssen wir irgendwie zusammenbringen. Dass die Europäische Union jetzt auch einen Beitrag leisten will, dieses Problem gleich auf mehreren Ebenen zu adressieren, halte ich für richtig.

Pflegestrategie beispielsweise, ein Thema, mit dem wir in der letzten Periode ja angefangen haben. Natürlich müssen wir darüber reden. Können wir zu gemeinsamen Standards kommen, damit auch die Zugänge zum Arbeitsmarkt im Gesundheitswesen für diejenigen, die von außerhalb kommen, leichter werden? Denn ohne Menschen aus anderen Ländern werden wir die Lücken – den Fachkräftebedarf – im Gesundheitswesen nicht decken können. Deswegen ist es absolut notwendig, dass wir diese Debatten führen.

Aber auch – du hast das Thema Tarifbindung angesprochen – Arbeitsbedingungen im Gesundheitssektor. Da geht es nicht nur um die Frage Bezahlung, sondern da geht es auch um die Frage Schichtdienst. Wie kann ich auch Ältere im Arbeitsprozess halten? Mit 60 kann ich vielleicht keinen Patienten mehr aus dem Bett heben, aber ich kann andere Dinge tun. Und über diese Dinge hier zu reden, zu diskutieren und auch zu streiten – wenn notwendig – dafür bin ich sehr dankbar.

Gabriele Bischoff, *im Namen der S&D-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident! Frau Exekutiv-Vizepräsidentin! In der Tat, der Vorredner hat gerade daran erinnert – in der Pandemie haben Millionen zur Unterstützung auf den Balkonen gestanden und geklatscht. Und jetzt erwarten genau die gleichen Krankenschwestern, Pfleger, Ärzte von uns, dass wir ihre Arbeitsbedingungen verbessern.

Und in der Tat, wenn wir uns mit Krankenschwestern und Pflegern unterhalten, stellen wir fest, es ist nicht nur die Bezahlung, sondern es ist auch die permanente Überlastung – dass es nicht genug Kräfte gibt, dass gespart wird an allen Ecken und Enden. Deshalb ist es wichtig, dass wir hier investieren und dass wir dafür sorgen, dass gute Arbeitsbedingungen auch dazu dienen, dass die Leute wirklich auch bis zum Ende ihrer Berufslaufbahn in ihren Jobs bleiben können. Dass wir bessere Bezahlung geben, aber auch, dass wir investieren in die Ausbildung der Menschen, die wir hier haben, die auch Pflegeleistungen bringen.

Und wenn wir – und wir werden das tun müssen – tatsächlich Pflegekräfte aus anderen Ländern anwerben, dann müssen wir das zu anständigen Bedingungen tun. Und dann müssen wir auch sicherstellen, dass wir nicht anderen die gut qualifizierten Fachkräfte wegklausen. Wir müssen es mit Verantwortung tun.

Gerald Hauser, *im Namen der Pfe-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident! Wir haben einen aktuellen OECD-Bericht aus dem Jahr 2022 diskutiert. 2022, wo festgestellt wurde, dass 1,2 Millionen Ärzte, Pflegekräfte etc. fehlen. Ich frage mich: Wieso hat man zwischenzeitlich, jetzt schreiben wir das Jahr 2025, nicht darauf reagiert? Der demografische Wandel, der im Bericht angesprochen wurde – da war ja bekannt, dass Ärzte und Pflegepersonal überaltert sind. Was hier nie angesprochen wird, ist, dass während der COVID-19-Pandemie Ärzte und Pflegekräfte auch aus dem Gesundheitsbereich in Führungszeichen vertrieben wurden, weil man von ihnen Pflichtimpfungen gegen COVID-19 eingefordert hat. Das heißt: Qualifiziertes Personal hat die Branche verlassen.

Und wie reagiert nun die Politik? Im Wesentlichen sprechen wir auch über qualifiziertes Personal. Und was machen wir? Wir forcieren massiv die Digitalisierung im Gesundheitswesen, ganz nach dem Motto: digital vor ambulant und stationär. Das heißt, zukünftig soll nämlich nicht die Fachkraft einen Patienten behandeln und dann erst die Analyse und Diagnose abgeben, sondern über die Telemedizin soll der Erstkontakt hergestellt werden. Ich rufe wie zum Beispiel in Österreich die Telefonnummer 1450 an, wenn ich ein gesundheitliches Problem habe, und bekomme eine Auskunft. Was der Patient allerdings erwartet, ist der unmittelbare Kontakt zwischen Patient und Arzt. Das wollen wir haben!

Ich habe im letzten Gesundheitsausschuss deswegen auch eingefordert, dass man von den 16 Milliarden EUR, die in die Digitalisierung des Gesundheitswesens gesteckt werden – dass ein guter Teil auch in die Qualifizierung des Personals investiert wird, damit wir zukünftig gutes Personal haben, das sich um die Probleme der Patienten kümmert.

Ruggero Razza, *a nome del gruppo ECR*. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signora Vicepresidente della Commissione, il dato di alcuni giorni fa, reso noto dall'OCSE nel rapporto «Health at a glance: Europe 2024», ci dice che in Europa mancano 1,2 milioni di medici, infermieri e ostetriche. Lo stesso rapporto ci dice che un terzo dei medici e un quarto degli infermieri in servizio hanno più di 55 anni e andranno in pensione nei prossimi anni, mentre cala l'interesse dei giovani per le carriere sanitarie ed infermieristiche.

Cosa fa l'Europa? Rispondendo ad un'interrogazione mia e del collega Mantovani, chi l'ha preceduta, a nome della Commissione, ci ha detto: «Se in Europa mancano professionisti per la sanità, andateli a prendere nei paesi terzi ed estranei all'Europa». Posso dire che è una strategia, questa, che non ci convince.

Non ci convince perché esistono paesi che hanno affrontato grandi investimenti. L'Italia negli ultimi due anni ha investito oltre 9 miliardi di EUR, portando il fondo della sanità a quasi 137 miliardi di EUR per il solo 2025. Ha aumentato il tetto delle assunzioni, il numero dei posti pubblici nelle facoltà e il numero delle borse, e i medici continuano a mancare.

Azzardo rapidamente pochissime proposte. La prima: aumentare la dotazione del Fondo sociale europeo per un piano straordinario di assunzioni e posti nelle facoltà universitarie e nelle borse di specializzazione, anche al fine di finanziare il costo gravosissimo, in tante università private, dei corsi in scienze mediche, che arriva a superare i 100 000 EUR.

Poi proviamo a considerare il capitale umano, e quindi il costo della sanità e della formazione, come una spesa di investimento e sottraiamolo ai vincoli del Patto di stabilità. Proviamo anche a defiscalizzare il lavoro in sanità, come in Italia è stato fatto per il recupero delle liste d'attesa, ed investiamo in digitalizzazione, telemedicina e uso artificiale. Non è più tempo di analisi, è tempo di risposte.

Vlad Vasile-Voiculescu, în numele grupului *Renew*. – Domnule președinte, doamnă comisară, lipsa medicilor și, în general, a personalului medical în spitale și nu numai, este deja o realitate, și una dramatică. În 2024, Spitalul de Urgență pentru Copii din Brașov, al șaselea oraș al României, avea trei secții cu un singur medic și o altă secție, secția de nefrologie, care s-a închis după ce singurul medic pe care îl avea acea secție a ieșit la pensie.

Este un singur exemplu dramatic care ilustrează situația periculoasă a lipsei de forță de muncă în sănătate în România, dar și în Uniunea Europeană. Circa 1,2 milioane de medici, asistente și moașe ar trebui să-și găsească de lucru, ar trebui să vină în sistemele sanitare din Uniunea Europeană în următorii ani. Acesta este deficitul deja din 2022.

20 din 27 de state europene au raportat deja deficit al forței de muncă din sănătate, și asta în condițiile în care peste o treime din medici și asistente au vârsta de 55 de ani sau mai mult și se îndreaptă către pensie.

Este o criză tăcută deocamdată, dar este deja una care pune în pericol vieți. Avem nevoie de un plan pus la punct de Comisie, state membre, dezbătut aici, în Parlament, și împreună cu Consiliul și avem nevoie să nu uităm că lipsa medicilor și asistentelor va deveni în scurt timp o problemă de urgență.

Maria Ohisalo, Verts/ALE-ryhmän puolesta. – Arvoisa puhemies, arvoisa komission jäsen, hoitajapula on akuutti uhka niin Suomessa kuin koko Euroopan unionissa. Terveysturvallisuuden työntekijöihin kohdistuva väkivallan riski voi olla pahimmillaan jopa kahdeksankymmentä prosenttia. Palkat junaavat paikoillaan, työsuojelu ei ole riittävää ja työn kuormitus on kasvanut. Hintaa on kova. Jos työntekijöihin ei panosteta, työntekijöiden hyvinvointi heikkenee, hoidon laatu ja saatavuus huononevat, eriarvoisuus kasvaa, ongelmat jäävät ratkaisematta ja kustannukset nousevat.

Mutta meillä on ratkaisuja. Puututaan työntekijöiden kokemaan väkivaltaan, vahvistetaan työsuojelua, investoidaan koulutukseen ja osaamiseen. Vaaditaan parempia palkkoja ja turvallisempia työskentelyolosuhteita. Arvioiden mukaan vuonna 2030 koko Euroopassa on jo neljän miljoonan ja Suomessakin jo kahdentoistatuhannen sote-alan työntekijän vaje. Mutta meillä on vielä mahdollisuus estää katastrofi, jossa on kyse elämästä ja kuolemasta.

Leila Chaïbi, au nom du groupe *The Left*. – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, Madame la Commissaire, en France, il y a quelques jours, une femme de 20 ans est morte après des heures d'attente sur un brancard aux urgences. Ce drame est le résultat de choix politiques. Depuis des années, la santé publique est attaquée comme un coût à réduire, un marché à privatiser. Salué en héros pendant la pandémie, le personnel soignant est aujourd'hui abandonné. Nos systèmes de santé tiennent debout grâce à ces soignants et ces soignantes épuisés, sous-payés et en sous-effectif.

Partout en Europe, les hôpitaux peinent à recruter, les services ferment et les démissions s'enchaînent. Nous devons sortir de la logique d'austérité qui détruit nos services publics. Investir dans la santé publique doit être une priorité absolue, embaucher massivement sous statut stable, augmenter les salaires, prendre soin de celles et ceux qui nous soignent, en améliorant leurs conditions de travail.

La santé n'est pas un marché, c'est un droit fondamental. Si nous ne faisons rien, il manquera quatre millions de soignants en Europe en 2030. Le travail des soignants est essentiel pour tous les Européens. Il est temps de le rendre essentiel pour l'Union européenne.

Tomislav Sokol (PPE). – Poštovani predsjedavajući, povjerenice, kolegice i kolege, Europska unija suočava se s izazovom koji prijete temeljnim stupovima naših zdravstvenih sustava.

Naime, procjenjuje se da u EU-u fali 1,2 milijuna liječnika, medicinskih sestara i primalja. Osim toga, prema procjenama Svjetske zdravstvene organizacije, do 2030. EU bi mogao ostati bez čak četiri milijuna zdravstvenih radnika. Ovi podaci jasno ukazuju na postojanje strukturnog problema koji zahtijeva hitno i sustavno rješavanje.

Također, prema istraživanju Eurofounda, sektor zdravstva i socijalne skrbi jedan je od onih s najvećim nedostatkom radne snage u cijeloj Europskoj uniji, a velik problem predstavlja odlazak zdravstvenog osoblja iz manje razvijenih država članica u one razvijenije. Primjerice, procjenjuje se da je između 2010. i 2018. čak 40 000 liječnika iz država europskog istoka i jugoistoka emigriralo prema zapadu, a brojke s, recimo, medicinskim sestrama su slične ili čak još i gore. Nedostatak zdravstvenih djelatnika posebno je značajan u ruralnim područjima i na otocima, kao što je to slučaj u Hrvatskoj.

Zato je važno da Europska unija žurno djeluje u okviru svojih nadležnosti. Neodgovarajuće plaće, preopterećenost i neadekvatni uvjeti rada bitno utječu na broj djelatnika u zdravstvu. Zato, ako želimo osigurati kvalitetnu zdravstvenu skrb za europske građane, moramo zdravstvo učiniti prioritetom u pregovorima o idućem višegodišnjem financijskom okviru. Više novca za zdravstvo znači poboljšanje radnih uvjeta u zdravstvu kroz ulaganje u istraživanje i razvoj, infrastrukturu, ali i opremanje zdravstvenih sustava najmodernijim uređajima u vremenima kad umjetna inteligencija zauzima sve veći i veći značaj.

Kolegice i kolege, vrijeme za djelovanje je sada. Svaka odgoda znači dodatni pritisak na preopterećene sustave i još veći rizik za pacijente. Dakle, treba nam jasna europska strategija s konkretnim ciljevima, mjerilima i što je najvažnije vrlo jakim financiranjem u idućem sedmogodišnjem europskom proračunu kako bismo te mjere mogli realizirati.

Ne zaboravimo, zdravstvo je pitanje konkurentnosti i sigurnosti, ali investicija u budućnost svih nas i zato je potrebno djelovati što prije.

Estelle Ceulemans (S&D). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, il y a cinq ans, l'Europe et le monde étaient confrontés à la pire crise sanitaire depuis la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Durant cette période, nous avons tous vécu intimement à quel point la santé est notre bien le plus précieux et combien nos systèmes de santé sont essentiels non seulement pour l'ensemble de la société, mais aussi sur le plan économique. Les travailleurs de ce secteur, qui sont majoritairement des travailleuses, ont alors été reconnus comme essentiels et applaudis. Malgré des années de désinvestissement massif, ils et elles ont permis à nos pays de tenir, et ce au mépris de leur propre sécurité.

On a tous dit alors: «Plus jamais ça.» Mais notre mémoire est à court terme. Aujourd'hui, l'Europe a beau être confrontée à d'autres défis géopolitiques, économiques, démographiques, il ne peut être question d'oublier les urgences liées à la santé, dont un des premiers défis est la pénurie de personnel. Certaines régions ou villes sont même en passe de devenir des déserts médicaux.

Il est urgent d'investir dans les services de santé, non seulement sur le plan des traitements et techniques médicales, mais surtout dans le personnel. Il faut améliorer les conditions de travail de ce personnel en assurant qu'il soit suffisant, ce qui est aussi la première condition de bien-être des patients, mais aussi en adoptant une directive sur la prévention des risques psychosociaux afin d'améliorer globalement la santé mentale au travail. En santé aussi, les impératifs humains doivent reprendre le pas sur les enjeux économiques et budgétaires. C'est notre responsabilité. Sinon, nous devons rendre des comptes quand une prochaine crise sanitaire se produira.

Marie-Luce Brasier-Clain (PSE). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Vice-Présidente, chers collègues, nos hôpitaux sont à bout de souffle: 3,5 milliards de déficit pour les hôpitaux publics français. Nos soignants sont épuisés et nos concitoyens peinent à accéder à des soins de qualité. La crise de notre système de santé est le résultat de choix politiques désastreux: fermetures de lits, bureaucratie étouffante, salaires insuffisants et absence de reconnaissance pour nos soignants.

Plutôt que de chercher des solutions simplistes en facilitant l'immigration massive de personnel de santé étranger, nous devons d'abord réinvestir massivement dans la formation et l'attractivité des métiers de santé pour nos propres citoyens. Augmenter les salaires, alléger la paperasse et garantir des conditions de travail dignes sont des mesures indispensables pour fidéliser nos soignants et en attirer de nouveaux. L'Union européenne doit revenir à un rôle de soutien et non fragiliser nos systèmes de santé en essayant de se substituer aux États. La santé doit rester une compétence nationale.

Aurelijus Veryga (ECR). – Mr President, dear colleagues, first let me ask why we are so surprised by labour shortages in health, education and other sectors. If we think we can print people with 3D printers instead of solving real demographic problems, we will face even deeper problems. So first things first, we have to start to solve demographic problems. Immigration and stealing health workforce from developing countries is not a solution. So, first demographic problem.

Second, respect and follow the WHO code and practice on the international recruitment of health professionals, in order to avoid artificially created shortages in lower-income countries.

Third, stop creating relative shortages like in Lithuania, opening pharmacies on every corner and creating relative a shortage of pharmacists in cities and a real shortage in the countryside.

Fourth, create a working environment and financial incentives which would motivate young people to choose health professions.

And fifth, start early – instead of brainwashing children with gender ideologies, educate them about responsibilities and civic duties, extremely important professions, and even to romanticise if needed.

Brigitte van den Berg (Renew). – Voorzitter, als je kind voor het eerst ziek wordt, vertrouw je het aan de betrouwbare handen van een dokter toe. Als je als ouder niet meer voor jezelf kan zorgen, vertrouw je de wijkverpleegkundige om je te helpen. En als je zelf ziek wordt, geef je je blind over aan de vakmensen in de zorg. Het is een heel groot goed dat wij een zorgstelsel hebben waar we op kunnen vertrouwen. Iedereen in deze zaal vertrouwt die zorgmedewerkers met zijn of haar eigen leven als het erop aankomt.

Maar waarom vertrouwen we de mensen in de zorg dan niet als we het beleid opstellen? We verdrinken onze medewerkers in administratie, we onderbetalen onze vakmensen en we negeren klachten over de hoge werkdruk. In Nederland besteden zorgverleners veertig procent van hun tijd aan administratie, omdat wij beleidsmakers bang zijn dat de kwaliteit van de zorg anders niet goed genoeg is. In 2030 komen we naar verwachting 4,1 miljoen mensen tekort in de zorg.

Lidstaten, we moeten nu gaan zorgen voor onze zorg. We moeten weer vertrouwen op vakmensen. We moeten de administratie verminderen en we moeten de sector de moderne tools geven die we nodig hebben. Maak het vak weer aantrekkelijk. Alleen dan kunnen we ervoor zorgen dat ook de volgende generatie kan rekenen op betrouwbare zorg.

Tilly Metz (Verts/ALE). – Monsieur le Président, il y a des défis qui sont mieux résolus au niveau européen. Il y a même des défis qui ne peuvent être résolus qu'au niveau européen. Le manque de personnel soignant est un problème très réel dans toute l'Union européenne, sans exception. Tous les pays y sont confrontés, riches et pauvres. En fait, le Luxembourg est le pays le plus riche et celui qui a le plus grand problème de médecins dans toute l'Union européenne.

Mais l'enjeu central n'est pas celui d'un pays en particulier. C'est un enjeu crucial pour les citoyens, pour les patients. Nous commençons tous à avoir le sentiment que l'Union européenne et les États membres ne sont plus en mesure de prendre soin de nous. Ainsi, le sentiment de sécurité s'estompe.

Pour remédier à la pénurie de personnel soignant, nous avons besoin de plus de coopération, plutôt que de concurrence. Nous devons rendre les carrières du secteur de la santé plus attractives en améliorant les salaires, mais surtout les conditions de travail et le soutien à la santé mentale. Investir dans les infrastructures publiques et dans le personnel soignant est une question de sécurité sanitaire et de qualité des soins pour les patients ainsi qu'un élément clé du pilier social de l'Union européenne.

Catarina Martins (The Left). – Senhor Presidente, faltam trabalhadores da saúde porque se cortou nos trabalhadores. Afinal, o que pensava a União Europeia que ia acontecer quando mandou os Estados-Membros cortar na despesa estrutural, incluindo a da saúde?

Os problemas de saúde não diminuíram, pelo contrário. Com o envelhecimento da população, ritmos de trabalho muito intensos, crescente poluição, alterações climáticas, as doenças crónicas e outras só aumentaram. O custo dos medicamentos, equipamentos e dispositivos de saúde também não diminuiu. A absoluta fé no mercado permitiu às grandes farmacêuticas e corporações lucrarem milhões, cobrando cada vez mais aos Estados. Uma chantagem inaceitável que a União Europeia aceita sem pestanejar.

O corte da despesa ficou, portanto, nos trabalhadores. Sem carreiras dignas, com salários baixos e condições e horários de trabalho desumanos, não espanta que o interesse das jovens gerações pelas profissões da saúde tenha vindo a descer.

Senhora Comissária, fazer de conta que o problema é a formação, ou a mobilidade, é recusar o debate fundamental. Este é o tempo de recuperar salários e carreiras. E não, não há digital que dispense trabalhadores da saúde.

Jan-Peter Warnke (NI). – Herr Präsident! Frau Exekutiv-Vizepräsidentin! Meine Damen und Herren! 1,2 Millionen Mediziner und Pflegekräfte fehlen in der Europäischen Union. Damit geht jede Nation anders um. Die gelebte Praxis aus deutscher Sicht zumindest ist ziemlich unsolidarisch. Pfleger und Ärzte folgen dem Geld und beginnen ihre Tätigkeiten nach Beendigung des Studiums in Deutschland. Dessen Nachbarn aber bilden die Pflegekräfte und Mediziner mit ihren nationalen Budgets aus. Diese 100 000 EUR pro Ausbildung gehen den Nationalstaaten verloren, wenn die Ärzte nicht heimkehren. Das ist ein echter *brain drain*.

Ich schlage der Kommission vor, Rahmenbedingungen zu schaffen, die dem UN-Kodex für die Abwerbung von Fachkräften entsprechen. Oder die EU finanziert Studien und Ausbildungsplätze für den Einsatz europaweit, ein echtes EU-Studienprogramm. Diese Krise kann nur durch Regeln zum Schutz vor einem *brain drain* bewältigt werden. Denn das Fehlen von Fachkräften in allen Regionen der EU wiegt gleich schwer. Und wir hätten eine gute Chance, unseren Bürgern zu zeigen, was echte europäische Solidarität bedeutet.

Liesbet Sommen (PPE). – Voorzitter, commissaris, iedereen heeft recht op de best mogelijke en de meest nabije zorg. Maar daar heb je natuurlijk wel een zorgverlener voor nodig. En daar knelt vandaag absoluut het schoentje. De cijfers zijn redelijk dramatisch. Meer dan een miljoen dokters, verpleegkundigen en vroedvrouwen komen wij tekort en tegen 2030 gaat maar liefst een op de drie van hen op pensioen. Tegelijkertijd zit het aantal zorgbehoevende patiënten in de lift. Dat is een tikkende tijdbom. Het is niet alleen een numeriek probleem, het is echt een systeemcrisis.

De zorgverleners en de patiënt verdienen beter. Want zorgverleners verdienen respect en waardering voor het werk dat ze doen, een beter loon, een betere balans tussen arbeid en gezin, maar ook meer mentaal welzijn en autonomie op de werkvloer.

Wij moeten ook werken aan die concentratie van gespecialiseerde zorg. Want die zorgt voor een efficiëntere inzet van zorgverleners, voor kortere wachttijden voor de patiënt en bovenal: hierdoor worden levens gered.

Hier in de EU moeten wij samenwerken aan die gemeenschappelijke erkenning van diploma's. Want arbeidsmigratie is misschien niet altijd zaligmakend — we moeten echt inzetten op opleidingen voor taalkennis —, maar het blijft wel een enorme opportuniteit die we moeten blijven aanboren.

Dit is níét uitsluitend een nationaal probleem. De grote meerderheid van onze lidstaten wordt hiermee geconfronteerd. Dit vergt dus Europese oplossingen en Europese acties.

Vytenis Povilas Andriukaitis (S&D). – Gerbiamas posėdžio pirmininke, gerbiama komisare, Tarybos nary. Iš tiesų pritariu Europos Komisijos pateiktam situacijos įvertinimui. Deja, šiuo metu Europos šalyse narėse – visose – sveikatos sektorius išgyvena milžinišką darbo jėgos trūkumo krizę – milžinišką. Ir ne tik kad yra netolygiai išsidėsčiusios sveikatos sektoriaus įstaigos, bet mes netgi matome atskirose šalyse medicininės dykvietes, *medical deserts* taip vadinamas, kur žmonės sako, kad daktarų ten ir seselių, ir slaugytojų yra, pirma, per mažai, antra, jų yra per toli nuo žmonių gyvenamosios vietos ir, trečia, jie per seni. Šita triada yra iš tikrųjų baisi ir šalių narių nesugebėjimas koordinuoti, planuoti sveikatos išteklius, planuoti pritraukti jaunimą į šias profesijas, įdarbinimo klausimą spręsti, išspręsti sąlygų nustatymą yra labai didžiulis iššūkis, ir privalome toliau kartu stiprinti Europos sveikatos sąjungą, atkreipdami į šią krizę didžiulį dėmesį.

Pál Szekeres (PFE). – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! Én több mint négyszáz napot töltöttem kórházban a balesetem miatt, és ezért szeretném felhívni a figyelmet a nagy ápolási igényű személyek ellátásának nehézségeire.

A gyógytornászok, a terapeuták, a szakápolók és az egészségügyi dolgozók munkájának könnyítése párhuzamosan feladata a korábban elhangzottakkal egyetemben.

Ezért nagyon fontosnak tartom, hogy beszéljünk azokról a támogató technológiákról, digitalizációról, robotikáról, amivel az ő munkájukat meg lehet könnyíteni.

Én a napokban jártam egy ilyen intézményben, ahol számos ilyen technológiát láthattam Budapesten, és ezeknek a korszerű módszereknek köszönhetően az olyan sérültek, mint én, visszanyerhetik a munkaképességüket.

Én szeretném megköszönni az egészségügyben dolgozó embereknek az áldozatos munkájukat, és nagyon bízom benne, hogy találunk megoldást, hogy ez a szektor megfelelő munkaerővel és megfelelő támogatással bírjon. Köszönöm a figyelmet!

Adrian-George Axinia (ECR). – Domnule președinte, România are un deficit colosal de cadre medicale în spitalele publice. Sunt 9 000 de posturi de medici neocupate, 1 600 de rezidenți și 14 000 de asistenți medicali. Asta în condițiile în care tot România are 26 de absolvenți de medicină la 100 000 de locuitori, peste media Uniunii Europene, de 15,5. Multe cadre medicale din România pleacă să lucreze în Uniunea Europeană din cauza salariilor mici, a condițiilor de muncă proaste și a unui sistem politizat excesiv.

22 000 de medici școliți în România, adică 37 % din totalul medicilor români, lucrau în străinătate în anul 2021. Din acest punct de vedere, țara noastră se situează pe locul trei în lume, după India și Pakistan, dar este, de departe, prima din Uniunea Europeană. Este dezamăgitor că nimeni nu scoate un cuvânt pe această temă, nici măcar în raportul Comisiei Europene. Semn că sunt state cărora le convine ca noi să instruim medicii și apoi ei să culegă fructele coapte.

O soluție ar putea fi o formulă de compensare financiară față de România, care instruiște o mare parte a forței de muncă din sectorul medical din Europa.

Olivier Chastel (Renew). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, hôpitaux sous tension, maisons de retraite débordées, déserts médicaux qui s'étendent: ce manque criant de personnel met en péril la qualité des soins et l'accès aux traitements pour des millions de citoyens.

Partout en Europe, nos systèmes de santé souffrent d'une même urgence, la pénurie dramatique de soignants. 1,2 million, c'est le nombre de médecins, infirmiers, sages-femmes dont l'Union manque sur le terrain afin d'offrir des soins de santé de qualité. Les causes sont connues: vieillissement de la population, conditions de travail éprouvantes, départs non remplacés. Résultat: des soignants épuisés, des patients qui attendent et des vocations qui s'éteignent.

Face à ce défi, aucun pays n'a la capacité d'agir seul. Nous avons besoin d'une réponse européenne forte, de renforcer la formation et la reconnaissance des qualifications et d'améliorer les conditions de travail. L'innovation, notamment l'intelligence artificielle, peut représenter une véritable opportunité pour accélérer certaines procédures, notamment les dépistages, mais également permettre d'alléger la charge administrative qui repose sur les épaules de nos soignants afin de libérer du temps médical pour se reconcentrer sur les soins et sur l'essentiel, les patients.

Pernando Barrena Arza (The Left). – Señor presidente, señorías, la falta de profesionales médicos en nuestros sistemas públicos de salud obedece a diferentes factores que tienen que ver con malas condiciones de trabajo y bajos salarios. La causa ya la conocemos: las políticas pasadas y presentes de austeridad y los recortes en gasto social, que han hecho caer en picado la calidad de muchos sistemas públicos de salud que antes eran ejemplares y que hoy se sostienen gracias a la profesionalidad de los y las trabajadoras.

Por lo tanto, resulta inaceptable que ahora, ante la precaria situación de la sanidad pública, se echen las manos a la cabeza los responsables de las políticas de recortes sociales y todos los que prefirieron reducir el gasto social.

Aumento de la inversión pública en sanidad, mejora de las condiciones laborales y un acceso más equilibrado y realista a las facultades de medicina: esas son las recetas para dar la vuelta a la situación.

Y todo esto es caro, pero desde luego que tenemos dinero para hacerlo. Otra cosa es que el ala derecha de esta Cámara prefiera gastarlo en armamento. El aumento del gasto militar nos lleva al derrumbe del gasto social y esto les va a ser imposible ocultarlo.

Μαρία Ζαχαρία (NI). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, η Ευρώπη αντιμετωπίζει μια άνευ προηγουμένου κρίση στον τομέα της υγείας με τεράστιες ελλείψεις προσωπικού. Ωστόσο, η κατάσταση στην Ελλάδα είναι ακόμα πιο δραματική. Τα νοσοκομεία μας βρίσκονται στα όρια της κατάρρευσης, με τρομακτικές ελλείψεις σε υποδομές, υλικά και έμπυχο δυναμικό. Οι συνθήκες εργασίας είναι απελπιστικές, με εξοντωτικά ωράρια και ανεπαρκείς αμοιβές, ενώ η κυβέρνηση επιδεικνύει αδιαφορία και απαξίωση προς τους υγειονομικούς. Ο υπουργός Υγείας, κύριος Άδωνις Γεωργιάδης, αντί να αναλάβει δράση, στοχοποιεί τους εργαζόμενους αποκαλώντας τους μίζερους και αριστερούς κομμουνιστές.

Αυτή η προσβλητική στάση δεν μπορεί να γίνεται ανεκτή. Οι αριθμοί είναι αδιάψευστοι. Έως το 2030, η Ευρώπη θα αντιμετωπίζει έλλειψη εξακοσίων χιλιάδων γιατρών και 2,3 εκατομμυρίων νοσηλευτών. Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση οφείλει να ασκήσει πίεση στις κυβερνήσεις που υπονομεύουν τα δημόσια συστήματα υγείας τους. Η υγεία δεν μπορεί να είναι πεδίο πολιτικών σκοπιμοτήτων. Απαιτούμε δημόσια ποιοτική υγεία για όλους, άμεσες προσλήψεις, καλύτερες συνθήκες εργασίας και σεβασμό στους επαγγελματίες υγείας.

András Tivadar Kulja (PPE). – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! Az európai egészségügyi és szociális rendszerből 1,5 millió szakember hiányzik. 5 év múlva ez a szám 4 millióra fog nőni. 600 ezer orvossal, 2,3 millió ápolóval és 1,1 millió szociális munkással lesz kevesebb Európában, mint amennyire szükség lenne.

Az ápoló- és orvoshiány különösen súlyosan érinti a közép-kelet-európai régiót, köztük Magyarországot is, ahol 1000 háziorvos hiányzik az egészségügyi rendszerből. 1,5 millió ember nem fér hozzá a megfelelő minőségű és színvonalú alapellátáshoz, miközben a megmaradt háziorvosok száma 60 évhez közelít az átlagéletkoruk mellett.

Vidéki kórházak, gyermeksebészetek zárnak be, miközben az orvosok, szakápolók, betegszállítók és asszisztensek túltelheltek, a végtelenségig túlteljesítenek és próbálják az egészségügyi rendszert egyben tartani.

Az Alapszerződés értelmében a tagállamok felelősek a saját egészségügyi rendszereikért, beleértve az egészségügyi dolgozók számának biztosítását. Azonban nyilvánvaló, hogy ezzel egyes tagállamok nem képesek vagy nehezen képesek megküzdenni.

Az európai orvosok, ápolók és legfőképp betegek több odafigyelést igényelnek. A kihívások Európa-szerte hasonlóak. Ezért közösen, uniós szinten kell cselekednünk, mert ha nem tesszük, az betegek életébe kerülhet és katasztrófához vezet.

Marianne Vind (S&D). – Hr. formand! Når vi i Europa taler om mangel på arbejdskraft, så glemmer vi alt for ofte også at tale om arbejdsmarkedets skyggesider. For når arbejderne fra lande uden for EU får job i EU, er der stor risiko for, at ansættelsen sker på kummerlige vilkår. For nylig har Kommissionen foreslået en EU Challenge pool, en EU-jobportal, der skal gøre det nemmere for arbejdsgiverne at rekruttere arbejdskraft fra lande uden for EU. Og så bliver jeg lidt bekymret, for når arbejderne kommer hertil, har de jo ikke en jordisk chance for at gennemskue, hvilke rettigheder de har på de europæiske arbejdsmarkeder. Social dumping underminerer ikke bare vilkårene for lønmodtagerne, men er også med til at skabe ulige konkurrence for de virksomheder, der ansætter på overenskomst, overholder arbejdsmiljø og betaler deres skat. Hvis EU virkelig vil gøre noget ved manglen på arbejdskraft i EU, skal man for alvor investere i mennesker, i uddannelse og et godt arbejdsmiljø. For tyr vi til de hurtige løsninger, så taber vi alle på det.

Margarita de la Pisa Carrión (Pfe). – Señor presidente, señora comisaria, señorías, una planta que no se riega, se seca. Para empezar, se ofrecen muy pocas plazas a los jóvenes para acceder a estos estudios. También se fomenta una cultura que no valora la vida y desprestigia los cuidados, el servicio a los demás. Así también se desprestigian las profesiones sanitarias. Se trata de romper la confianza médico-paciente; se les pretende imponer visiones contra su vocación de sanar a las personas.

Ellos son el soporte de nuestros sistemas de salud, pero están sobrecargados con jornadas interminables, sin recibir las condiciones ni la remuneración adecuadas de acuerdo a su cualificación. Muchos se ven obligados a marcharse y los que quedan están rotos. Alrededor del 52 % de los trabajadores de la salud han sufrido en algún momento el llamado síndrome del *burnout*. Esto no ocurre con otras profesiones.

Esta crisis se veía venir. Y ¿qué se ha hecho? Es tiempo de menos ideología y más sentido común.

Michele Picaro (ECR). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, immaginiamo un'Europa nel 2030 con una carenza di personale medico-sanitario di circa 4 milioni. Questo è quanto ci dice l'OMS.

Per invertire questo trend negativo, l'Europa deve subito intervenire con la revisione del prossimo bilancio pluriennale, incrementando le risorse dei programmi EU4Health, Erasmus+ e *fourth Health Programme*, oltre ai programmi di sviluppo e coesione. La *joint action* ci ha già messo sulla giusta strada, ma dobbiamo estendere il nostro impegno alla formazione delle professioni sanitarie con un aggiornamento costante del personale.

È essenziale che ogni Stato membro migliori gli strumenti di previsione per identificare e rispondere prontamente alle esigenze future del nostro sistema sanitario. In tale prospettiva è fondamentale accelerare e semplificare le procedure di reclutamento, eliminando la burocrazia che ostacola l'accesso rapido alle professioni mediche, così come incrementare le risorse e i programmi dedicati all'ambito sanitario e finanziare progetti di formazione per il personale in paesi extra Unione europea, anche dal punto di vista linguistico.

È nostro dovere garantire un sistema sanitario europeo forte e pronto a rispondere, su cui ogni cittadino deve poter fare affidamento.

Kathleen Funchion (The Left). – A *Uachtaráin*, I welcome this debate as we urgently need to address the crises in recruitment and retention in our disability and our health care sectors.

In 2024, there was an estimated shortfall of around 1.6 million health and social care workers across the EU. In Ireland, we have the particularly unfair situation of Section 39 workers who work for privately owned charities and agencies that are contracted by the state to provide disability and health care services.

Section 39 workers are being paid at an astounding 15 % less than their colleagues in the public sector. This is despite the fact that they do the exact same work. The unfair treatment of Section 39 workers must be addressed. If the Irish Government are serious about tackling the crisis in recruitment and retention, they must immediately deliver pay parity for all, including those Section 39 workers.

Finally, colleagues, it is incumbent upon all of us as legislators to deliver equal pay for equal work for all. So let's work towards that endeavour in this Parliament and in our Member States.

Adam Jarubas (PPE). – Panie Przewodniczący! Pani Komisarz! Już w orędziu o stanie Unii za 2023 r. przewodnicząca Komisji Europejskiej zwracała uwagę na rekordowe miliony wakatów w Unii, straty gospodarcze, niezrealizowane usługi. W opiece zdrowia to często dosłownie kwestia życia i śmierci. Według OECD w Unii brakuje milion 200 tys. pracowników. WHO wskazuje, że 40% lekarzy w najbliższych 5 latach przejdzie na emeryturę.

Pandemia COVID naraziła szczególnie starszych pracowników. Kolejne fale przeciążały, traumatyzowały, wypalały zawodowo, zwiększając przechodzenie na wcześniejsze emerytury lub odejścia z zawodu. To większa presja na pozostałych. I koło się zamyka. Na przykład w onkologii 77% osób pracuje w nadgodzinach, a ponad połowa narzeka na przeciążenie i biurokrację.

Musimy w bezpieczny sposób szerzej wykorzystać cyfryzację, wsparcie sztucznej inteligencji, podnosząc efektywność. Musimy kształcić więcej personelu medycznego i lekarzy, tak na studiach, jak i w dalszych specjalizacjach. Potrzeba koordynacji w Unii, by rozwiązać problem w jednym obszarze, ale nie pogłębiać problemów w innym.

W Komisji Zdrowia, której mam zaszczyt przewodniczyć, propozycja sprawozdania grupy PPE o tym kryzysie jako pierwsza uzyskała szerokie poparcie. Liczę tutaj na szybkie tempo prac o podobnej tematyce i otwartość Komisji i Parlamentu w tym zakresie. Mówimy często w Unii o zasobach krytycznych. Zasoby ludzkie w opiece zdrowia są właśnie takimi zasobami krytycznymi warunkującymi bezpieczeństwo zdrowia, życia, nas, naszych bliskich, gotowość i odporność Unii Europejskiej.

Nicolás González Casares (S&D). – Señor presidente, en España, casi dos tercios de las enfermeras han pensado en renunciar, y es algo que se produce en casi toda la Unión Europea: penosas condiciones de trabajo, sobrecarga, malos sueldos... Y eso le está ocurriendo, por ejemplo, a todas las enfermeras europeas. Esa sobrecarga es a veces inaguantable, pero no nos llevemos las manos a la cabeza. Los mismos que hicieron los recortes sociales, los mismos que recortaron plazas de profesionales sanitarios, son los que ahora se ven alertados por la falta de profesionales, y eso es lo que está ocurriendo.

Yo creo que es el momento de tener una directiva de mínimos para trabajadores sanitarios en la Unión Europea, aunque el problema, ya digo, no es solo europeo, también de las autoridades regionales, como por ejemplo en mi pueblo donde antes había tres pediatras ahora solo hay una: esas son las políticas de la derecha.

Pero también hay que referirse al momento anticencia. ¿No creen que acaba con muchas vocaciones el hecho de criticar por ejemplo a las vacunas, de ser antivacunas? ¿No creen que elimina las vocaciones de aquellas personas que tienen que administrar esas mismas vacunas? Eso es lo que está haciendo la ultraderecha: minar la posibilidad de nuevas vocaciones para profesionales sanitarios en Europa.

Marie Dauchy (PSE). – Monsieur le Président, une fois de plus, vous prétendez avoir trouvé la solution miracle à la pénurie de soignants. Mais cette crise, c'est vous qui l'avez provoquée.

Pendant des années, vos politiques de rigueur budgétaire ont étranglé nos systèmes de santé. Résultat: en France, une jeune femme de 26 ans est morte dans une salle d'attente des urgences, faute de prise en charge. Et votre réponse est toujours la même: faire venir des soignants étrangers comme si nos nations n'étaient que des réservoirs de main-d'œuvre.

Mais ce n'est pas à Bruxelles de décider du futur de nos hôpitaux. Ce qu'il faut, c'est un vrai plan national, former plus de médecins, redonner à ce métier sa noblesse, libérer l'hôpital de la bureaucratie qui l'étouffe et garantir à chaque Français le droit fondamental d'être soigné dignement où qu'il vive.

Nous refusons que la santé devienne une variable d'ajustement de vos politiques. La France décidera souverainement, avec ses soignants et pour ses patients, parce qu'il ne s'agit pas de chiffres, mais de vies.

Beatrice Timgren (ECR). – Herr talman! Sverigedemokraterna motsätter sig en ansvarslös import av låglönearbetskraft till EU. Det handlar inte, som vissa tror, om att företag inte ska kunna anställa spetskompetens, utan det handlar framför allt om att man vill pressa lönerna.

Det här slår ut svensk, europeisk arbetskraft och drabbar våra arbetare. Det blir helt enkelt en bakdörr till bidragsberoende, och det ökar på det skuggsamhälle vi har i Sverige i dag och kriminaliteten. Vi har ju redan sett vad hög migration har gjort i Sverige. Samtidigt har vi många i Sverige i dag som inte har något arbete att gå till. Därför anser vi att det är mycket bättre att lägga åtgärderna där: se till att man har riktade åtgärder, gör det lönt att gå till arbetet. Vi måste även se till att arbetskraftsinvandring inte blir den nya asylinvandringen till Europa.

Elena Nevado del Campo (PPE). – Señor presidente, señora comisaria, necesitamos sanitarios y los sanitarios nos necesitan. El déficit de 1,2 millones de profesionales es un drama, sobre todo en las zonas rurales, con una escasez que pone en riesgo la equidad y el derecho a la salud de los ciudadanos europeos.

En mi región, Extremadura, después de más de treinta años de Gobiernos socialistas y de izquierdas, se sufre un verdadero desierto médico: pacientes que necesitan desplazarse para recibir asistencia sanitaria; médicos, enfermeros y otros profesionales que trabajan de manera extenuada. Hay que poner remedio a esta situación, que se está revirtiendo en estos momentos.

Hay plazas muy deseadas, pero hay plazas que quedan desiertas y, por eso, urge crear un marco estable de trabajo digno para estos profesionales, mejores condiciones, especialmente para las denominadas plazas de difícil cobertura, y que se pueda ejercer el derecho a quedarse.

La escasez acaba provocando listas de espera interminables, agresiones a los profesionales injustificadas. Y, por eso, me alegra que la Comisión afronte por fin ese problema, que esté en la agenda y que vaya a estarlo ya. Hay que garantizar que, se viva donde se viva, se reciba atención y, para ello, no podemos tomarnos a la ligera las necesidades presentes de los profesionales, pero, sobre todo, tampoco las del futuro.

Johan Danielsson (S&D). – Herr talman! "Stressen gör att jag funderar på att byta jobb." Så upplever hälften av svenska Vårdförbundets medlemmar sin vardag. Man är inte ensam. Undersköterskor och läkare över hela Europa vittnar om en liknande frustration, hur en dålig arbetsmiljö stöter bort dem från yrket som de älskar. Här finns det saker som EU både kan och ska göra.

För det första måste kommissionen presentera lagstiftning för att förbättra den psykosociala arbetsmiljön. Vi behöver nya regler för att förebygga belastningsskador. Löften om skärpta krav för att förebygga trakasserier och våld från patienter och brukare måste infrias. Sist men inte minst måste vi stärka sjukvårdspersonalens skydd mot cancerframkallande ämnen och skadliga substanser på jobbet. Ingen som vårdar en cancersjuk eller städar våra sjukhus ska själv behöva drabbas av samma sjukdom.

Valérie Deloge (PflE). – Monsieur le Président, avec le vieillissement de la population et une société en attente de soins de qualité, le secteur de la santé devrait être une priorité. Pourtant, en France, on estime qu'il manque environ 22 000 professionnels en milieu hospitalier, tous métiers confondus. Dans le secteur libéral, les cabinets ferment à tour de bras et 30 % de la population vit aujourd'hui dans un désert médical. Quant au secteur du soin à la personne, ce sont près de 25 000 postes encore vacants que l'on peine à pourvoir.

Il y a quelques années, en pleine crise de la COVID, ces métiers étaient pourtant essentiels. On promettait d'ailleurs au personnel médical revalorisation, soutien et hausse de salaire. Cinq ans après, que reste-t-il de vos belles promesses? Rien.

Ces métiers du soin, pourtant critiqués, restent mal considérés, sous-payés et avec des horaires intenable. Il est temps que cela change; cependant, la réponse ne doit pas venir de notre Europe déconnectée, qui n'a même pas la compétence en matière de santé, mais bien de nos nations. Vous pourrez compter sur nous pour remédier enfin à cette situation.

Mariateresa Vivaldini (ECR). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signora Commissaria, dal 2022 l'Unione europea ha registrato un deficit di 1,2 milioni di figure professionali nel settore medico. L'invecchiamento della popolazione, l'aumento della domanda, il calo demografico e le condizioni di lavoro precarie sono tra le cause principali di questo fenomeno.

È un'emergenza reale e urgente. La pandemia ci ha infatti insegnato che, senza medici, infermieri e professionisti della salute, il sistema sanitario rischia il collasso. Affrontare queste sfide richiede un impegno coordinato degli Stati membri, supportati dall'Unione europea.

Dobbiamo sostenere chi, ogni giorno, si prende cura di noi non con promesse vuote, ma con azioni concrete. Aumentare i salari, migliorare le condizioni e gli orari di lavoro, potenziare la formazione, sostenere l'innovazione e rendere il settore più attrattivo sono alcune delle strategie che i governi nazionali e l'UE potrebbero adottare per far fronte a questo problema.

La mobilità professionale da paesi terzi non può essere considerata la soluzione definitiva quando l'11,2 % dei giovani europei tra i 15 e i 29 anni non sono né occupati né inseriti in un percorso di istruzione o formazione.

Solo con una strategia ambiziosa, l'Unione europea potrà assicurare un sistema sanitario solido e in grado di soddisfare le esigenze della popolazione, anche quella meno abbiente, e garantire opportunità di lavoro di qualità per le future generazioni.

Romana Tomc (PPE). – Gospod predsednik. Spoštovana komisarka, spoštovani kolegi! Huda kriza v zdravstvenem sistemu ni nobena novost. Tudi dejstvo, da manjka v Evropski uniji več kot milijon zdravstvenih delavcev, zdravnikov, medicinskih sester in babic, ni nobena novost. Tudi vemo, kaj so vzroki za to, da je do tega prišlo. Jasno je tukaj zadaj demografija. Demografija, ki pomeni staranje našega prebivalstva in večje potrebe v zdravstvu, pa tudi demografija na strani zdravstvenih delavcev, ki odhajajo v pokoj in ne najdejo oziroma za njih ni ustreznih nadomestitev. Jasno pa mislim, da tukaj prednjačijo delovni pogoji, slabe plače in izgorelost zdravstvenih delavcev.

Kako smo to reševali do sedaj? Zaposlovali smo zdravstvene kadre iz tujine zunaj Evropske unije. Vendar bi opozorila še na nekaj drugega. Namreč, bolj razvite države članice so zaposlovale zdravstveni kader iz manj razvitih držav članic in s tem je bila povzročena dodatna škoda in ošibili so se zdravstveni sistemi v tistih državah članicah, ki so najmanj odporne. Seveda poznamo nekaj rešitev: dolgoročnih, kratkoročnih. Predvsem moramo izboljšati pogoje za delo in dodatno vlagati v izobraževanje in usposabljanje.

Bi pa – ker so moji kolegi opozorili na stanje v njihovih državah – kakšno pa je stanje v moji državi? Prihajam namreč iz Slovenije. Danes, ko sem se pripravljala na ta govor, sem pogledala podatke. Če bi šli na operacijo kolena v kliniko, ortopedsko kliniko v glavnem mestu Slovenije, bi se naročili danes in čakalna doba je pet let. Če bi imeli napotnico „hitro“, bi bila čakalna doba nekaj več kot štiri leta. Ampak to ni več problem pomanjkanja zdravstvenih delavcev, ampak problem razpada zdravstvenega sistema.

(Govornica se je odločila odgovoriti na vprašanje, postavljeno z dvigom modrega kartončka)

João Oliveira (The Left), *Pergunta segundo o procedimento «cartão azul»*. – Senhor Presidente, Senhora Deputada Tomc, a senhora referiu as más condições de trabalho, os salários baixos, a sobrecarga de trabalho, como alguns dos problemas que conduzem à falta de profissionais de saúde, à falta de atratividade das carreiras profissionais na saúde. Isso, naturalmente, para se resolver, exige investimento público, investimento nos serviços públicos, recursos dos orçamentos de Estado nacionais para dar resposta a esses problemas.

E a pergunta que lhe faço é como é que isso é compatível com as restrições orçamentais que a União Europeia impõe, por exemplo, com as novas regras da governação económica que dificultam a contratação de trabalhadores, dificultam a valorização das suas carreiras, dificultam o investimento na melhoria das condições de trabalho nos serviços públicos de saúde.

Romana Tomc (PPE), *odgovor na vprašanje, postavljeno z dvigom modrega kartončka*. – Hvala lepa za vaše vprašanje. Seveda gre za kompleksno zadevo, predvsem pa se bojim, da tukaj trčimo ob neko pravilo, ki ga imamo v Evropski uniji. To je pravilo subsidiarnosti, kjer tudi mi z evropskimi politikami ne moremo vplivati tako, kot bi si sami želeli na rešitev vseh problemov – recimo, v tem konkretnem primeru – v zdravstvu.

Če bi bilo to mogoče, potem bi si jaz želela seveda tudi, da Evropska komisija priskoči na pomoč in pomaga pri izboljšanju zdravstvenega sistema v Sloveniji. Kajti očitno moja vlada, ki je leva vlada, v tem trenutku ni sposobna reševati tega problema brez pomoči Evropske unije.

Alessandra Moretti (S&D). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, durante la pandemia abbiamo scoperto il valore e l'importanza del lavoro dei nostri medici ed operatori sanitari. Oggi che, per fortuna, non siamo più in emergenza sanitaria e che le priorità politiche sono altre, molti se ne sono dimenticati. Ma la carenza di personale pesa sia sugli stessi operatori, chiamati ogni giorno a decidere sulla vita delle persone in condizioni di stress e pressioni inaccettabili, ma anche sui pazienti, a cui non è fornito il servizio di cui avrebbero bisogno.

Il nostro gruppo chiede da tempo che l'Unione europea della salute non sia solo un progetto di profitto e *business*, ma che sia unione sociale e dei diritti. Nell'ambito dell'Unione europea della salute chiedo, quindi, ai Commissari presenti – vedo qui la Commissaria Minzatu – di presentare un piano europeo per il personale sanitario, una strategia con fondi e misure normative concrete, per dare respiro ai nostri medici ed operatori e fermare questa pericolosissima deriva. Lo chiedono il personale sanitario, ma anche i cittadini, che hanno diritto ad una sanità pubblica accessibile a tutti e di qualità.

SĒDI VADA: ROBERTS ZĪLE

Priekšsēdētāja vietnieks

Philippe Olivier (PŅE). – Monsieur le Président, si l'immigration était la seule solution aux métiers en tension, cela fait belle lurette qu'il n'y aurait plus de métiers en tension. Croire que l'immigration pourrait répondre à la pénurie de main-d'œuvre dans le domaine de la santé est une illusion. Elle est même la pire des solutions, car l'exploitation d'une main-d'œuvre étrangère peu regardante n'aura pour effet que de maintenir dans le secteur des soins de santé des salaires peu attractifs, des conditions de travail difficiles, une pénibilité non résolue.

La solution tient, à l'inverse, dans l'amélioration des conditions de travail, notamment salariales. Si cela s'avère coûteux, ce sera pour nos pays un choix de société que, pour notre part, nous sommes prêts à assumer.

L'attractivité de ces métiers tient également à la réduction de la pénibilité et l'on pense évidemment à un grand plan d'équipement appuyé sur l'IA et sur la robotique. Aux côtés de nos États, qui sont seuls compétents en matière de santé, l'UE est invitée à soutenir la recherche sur ces sujets ainsi qu'évidemment à mettre en œuvre des applications novatrices et concrètes au service de ces métiers.

Claudiu-Richard Târziu (ECR). – Domnule președinte, doamnă comisară, stimați colegi, astăzi suntem loviți de efectele unei crize profunde pe piața muncii, în general, dar mai ales în domeniile strategice, așa cum este și sistemul medical. Dacă la nivelul Uniunii Europene subiectul este îngrijorător, în România și în statele mai puțin dezvoltate ale Uniunii Europene fenomenul devine de-a dreptul periculos.

Decenii la rând, țările din Occidentul dezvoltat au absorbit ca un burete elita profesională a personalului medical din Est, sub mirajul unor salarii net superioare și a unor condiții de lucru mult mai bune. Acest flux migrator a generat efecte devastatoare în timp, țările bogate au ajuns la concluzia că nu e nevoie neapărat să dezvolte educația și pregătirea profesională, câtă vreme își pot asigura necesarul de personal prin import.

Celelalte state au asistat neputincioase la depopularea sistemului. De la acest adevăr trebuie să plecăm în efortul titanice de a reface piața muncii din Uniunea Europeană. Decalajele de dezvoltare între state produc efecte catastrofale în timp, și la săraci, și bogați. Aceste decalaje trebuie reduse.

Marit Majj (S&D). – Voorzitter, commissaris, in Nederland is het tekort aan mensen in de zorg het afgelopen jaar opgelopen tot vijftigduizend. Over tien jaar zullen dat er 190 000 zijn. Voor de Amsterdammers onder ons, voor de Nederlanders onder ons: dat is vier keer een volle Amsterdam ArenA. Dat heeft gevolgen voor de kwaliteit van de zorg en voor de werknemers in de zorg.

De druk voor de werknemers is veel te hoog. Deze mensen doen hun werk met passie en het resultaat is vaak een burn-out. Werknemers in de zorg zijn bescheiden, maar ze zijn onmisbaar. Tegelijkertijd zien we dat mensen andere oplossingen zoeken, zoals mantelzorg, regelingen binnen families, met burens of vrienden die de zorgtaken op zich nemen. Dat gebeurt met liefde, maar dat is niet de ideale oplossing en ook niet de beste zorgoplossing.

We moeten de tekorten in de zorg oplossen door de banen aantrekkelijker te maken en niet te aarzelen om echte maatregelen te treffen en meer te investeren. Dat verbetert niet alleen het leven van de mensen die de zorg nodig hebben, maar ook dat van de werknemers in de zorg.

Malika Sorel (PŅE). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, chers collègues, faute de vision, l'Europe, terre de tant de génies médicaux, n'est plus capable de soigner les siens. Le vieillissement de la population et l'arrivée massive de populations immigrées ont entraîné une forte augmentation des besoins de santé, un phénomène prévisible.

Que faire? Raccourcir la formation des médecins, qui varie de 5 à 10 ans selon les pays, et intégrer l'intelligence artificielle qui va révolutionner le secteur. Encourager les jeunes à entreprendre des carrières médicales et en sciences de l'ingénieur plutôt qu'en sciences sociales. Déléguer davantage d'actes médicaux, alléger la bureaucratie et la réglementation. Diminuer les frais de formation. Investir dans les médecins plutôt que dans les coûteuses cabines de téléconsultation.

Enfin, cessons de puiser dans les ressources médicales du Maghreb, de l'Asie et de l'Afrique. C'est inhumain. Nous privons ces pays de soignants, ce qui alimente les migrations. Oui, chers collègues, quand leurs médecins viennent, leurs patients suivent.

Francesco Ventola (ECR). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signora Commissaria, la mancanza certificata di 1,2 milioni di operatori sanitari nell'Unione europea richiede interventi strategici e strutturali urgenti ed efficaci.

Il programma EU4Health si è dimostrato insufficiente. Gli operatori sanitari continuano ad affrontare carichi di lavoro insostenibili, a fronte di stipendi inadeguati e condizioni di lavoro difficili, mentre intere aree si trasformano in deserti sanitari privi di personale e strutture adeguate. È necessario riconoscere salari dignitosi e migliorare le condizioni lavorative, indispensabili a garantire una maggiore protezione della sanità pubblica.

Tuttavia, le misure poste in essere al momento dalla Commissione non solo dimostrano di essere inefficaci, ma addirittura tendono a favorire la migrazione dei lavoratori dalla sanità pubblica a quella privata, che diventa sempre più attrattiva. Inoltre, assistiamo inerti alla migrazione all'estero del personale sanitario, che evidentemente offre migliori opportunità.

Non dobbiamo più perdere tempo con dichiarazioni prive di sostanza e strategie vuote. La salute è un diritto fondamentale e come tale deve essere garantito. La Commissione deve agire ora con decisione e responsabilità.

Victor Negrescu (S&D). – Domnule președinte, doamnă comisară, dragi colegi, deficitul de personal medical este o problemă critică. Lipsesc în prezent 1,2 milioane de medici și asistenți medicali la nivel european. Situația s-a agravat din cauza pandemiei și a îmbătrânirii populației. România este unul dintre statele cele mai afectate, deși formăm un număr important de profesioniști în domeniu. Peste 15 000 de medici și mai mult de 50 000 de asistenți medicali au părăsit țara în ultimii ani.

Exodul a afectat calitatea serviciilor medicale, a crescut timpii de așteptare și a condus la o insuficiență a serviciilor esențiale pentru sănătatea populației. Ne trebuie un program pentru reîntoarcerea acasă și unul care să faciliteze mobilitatea spre zonele defavorizate. În mediul rural, aproximativ 400 de localități din România nu au acces la un medic de familie, iar spitalele se confruntă cu un deficit major de specialiști în domenii critice, cum ar fi anestezia și terapia intensivă.

Nu sunt mulțumit în prezent de reacția pe care a avut-o până acum Comisia Europeană, însă sunt convins că împreună cu noul comisar european o să găsim cele mai bune soluții, pentru că trebuie să acționăm la nivel european pentru a crea condițiile de muncă decente pentru personalul medical și a ne asigura că facem față acestui deficit de resurse medicale.

Evelyn Regner (S&D). – Herr Präsident! Sehr geehrte Frau Exekutiv-Vizepräsidentin! Eine große Überzeugung, ein ausgezeichnetes Arbeitsethos, eine Berufung, sich um andere zu kümmern – das nehme ich im Gesundheitssektor bei Ärztinnen wahr, bei Krankenpflegern, Hebammen, Altenpflegern, und das muss so bleiben.

Diese Pflegekräfte arbeiten gerne in der Branche, wenn sie ausreichend Zeit haben, ihre Arbeit gut zu machen. In Österreich – und jetzt kommt der Schnitt nur allein für das Land, das ich am besten kenne, – fehlen bis 2030 76 000 und bis 2050 sogar 200 000 Pflegekräfte. Was bedeutet das jetzt schon im Alltag für die, die in der ersten Reihe stehen? Viele machen die Arbeit für zwei. Das heißt, sie sind psychosozial im Stress und unter Druck. 30 % von ihnen sind bereits über 50 Jahre alt. Das heißt, Pensionierungen stehen bevor.

Wir müssen uns um die jungen Leute kümmern, vor allem aber auch um die Männer, die wir für den Pflegesektor gewinnen müssen. Egal ob Mann oder Frau: Jeder, jede kann Pflege lernen. Mann, mit zwei N, und damit einer der wichtigsten Jobs, soll diesen Job natürlich genauso gut erfüllen.

Brīvais mikrofons

Sérgio Humberto (PPE). – Senhor Presidente, Senhora Comissária, Caros Colegas, hoje faltam-nos mais de 1 milhão de profissionais de saúde na União Europeia. Até 2030, vão-nos faltar mais de 4 milhões de profissionais de saúde.

E, ainda assim, quando há escassez de mão de obra, eles estão lá. Quando os acessos geográficos não são fáceis, eles estão lá. Até quando as condições laborais são desafiantes, eles continuam lá. Quando precisamos do bem mais precioso de todos, os profissionais de saúde estão lá para cuidar de nós.

E nós, Parlamento Europeu, estamos aqui para valorizar todas as pessoas que prestam esses cuidados de saúde, para incentivar o desenvolvimento das carreiras, para apoiar a flexibilidade de horários de trabalho, para atrair, reter e qualificar os trabalhadores no setor da saúde. Quer dizer que o Governo português está comprometido em garantir que todos os cidadãos têm «...».

(o Presidente retira a palavra ao orador)

Maria Grapini (S&D). – Domnule președinte, doamnă comisară, stimați colegi, sigur că discutăm un subiect pe care eu, cel puțin, îl știu de trei mandate. Știm, de asemenea, că sănătatea este de competență națională. Aici nu poate să lucreze doar Uniunea Europeană. Însă, doamna comisară, trebuie să spunem că politicile la nivel de Uniune Europeană, din punctul de vedere al alocării bugetelor pentru infrastructură, pentru condiții de lucru ale lucrătorilor în sănătate, trebuie să vină de la Uniunea Europeană.

Știți foarte bine, țara pe care o cunosc cel mai bine, și dumneavoastră o cunoașteți, este acum într-un mare deficit și de cadre calificate, și de infrastructură. Dar mai este o problemă: tratamentul paliativ. Dacă mai punem și lipsa de asistență socială pentru tratamentul paliativ și lipsa infrastructurii pentru tratamentul paliativ al pacienților, este o mare problemă și cred că aici toate sunt legate.

Economic, trebuie să se dezvolte și statele mai din Est și centrul Europei, pentru a avea posibilitatea să creștem salariile, ca medicii și asistentele să rămână în satele noastre, în rural, de asemenea, să avem infrastructură. Așadar, aveți de lucru, doamna comisară pe politici de sănătate europene, sigur, împreună cu politica națională a fiecărui stat membru.

Oihane Agirregoitia Martínez (Renew). – Señor presidente, vengo de Euskadi, una región que tiene un servicio público de salud que, en muy pocos años y debido, entre otras cosas, al impacto de la COVID-19, al envejecimiento de la población y al cambio de necesidades, y sobre todo debido a la falta de profesionales, ha pasado a ser una de las mayores preocupaciones ciudadanas junto con la vivienda.

A pesar de tener ratios de privatización de los más bajos de Europa, de haber mejorado tiempos de listas de espera tras el drama de la COVID-19 y de estar apostando por fuertes inversiones y cambios a nivel de distribución de los profesionales en esta nueva realidad, esto no está siendo suficiente.

La falta de profesionales es una realidad global y los Estados tienen mucho que decir y que hacer en todo esto. Pero Europa puede y debe dar su apoyo también en todo lo relativo a la movilidad y a la compatibilización de competencias. Solo atendiendo esta realidad conseguiremos dar respuesta a una creciente demanda y preocupación ciudadana.

Ana Miranda Paz (Verts/ALE). – Senhora Comissária, no meu país, a Galiza, a precariedade laboral no setor de saúde devido ao abuso de contratos temporários é o normal. Faltam trabalhadoras e trabalhadores na saúde, faltam investimentos públicos e faltam salários dignos e acesso a tratamentos. Se a média europeia de enfermeiras é de 8,5, a média do Estado espanhol é de 6,3 e a média na Galiza, o meu país, é de 5,1, com a pior taxa de enfermeiras da União Europeia.

É imprescindível que os trabalhadores da saúde tenham condições de trabalho dignas para garantir os seus cuidados, para garantir os cuidados que, lamentavelmente, a direita e a extrema-direita insistem em dismantelar e em privatizar, como faz o governo do PP na minha terra.

Se queremos assistência médica de qualidade, os profissionais precisam do reconhecimento dos seus direitos e trabalho digno. E, desde aqui, envio uma saudação à SOS Sanidade.

João Oliveira (The Left). – Senhor Presidente, Senhora Comissária Mînzatu, para resolver o problema da falta de profissionais de saúde é preciso investir nos serviços públicos de saúde e criar condições para fixar e atrair profissionais àquelas carreiras. É preciso valorizar carreiras e salários. É preciso combater a sobrecarga de trabalho e valorizar o serviço público com um regime de dedicação exclusiva. É esse o caminho que é preciso fazer. E é importante que a União Europeia remova os obstáculos e as limitações que hoje coloca a essas medidas que é preciso tomar, nomeadamente os obstáculos e as barreiras de natureza orçamental, que restringem a capacidade dos Estados de porem em prática políticas como estas.

Em Portugal, temos um governo que aceita essas limitações e essas restrições. Temos um governo que aceita isso, porque isso dá jeito à estratégia de fragilização dos serviços públicos de saúde para abrir o espaço ao negócio da doença com que os grupos económicos acumulam milhões de euros de lucros. O problema é que essa política deixa os utentes sem cuidados de saúde e põe em causa o direito à saúde. Mudem-se as políticas e mudar-se-ão as consequências e os resultados.

Λευτέρης Νικολάου-Αλαβάνος (NI). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, προχτές, νεαρός ασθενής που χρειαζόταν νοσηλεία σε ΜΕΘ, περίμενε διασωληνωμένος ώρες στα επείγοντα, καθώς σε όλη την Κρήτη δεν υπήρχε κλίνη. Λόγω της υποστελέχωσης, πάνω από το 16% των κλινών ΜΕΘ πανελλαδικά δεν λειτουργούν. Νοσοκομεία σε νησιά δεν έχουν παθολόγους, καρδιολόγους και άλλες βασικές ειδικότητες.

Οι τραγικές επαναλαμβανόμενες εικόνες εκατοντάδων ασθενών σε ράντζα, σε διαδρόμους, όρθιοι, είναι αποτέλεσμα της στρατηγικής Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης και κυβερνήσεων για την προσαρμογή της δημόσιας υγείας στην επιχειρηματική δράση. Μάλιστα, ενώ είναι παγωμένοι οι μισθοί και τα δικαιώματα για γιατρούς και νοσηλευτές, η κυβέρνηση της Νέας Δημοκρατίας θεσμοθετεί το φακελάκι, μπάζει ακόμη περισσότερο τους ιδιώτες στο δημόσιο νοσοκομείο, στον δρόμο που χάραξαν ΠΑΣΟΚ και ΣΥΡΙΖΑ, και όλα αυτά είναι προαπαιτούμενα του Ταμείου Ανάκαμψης.

Ενώ οι ιδιωτικοί όμιλοι καταγράφουν τζίρο πάνω από 2 δισεκατομμύρια, ανθρόπινες ζωές κινδυνεύουν καθημερινά εξαιτίας αυτής της ευρωενωσιακής στρατηγικής. Ο λαός, λοιπόν, κλιμακώνει την πάλη του για συλλογικές συμβάσεις, μισθούς και δικαιώματα στο ύψος των σύγχρονων αναγκών, με πανελλαδική απεργία στις 28 Φλεβάρη.

Dennis Radtke (PPE). – Now, I wanted to use a blue card at the beginning of the debate, but unfortunately, that hasn't been possible.

President. – Colleague, I saw you were registered as a catch-the-eye, and I follow these lines. I was so kind. You just came to the room and offered it.

But please, next time, make separation between whether you are a blue card or catch-the-eye.

Idoia Mendia (S&D). – Señor presidente, señora comisaria, estamos teniendo una crisis de personal sanitario y de cuidados en Europa, y esto es debido principalmente al envejecimiento del personal y también al abandono de la profesión. Para hacer frente a esta situación es necesario reclutar nuevos profesionales y también ser capaces de retener a los que tenemos. Para ello, está claro, hay que mejorar sus condiciones laborales y gestionar mucho mejor la carga de trabajo, con una mayor flexibilidad para que puedan compatibilizar su vida laboral y su vida personal, y esto va de revisar las horas de trabajo, porque los profesionales están trabajando más horas de lo que se les supone, y va también de salarios.

Un salario justo es otra de las claves para poder retener y atraer nuevos profesionales. Y hoy, que después hablaremos también de salud mental, no quiero olvidar el dato de que cerca del 70 % de los sanitarios europeos padecen síntomas de mala salud mental, lidian con la depresión y la ansiedad, y no olvidemos que muchos sufren también violencia y agresiones en su puesto de trabajo. Por eso hago un llamamiento a la Comisión y a los Estados miembros para que garanticen un presupuesto suficiente para que el personal sanitario y de cuidados pueda ofrecer un cuidado...

(el presidente retira la palabra a la oradora)

Rudi Kennes (The Left). – Voorzitter, commissaris, we krijgen steeds te horen dat het tekort aan arbeidskrachten in de gezondheidszorg te wijten zou zijn aan werknemers die hoge lonen eisen en kieskeurig en lui zijn. Maar de waarheid is dat duizenden werknemers deze sector verlaten als gevolg van bezuinigingen in de gezondheidszorg en de door de Europese Unie opgelegde privatisering.

De gevolgen zijn duidelijk: slechte arbeidsomstandigheden, ondraaglijke werkdruk, kortlopende contracten, lage lonen, lange werkdagen, hoge uitval, krimpende arbeidskrachten en steeds duurder wordende opleidingen en trainingen.

Fundamentele jobs in de gezondheidszorgsector worden gezien als banen voor laaggeschoolden. Zonder deze werknemers, die overigens vaak migranten zijn, zou echter niemand voor onze familieleden zorgen. Er zijn zoveel gepassioneerde verzorgers, verpleegkundigen en jonge artsen die heel graag in de gezondheidszorgsector zouden willen blijven werken, maar de omstandigheden duwen hen weg. De EU heeft geen fatsoenlijk beleid om het tekort aan arbeidskrachten aan te pakken. Dit schaadt werknemers en patiënten.

Gezondheidszorg is een basisrecht, geen privilege. De gezondheidszorg moet in publieke handen blijven en de werknemers in de gezondheidszorg moeten met respect worden behandeld.

(Brīvā mikrofona uzstāšanos beigās.)

Roxana Mînzatu, *Executive Vice-President of the Commission*. – First of all, thank you for the topic. Thank you for putting this topic under debate in the plenary of this Parliament. I am sure that for every one of you – and it is also my case – as you entered the area of politics, of policymaking, one of your reasons was healthcare. One of your reasons was for sure to make policies, to design policies that help the healthcare system and the health of our citizens. And even in the last European Parliament elections, in many Member States, as shown by the Eurobarometer, one of the main topics or concerns on the minds of people as they voted – whatever choice that they had – was the situation of the healthcare system and the desire to see policymakers delivering more for their health.

Of course, as many of you have mentioned, this is a prerogative of the Member States. We as a Union, however, are stronger together and there is EU added value in acting together in supporting Member States and supporting working conditions and investing in the healthcare sector.

I have heard all your concerns and your truths and many have repeated the shortages, the working conditions, the stress, the harassment, the rural areas which are of course deprived of sufficient staffing, the cases in which, in some communities, near some hospitals, patients are not attended as they should be. Deaths that have happened. What can we do? What did we do?

First of all, I think as Europe, we do need to take some pride in what we have already done inside the European social model. We do invest, as I've mentioned. Through the European Social Fund Plus we invest in the working conditions, in the training and skilling of some of our healthcare workers, in the bonuses or scholarships of some of the students in the medical schools, in the screening and preventive measures for some of the diseases. We do invest through the Recovery and Resilience Facility in infrastructure, hospitals, equipment. We do invest in research. But is it enough? Clearly not, as the labour shortages show and as the data shows, we need to do more to do better.

The European Union and the Member States, we also need to align our policies. We have the European Semester, the social convergence framework to take care that as we align our fiscal objectives, we also take care of social convergence. And I promised here, and I will deliver, that on the two key initiatives in the near future for which I'm responsible, and this new Commission is responsible – the Union of Skills and the quality jobs roadmap – the critical role of healthcare sector workers will be recognised and addressed through key and flagship initiatives. Now, I know this cannot say that the salary in the Region of Murcia is going to be this for a doctor or for a nurse. You know that it cannot be about that. But we can work together to improve every aspect of the working conditions.

Finally, I want to acknowledge that in the measures that we as the Commission plan, we will look at the gender elements, because these are, of course, professions where women are very present. But we also need to look at different aspects of the nurses, carers compared with doctors. There are differences and there are common challenges, and we need to address them, as well as addressing a fair mobility – one does that does not lead to brain drain, but also empowers every region and country of this European Union.

So thank you again for this debate. Let's work together to make better European policies to support our critical healthcare workers.

Priekšsēdētājs. – Debates ir slēgtas.

Rakstiski paziņojumi (178. pants)

Alicia Homs Ginel (S&D), *por escrito*. – La crisis de personal sanitario en Europa pone en riesgo la sostenibilidad de nuestros sistemas de salud. El envejecimiento del personal y el aumento de dimisiones requieren una respuesta inmediata. Para afrontar esta situación, es fundamental no solo reclutar nuevos profesionales, sino también retener a los existentes mediante condiciones laborales adecuadas.

Mejorar la gestión de la carga de trabajo y garantizar mayor flexibilidad son pasos esenciales para hacer la profesión más sostenible. Asimismo, es necesario revisar las horas de trabajo y asegurar una remuneración justa que haga atractiva la permanencia en el sector.

La Comisión y los Estados miembros deben destinar los recursos necesarios para que el personal sanitario y de cuidados pueda desempeñar su labor en condiciones dignas. Garantizar una atención de calidad pasa por asegurar que quienes la prestan cuenten con el apoyo necesario para ejercer su trabajo de manera eficaz y sostenible en el tiempo.

Marlena Maląg (ECR), *na piśmie*. – Sektor opieki zdrowotnej stoi dziś w obliczu głębokiego kryzysu. Braki kadrowe, niskie wynagrodzenia, nadmierna biurokracja, przeciążenie zawodowe. Według badania „Future Health Index 2024” aż 1/3 pracowników służby zdrowia decyduje się na odejście z zawodu z powodu wypalenia zawodowego. To dużo. Europejskie społeczeństwa starzeją się. Mniej osób chce pracować w ochronie zdrowia, a liczba lekarzy spada. Według polskiej Naczelnej Izby Lekarskiej aż 77% aktywnych zawodowo lekarzy-mężczyzn ma ponad 65 lat. To oznacza jedno – nie ma wymiany pokoleń. Musimy postawić na systemowe rozwiązania: zwiększenie liczby miejsc na studiach medycznych, poprawę warunków pracy, wdrażanie technologii, które pozwolą lekarzom skupić się na pacjentach, a nie dokumentach. Nie ma sektora opieki bez ludzi.

11. Fremme af erhvervsuddannelse i tider med omstilling på arbejdsmarkedet (forhandling)

Priekšsēdētājs. – Nākamais darba kārtības punkts ir debates par Padomes un Komisijas paziņojumiem par profesionālās izglītības un arod mācību veicināšanu laikus, kad notiek statusa maiņa darba tirgū (2025/2530(RSP)).

Adam Szłapka, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Mr President, honourable Members, Madam Commissioner, thank you very much for inviting the Council to participate in this very important and timely debate.

It comes at a critical time for our competitiveness. Our labour markets face persistent challenges and skills shortages limit the ability of our companies to be competitive in the global economy.

The Draghi report sent a strong signal in this respect and recent geopolitical developments represent a further challenge for European economic security.

We must recognise that progress has been slow in meeting the overall training target of the European pillar of social rights action plan, whereby 60 % of all adults should be participating in training every year by 2030.

A combination of policies and tools is needed to reverse this state of affairs. However, there is no doubt that vocational education and training (VET) is a key instrument for supporting people in their transition from education to work, from a career choice to another, and towards emerging employment opportunities.

Like you honourable Members, the Council believes that vocational education and training is on an equal footing with other educational pathways and should not be seen as less prestigious than obtaining a university degree, for instance.

Quite the opposite. High quality and innovative VET institutions equip our citizens with the right skills to help tackle labour shortages or create jobs in demand on the labour market.

We need to make sure that these institutions remain agile so that they can adapt to labour market changes and to the rapidly evolving work patterns.

VET occupations are also in process of transformation. Think of care workers and ICT technicians, for instance, and the type of skills needed nowadays to assume such responsibilities.

Flexibility, progression opportunities and inclusiveness should be at the heart of our system in this field. These principles are at the core of the Council recommendation on vocational education and training.

VET programs need to be accessible to everyone and flexible training formats should support the school-to-work transition.

Mr President, honourable Members, Commissioner, our presidency has the concept of 'vocational excellence' firmly on its radar.

The Flagship Presidency Conference on inclusive education, which will take place 17-18 March in Warsaw, will address the issue of inclusive vocational training systems and the support for entering the labour market.

The presidency will also contribute to the discussion on coordination between the European, national and regional levels in the area of skills development: this issue will be on the agenda of the meeting of Directors-General for VET in Katowice on 19-20 May.

Beyond our presidency semester, I can assure you that the Council will continue to work tirelessly to support vocational education and training systems as a key element for upgrading the European skills paradigm, and as such, a key element to boost Europe's competitiveness and economic resilience.

Roxana Minzatu, *Executive Vice-President of the Commission*. – Mr President, honourable Members, thank you for keeping education and skills high on the European Parliament's agenda. It is a priority that this European Commission shares 100 %. Me personally as well, of course.

The Draghi Report is clear. One of the reasons why our competitiveness is lagging is that Europe is underperforming in skills. The PISA tests show that our students are falling behind, and most adults do not improve their skills through training. Closing the skills gap is a basic condition to boost competitiveness. This was also recognised in the Competitiveness Compass.

But we need bold and ambitious initiatives in this respect. On 5 March, the Commission is planning to adopt a communication on a Union of Skills. The communication will present a vision for the establishment of the Union of Skills: what it is, what it should deliver, how and by when. These will be organised around the areas where we see the biggest need for urgent action, which would be four pillars.

First, building skills through stronger educational foundations and vocational training systems. Second, upskilling and reskilling an agile workforce with an inclusive, lifelong learning approach. Third, allowing skills to circulate with the free movement of learners and workers across the European Union, unlocking the single market's full potential. And fourth, attracting, developing and retaining talent in Europe.

We are not starting from scratch. The Union of Skills will build on ongoing initiatives that have proved successful and bring them forward, such as the pact for skills, which has helped upskill more than 4 million workers, and the European Education Area Strategic Framework to equip learners with the competencies they need to thrive in society.

The Union of Skills will frame the work of the Commission for this entire mandate, and an important work strand will be to step up the support for basic literacy, for maths, for science and for digital skills enhancement. This will happen via our Basic Skills Action Plan. Union of Skills will provide support also through a STEM Education Strategic Plan to reverse the trend of declining performance in STEM skills at school and to attract more students in STEM careers, including in vocational education and training. Attracting more women in STEM will be a key objective and I will again emphasise that today we celebrate the International Day of Women in STEM.

I also want to increase the attractiveness, excellence and inclusiveness of vocational education and training with the European Strategy for Vocational Education and Training. Also very important: developing a skills portability initiative. It will be part of the Union of Skills. It will open up more opportunities for workers and businesses to fully capture the potential of our internal market.

We will have time to consult widely with this House, with Member States and with all stakeholders. But I would like to stress the importance of these initiatives already now. We want to give vocational education and training the pre-eminence, the prestige it deserves and boost the number of people with a secondary VET degree.

But success is not just about numbers, about quantity. We need to empower them through better recognition of vocational qualifications. We face huge labour and skills shortages all over Europe and many are related with vocational areas. As mentioned earlier, we need health care workers, but we also need plumbers, electricians, IT specialists – such a critical area – specialists in construction, workers in the construction area.

The new job opportunities created by the green and digital transition are often linked to very technical profiles, to vocational programmes. Think about the specialists who install solar panels on our roofs, for instance. We therefore have to ensure that vocational and educational training programmes become a more attractive educational and career choice.

We will also explore the possibility to develop and pilot a European VET degree, a diploma that is complementary to the European Degree in Higher Education. With the Skills Portability Initiative, we want to make sure that skills and qualifications acquired in one EU country are understood, are accepted and, where required, are recognised more easily in another Member State.

Honourable Members, the Union of Skills, as Rome, will not be built in one day, but it is important to start. It is even more important to set the bar high and to hit the ground running. I count on this House – on you – for your continued support.

Dennis Radtke, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident! Frau Exekutiv-Vizepräsidentin! Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Ganz herzlichen Dank an dich, liebe Roxana, und an die Kommission für diese Initiative.

Ich glaube, das Thema *Skills* war schon in der letzten Periode bei der Europäischen Kommission prominent platziert. Aber jetzt geht es darum, dass wir in dieser Legislaturperiode auch den nächsten Schritt machen. Gerade mit Blick auf Ausbildung, finde ich, müssen wir auch wieder zu einem anderen Image und zu einem anderen Selbstbewusstsein kommen.

Ich selber habe eine Berufsausbildung gemacht. Ich bin kein Akademiker; ich habe Industriekaufmann gelernt. Macht mich das jetzt zu einem schlechteren Abgeordneten, weil ich keinen akademischen Abschluss habe? Wir sind ja mittlerweile an manchen Stellen schlicht und ergreifend in einer Welt angekommen, wo man nur noch als Akademiker als vollwertiger Mensch oder Arbeitnehmer angesehen wird. Deswegen ist es höchste Zeit, dass wir da wieder zu einer anderen Bewertung kommen.

Wie du richtigerweise gesagt hast: Wir brauchen Fachleute, die sich mit künstlicher Intelligenz auskennen, die programmieren können, die alles Mögliche tun. Aber wir brauchen auch Leute, die in der Lage sind, mit ihren Händen ein Dach zu decken oder eine Toilette zu reparieren. Denn wenn wir demnächst nur noch Experten für künstliche Intelligenz haben – die werden uns die Dächer nicht decken und auch die Toiletten nicht reparieren. Deswegen ist es auch wichtig, dass wir über die Frage der Anerkennung von Qualifikation, Portabilität – dass das jetzt wirklich auf die nächste Stufe gehoben wird.

Das sage ich gerade als deutscher Vertreter. Wir haben in Deutschland und auch in Österreich duale Berufsausbildungen. Das kennen 90 Millionen Menschen. Aber acht Milliarden Menschen auf der Welt haben davon noch nie was gehört. Deswegen müssen wir wirklich dafür sorgen: Wie kommen wir auch bei beruflicher Ausbildung zu mehr Vergleichbarkeit, zu gemeinsamen Standards und – vor allen Dingen ein Punkt, der mir auch wichtig ist – wie können wir diejenigen, die formal keine Abschlüsse haben und jetzt irgendwo in Hilfsarbeitertätigkeiten sind, wie können wir trotzdem das, was die können, in irgendeiner Art und Weise formalisieren?

In einem Land wie Deutschland beispielsweise brauchst du für alles eine Bescheinigung, ansonsten kannst du nichts. In Deutschland bist du nicht mal tot, ohne dass dir das jemand bescheinigt hat. Das ist, glaube ich, ein Weg. Wie können wir das gerade für die Leute mit formal geringer Bildung auf die nächste Stufe heben? Das muss auch mit auf die Agenda.

Romana Jerković, *u ime kluba S&D*. – Poštovani predsjedavajući, kolegice i kolege, povjerenice, živimo u vrijeme velikih promjena, u vrijeme kada je kvalitetno strukovno obrazovanje i osposobljavanje ključno za tržište rada i radna mjesta budućnosti.

Nažalost, mnogi, a posebno dugotrajno nezaposleni, žene koje se vraćaju na tržište rada i stariji radnici kojima je potrebna prekvalifikacija isključeni su iz obrazovnog sustava zbog financijskih prepreka i neadekvatnih obrazovnih programa koji nisu usklađeni s potrebama tržišta rada. A bez pristupa kvalitetnom i besplatnom obrazovanju ove skupine su osuđene na nesigurne poslove, koji često vode u siromaštvo.

Danas ogroman broj malih i srednjih poduzeća ne može pronaći radnu snagu s potrebnim vještinama što je u direktnoj vezi s dugotrajnom lošom politikom koja se vodila. Vrijeme je da prestanemo ignorirati stvarne probleme i počnemo ozbiljno ulagati u strukovno obrazovanje. Europa koja ne ulaže u vještine svojih radnika ne može biti konkurentna i to nije Europa budućnosti.

Catherine Griset, *au nom du groupe PFE*. – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, chers collègues, l'éducation et la formation professionnelle sont des compétences nationales. Toute tentative de standardisation européenne méconnaît les réalités économiques et culturelles propres à chaque nation. En France, la dévalorisation des formations techniques et manuelles a conduit à une véritable catastrophe, tandis que la massification de l'enseignement général a laissé des milliers de jeunes sur le carreau.

Il est urgent de rétablir l'apprentissage et l'alternance comme piliers d'une économie forte, grâce notamment à des incitations fiscales et une simplification administrative, plutôt qu'à des financements européens conditionnés à des critères idéologiques.

Nous devons cesser de pallier nos besoins de main-d'œuvre par l'immigration massive. Former notre jeunesse doit être une priorité nationale et non une variable d'ajustement. L'Europe doit défendre la transmission des savoir-faire, mais aussi encourager la formation aux métiers d'avenir comme l'intelligence artificielle.

Enfin, l'Union européenne finance trop souvent des formations imposant des dogmes progressistes, dits inclusifs, au détriment des compétences réelles et du mérite. Les États doivent préserver leur liberté d'organiser leur système éducatif en fonction de leurs besoins. En bref, plus de savoir-faire, moins d'idéologie, plus de liberté pour les nations, moins de réglementation européenne.

Chiara Gemma, *a nome del gruppo ECR*. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signora Commissaria, qual è la sfida oggi? La sfida non è solo creare nuovi posti di lavoro, ma preparare i nostri giovani e meno giovani a cogliere queste opportunità. Per questo è essenziale promuovere percorsi formativi flessibili, che consentano una riqualificazione rapida e concreta delle competenze in un mercato in continua evoluzione.

Fondamentale allora è la valorizzazione dell'istruzione tecnica e professionale, spesso ingiustamente considerata di serie B rispetto a percorsi accademici che, il più delle volte, non sono allineati alle reali esigenze del mercato del lavoro. Le aziende europee cercano tecnici qualificati, innovatori e professionisti capaci. Dobbiamo allora garantire che la formazione professionale riceva il giusto riconoscimento e il necessario sostegno, consapevoli del fatto che essa favorisce occupabilità, innovazione, crescita economica e coesione sociale. Ma, soprattutto, abbiamo bisogno di una formazione snella, che sia davvero in linea con le necessità delle nostre economie, rispettando al contempo la sovranità degli Stati membri nel definire le proprie strategie educative.

Brigitte van den Berg, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Mr President, around 77 % of the companies in the EU have indicated that they are facing difficulties of finding employees with the required skills.

To work on this challenge, we really have to recognise that there is a gap in our society between the practically educated and the theoretically educated. We have to be so much more conscious that our vocational professionals are carrying our society. What can we do to really do something about this?

I'm inspired by Karim Amghar: he is a vocational educator in the Netherlands and, together with him, I want to plead to stop discrimination on the basis of educational level, to increase the salaries of vocational-trained professionals and to change our language: no longer 'higher education' and 'lower education', but let's talk about the professional specialists and the hi-tech craftsmen that they are. Let's stop talking about professionals as merely tools for our goals, because we are in this together: equal.

The lack of appreciation and recognition of the practically educated professionals, and the lack of a human-centred approach, is the largest problem we have to win this battle.

(The President cut off the speaker)

Li Andersson, *The Left-ryhmän puolesta*. – Arvoisa puhemies, arvostus – siitä ammatilliset opiskelijat ovat eniten minulle puhuneet. Toiveesta tulla nähdyiksi tasavertaisina niin osaamisen, työelämän kuin talouden kannalta. Entisenä opetusministerinä on siksi erityisen suuri ilo osallistua tähän keskusteluun.

Ammatillista koulutusta pitää kehittää houkuttelevana koulutuspolkuna, johon kuuluu riittävästi myös yleissivistävien aineiden ja kansalaistaitojen laadukasta opetusta. Samalla EU:n ongelma on, että jäsenmaissa tehdään liian usein näihin tavoitteisiin nähden täysin ristiriitaista talouspolitiikkaa.

On mahdotonta parantaa osaamistasoa, jos samalla leikkaa 120 miljoonaa euroa ammatillisesta koulutuksesta, kuten Suomen oikeistohallitus nyt on tekemässä. Aikuiskoulutustuen se on jo ehtinyt lakkauttaa. On tärkeää, että EU:ssa puhutaan ammatillisesta koulutuksesta ja taidoista, mutta on myös pakko käydä keskustelua siitä, miten nykyinen talouspolitiikka johtaa kilpailukyvyllä haitalliseen politiikkaan, jolla ei ole mitään tekemistä EU:n osaamista parantavien tavoitteiden kanssa.

Marcin Sypniewski, *w imieniu grupy ESN*. – Panie Przewodniczący! Rynek pracy dynamicznie się zmienia i w takich warunkach zawsze kluczowe jest promowanie oddolnej działalności. Przedstawiciele austriackiej szkoły ekonomicznej podkreślają, że ograniczanie wolności ekonomicznej prowadzi do zapaści gospodarczej i wzrostu bezrobocia. I taki sam skutek ograniczenie wolności ma do braku fachowców pożądaných na rynku pracy. Dlatego wszelkie działania powinny się opierać na dobrowolności i dążeniu do wzajemnych korzyści. Współczesny system edukacji faktycznie często nie przygotowuje młodych ludzi do realiów rynku pracy. Spędzają oni lata w szkolnych ławach, nie zdobywając umiejętności praktycznych, cenionych przez pracodawców i w efekcie wielu absolwentów nie posiada ani doświadczenia zawodowego, ani kompetencji, które są wymagane na rynku. Żeby temu przeciwdziałać, należy zachęcać do samodzielnego zdobywania praktycznych umiejętności przez kształcenie zawodowe i szkolenia, które są dostosowane do potrzeb rynku. Takie podejście zwiększa wartość pracownika w oczach pracodawcy. Warto jednak zwrócić uwagę także na bariery utrudniające zatrudnienie, takie jak wysokie podatki, jak regulacje, które podnoszą koszty zatrudnienia i koszty zatrudnienia fachowców. Ich redukcja mogłaby znacznie ułatwić tworzenie nowych miejsc pracy i rozwój przedsiębiorczości.

Polski ekonomista Ferdynand Zweig wskazuje, że na przykład inwestycje publiczne nie są skutecznym narzędziem w walce z bezrobociem. Zamiast tego należy skupić się na tworzeniu warunków sprzyjających rozwojowi przedsiębiorczości i inicjatyw oddolnych. Eliminacja tych barier regulacyjnych oraz wspieranie edukacji dostosowanej do rynku pozwoli na lepsze wykorzystanie potencjału jednostek. Powinniśmy to promować, promować wolność ekonomiczną, indywidualne inicjatywy. Zróbmy krok w tył i pozwólmy ludziom działać.

Maravillas Abadía Jover (PPE). – Señor presidente, señora comisaria, hoy nos encontramos en una etapa crucial para el futuro del empleo. La escasez de mano de obra y el relevo generacional, junto con los avances tecnológicos como la inteligencia artificial, están transformando nuestro mercado laboral y, frente a esto, es nuestra responsabilidad garantizar que nadie quede atrás.

Por eso, debemos comenzar desde el principio, invirtiendo en formación para los ciudadanos, especialmente en el futuro profesional de los jóvenes, porque, sin empleos, no habrá proyecto europeo ni competitividad que valga.

Señora comisaria, esperamos con urgencia la propuesta de la Unión sobre las competencias en el marco de la Brújula para la Competitividad. Es urgente trabajar en una estrategia coherente que refuerce la cooperación entre empresas y centros formativos necesarios para afrontar los retos del futuro. En este sentido, es fundamental que la formación profesional evolucione de manera efectiva para adaptarse a las nuevas demandas laborales y que nuestros sistemas educativos y de formación estén alineados con las necesidades reales del mercado.

Pero no hablemos solo de formación profesional, hablemos de hacer un Fondo Social Europeo más ambicioso, de reconocer las microcredenciales universitarias y de impulsar el empleo en mayores con formación continuada.

Señorías, la competitividad de la Unión Europea se fundamenta en las personas. Invertir en su formación es, sin duda, invertir en el futuro de Europa.

Hannes Heide (S&D). – Herr Präsident! Frau Exekutiv-Vizepräsidentin! In allen Mitgliedstaaten herrscht ein akuter Fachkräftemangel. Fast zwei Drittel der Klein- und Mittelbetriebe klagen darüber. Gleichzeitig liegt die Jugendarbeitslosigkeit bei knapp 15 % – ein Alarmsignal und Auftrag zum Handeln.

Österreich ist hier für viele ein Vorbild. Die duale Ausbildung verbindet Praxis und Schule; sie erleichtert jungen Menschen den Zugang zum Arbeitsmarkt. Berufsbildende Schulen, wo Absolventinnen und Absolventen eine Berufsausbildung abschließen, aber auch die Hochschulreife erwerben, schaffen Chancen in Bereichen wie Tourismus oder Sozialberufen. Dass der Handwerksmeister-Abschluss inzwischen auf einer Stufe mit dem universitären Bachelor steht, ist ein Meilenstein.

Trotzdem leidet die betriebsnahe Ausbildung an einem Imageproblem. Zum Vergleich: In der Schweiz entscheiden sich über 60 % der Jugendlichen für eine Lehre. Fachkräfte verdienen oft mehr als Akademikerinnen und Akademiker, und die Jugendarbeitslosigkeit ist die niedrigste in Europa. Daher müssen wir die Berufsausbildung auch in der EU dringend aufwerten.

Am Erasmus+-Programm können erstmals junge Menschen in Berufsausbildung teilnehmen, und das muss im nächsten Programm auch massiv ausgebaut werden. Der europäische Bildungsraum mit gegenseitiger Anerkennung von Abschlüssen muss endlich Realität werden, um die Mobilität von Fachkräften zu stärken. Ich danke der Exekutiv-Vizepräsidentin und für Bildung zuständigen Kommissarin für ihre Initiative, weil jeder arbeitslose Mensch einer zu viel ist!

Pál Szekeres (PFE). – *(a felszólalás eleje mikrofon nélkül hangzik el)* ... munkaalapú társadalom és gazdaság kiépítése a cél. A magyar szakképzési stratégia ennek keretében támogatja a kutatást és az innovációt, hozzájárul a versenyképesség javulásához, karrierlehetőségeket és biztos megélhetést kínál.

Magyarországon cél, hogy minél több fiatal jusson versenyképes szakmához. Jelenleg háromszázezer főnél többen vannak a szakképzési rendszerben. Cél, hogy javítsuk a tanulók alapkompenciáit, hogy korszerű oktatási környezetet alakítsunk ki, és kiszolgáljuk a gazdasági igényeket.

Ennek érdekében hazánkban minden képzés kiegészül digitális szintekkel és zöld készségekkel. Bevezettük, bővítettük a duális képzést, ami egy párhuzamos képzés a cégeknél és az iskolákban. Megemeltük az oktatói béréket, bevezettük a szakképzési ösztöndíjat és a munkáshitelt. Folyamatos infrastrukturális fejlesztéseket és digitális korszerűsítést végzünk.

Az első két szakmához ingyenesen lehet hozzájutni. Ezekkel az eszközökkel kívánjuk a szakképzést támogatni, hiszen nagyon kellenek a munkás kezek mindenhol. Nem csak beszélünk róla, hanem forrást is biztosítunk a célok eléréséhez.

PRESIDENZA: PINA PICIERNO*Vicepresidente*

Georgiana Teodorescu (ECR). – Domnule președinte, privind spre viitor, educația și formarea profesională vor continua să fie pilonii esențiali ai excelenței. România și-a condamnat viitorul când a închis școlile de arte și meserii. Învățământul vocațional reprezintă baza educației în toate statele avansate ale lumii, în timp ce la noi proiectul de Românie educată a fost să producem diplome universitare pe bandă rulantă, să îmbogățim școlile private, iar absolvenții noștri de studii superioare să nu se priceapă la nimic.

La ce bun diplomele? Avem absolvenți de studii superioare care acum sunt muncitori necalificați în diaspora, în construcții sau în agricultură, sau casieri pe la supermarketuri în țară. În același timp, așteptăm cu săptămânile când avem nevoie de serviciile unui electrician sau instalator, pur și simplu pentru că nu avem destui.

Tinerii noștri pleacă din țară sau învață să facă bani din altceva, dar nu din meserii calificate, pentru că statul român nu îi învață nici carte, nici competențe. Este timpul să repornim învățământul vocațional și să le oferim tinerilor un viitor sigur prin învățarea unei meserii. Doar așa vom putea contribui eficient la creșterea natalității și la dezvoltarea economică a țării noastre.

Laurence Farreng (Renew). – Madame la Présidente, Madame la Vice-Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire et Monsieur le Ministre, chers collègues, il n'y aura pas d'Europe souveraine sans Europe des compétences. C'est ce que dit le rapport Draghi sur la compétitivité.

Les grands défis industriels, les innovations de rupture comme l'IA transforment en profondeur le monde du travail et nos besoins en compétences, particulièrement dans le secteur de la formation professionnelle et de l'apprentissage et de la formation tout au long de la vie.

Oui, il faut décider d'urgence d'un fonds de souveraineté pour financer les secteurs d'avenir, mais il faut investir dans l'humain. Notre retard est important.

Les États membres doivent sortir de leur logique nationale pour faire progresser le niveau scolaire, pour coordonner au plan européen des formations plus stratégiques, pour finaliser la reconnaissance de tous les diplômes et particulièrement les diplômes professionnels. Je lance l'alerte sur Erasmus: c'est un nouveau pourvoyeur de talents depuis que le programme s'est ouvert à la mobilité longue des apprentis. Ce programme semble pourtant menacé par les projets de budget qui circulent.

Madame la Commissaire, Madame la Vice-Présidente, je vous le dis ici, nous nous battons pour Erasmus, tout comme nous nous battons pour que le mot «éducation» revienne dans le nom de votre portefeuille.

Νίκος Παππάς (The Left). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, στον κόσμο της σύγχρονης οικονομίας, οι συνεχείς τεχνολογικές και οικονομικές ανατροπές επηρεάζουν δραματικά την αγορά εργασίας. Η χρήση τεχνητής νοημοσύνης και η ψηφιοποίηση επιβάλλουν την ανάγκη νέων μορφών επαγγελματικής εκπαίδευσης και κατάρτισης, ώστε να ανταποκρίνονται στις πραγματικές ανάγκες των εργαζομένων.

Ο επαγγελματικός προσανατολισμός από τα χρόνια του Λυκείου, η επαγγελματική εκπαίδευση και κατάρτιση πρέπει να εξελιχθούν σε μέσα ενδυνάμωσης των εργαζομένων. Οι εργαζόμενοι χρειάζονται νέες δεξιότητες ώστε να αντέξουν τις πιέσεις που δημιουργεί η μεταβαλλόμενη αγορά εργασίας. Η ενίσχυση της δια βίου μάθησης και η αναβάθμιση της δημόσιας επαγγελματικής εκπαίδευσης αποτελούν θεμελιώδες δικαίωμα για την εξασφάλιση εργασιακής ασφάλειας και προσβασιμότητας ανεξαρτήτως φύλου, ηλικίας ή κοινωνικής τάξης.

Το Erasmus+ και το Ευρωπαϊκό Σώμα Αλληλεγγύης θα πρέπει να ενισχυθούν και να υπάρξει μεγαλύτερη διαφάνεια στη διοχέτευση των κονδυλίων. Να στηρίξουν πραγματικά την πρόσβαση και τη μετάβαση σε ποιοτικές θέσεις εργασίας για τη νέα γενιά. Η εκπαίδευση και η δια βίου μάθηση είναι κοινωνικό δικαίωμα και όχι εμπορεύσιμο αγαθό.

Fidias Panayiotou (NI). – Madam President, AI will replace most jobs and we are not ready for it. Self-driving cars are replacing drivers. AI models are replacing software developers. Robots are replacing factory workers. Jobs will be disappearing, and the hard part is that we cannot really predict which ones will disappear and when.

Europe needs to prepare for these big changes, and the way to do it is to fundamentally transform education. Our current education systems were created long ago, mainly to turn children into obedient factory workers. But now times are changing. Soon factories will not need human workers anymore. Even though we refuse to acknowledge it, today children mostly learn online by themselves. Perhaps the solution to fix education is to listen to them carefully and embrace their ways.

Let me finish with a quote from Isaac Asimov: 'Self-education is the only kind of education there is.'

Gheorghe Falcă (PPE). – Doamnă președintă, doamnă comisară, dragi colegi, Uniunea Europeană cunoaște o perioadă de tranziție economică accelerată, marcată de digitalizare, automatizare și tranziție verde. Aceste schimbări nu reprezintă doar provocări, iar ele sunt multe și reale, ci și oportunități. Așa că, dacă investim inteligent în educație și formare profesională, putem avea o creștere a competențelor din societatea noastră.

Ce propunem?

1. O legătură mult mai puternică și mai directă între educație și mediul de afaceri. Companiile trebuie implicate activ în definirea curriculumelor, pentru ca formarea profesională să fie reală și aplicabilă, iar asta nu poate să plece decât de jos în sus, de la nivel local spre cel național și apoi spre cel european.

2. Sprijin pentru antreprenorii și IMM-urile din domeniul educației și formării profesionale. Viziunea mea este aceea a unei educații bazate pe nevoile reale identificate pe teren de companii și de angajați. Am lucrat 19 ani în administrația publică locală, am văzut ce înseamnă rolul universităților, al liceelor, al școlilor profesionale duale. Am preluat un oraș cu 39 000 de locuri de muncă. În 10 ani am ajuns la 90 000 de locuri de muncă, un șomaj sub 1 %.

De aceea, dacă vrem o Europă inovatoare și competitivă, trebuie să oferim libertate și sprijin celor care cunosc realitatea din teren. Asta înseamnă educație modernă și antreprenorială. Asta înseamnă viitor.

Idoia Mendia (S&D). – Señora presidenta, señora vicepresidenta ejecutiva, en este Parlamento últimamente solo se escucha hablar de competitividad de empresas y de productividad, y se olvidan de lo importante: la clave son las personas, esas a las que todos nosotros representamos.

Y quiero decirles además que la formación es un derecho. Invertir en las personas, una formación profesional dual más orientada a la realidad económica, una primera experiencia laboral digna —estoy pensando sobre todo en los jóvenes y la calidad de su primer empleo—... es la clave para que Europa sea más competitiva porque sus empresas lo serán, y la productividad siempre aumenta con la formación.

Necesitamos un compromiso de la patronal con la formación de sus trabajadores, que aumente su productividad, pero que evite despidos futuros cuando tenga que afrontar cambios en sus negocios. La interlocución público-privada ágil en el diseño del reciclaje y perfeccionamiento profesional adecuado es la clave para garantizar empleos dignos, con buenos salarios y buenas condiciones laborales.

La mejor garantía para las personas es que podamos ofrecer formación para las transiciones verde y digital sobre todo a aquellos con bajos niveles educativos y a los colectivos especialmente vulnerables, con un especial foco en las mujeres.

Elisabeth Dieringer (PfE). – Frau Präsidentin! Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren! Ja, die Berufsausbildung ist ein zentraler Bestandteil der europäischen Arbeitsmarktstrategie. Österreich hat hier eine selbstständig und lange entwickelte Tradition. In einer Zeit, in der der EU-Arbeitsmarkt mit einem Mangel an Fachkräften konfrontiert ist, ist es wichtig, nun aufzuzeigen, wie man durch die Stärkung der Lehre und der beruflichen Weiterbildung auf den sich wandelnden Arbeitsmarkt reagieren kann.

Ja, Österreich hat eine duale Ausbildung. Ja, wir haben sogar ein Modell, das sich Lehre mit Matura nennt, die sowohl theoretisches Wissen als auch praktische Erfahrung im Unternehmen vermittelt. Statt ständig darauf zu setzen, dass es darum geht, Fachkräfte aus dem Ausland zu importieren, muss man auf die Weiterentwicklung in der eigenen Bevölkerung achten. In den eigenen Mitgliedstaaten und in Österreich ist dies so gestaltet, dass man darauf auch relativ flexibel reagieren kann.

Darum brauchen wir eine Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Bildungseinrichtungen, den Unternehmungen und vor allem Regierungen, die dafür bereit sind, dass Leistung auch wieder anerkannt wird.

Marlena Małąg (ECR). – Szanowni Państwo! Niedobór pracowników i kompetencji to wielkie wyzwanie, z którym mierzą się zarówno małe firmy, jak i wielkie korporacje. Przed chwilą omawialiśmy je w kontekście sektora opieki, ale problem ten dotyczy faktycznie wszystkich branż.

W przeszłości wyuczony zawód dawał pracę na całe życie. Dziś przez całe życie musimy uczyć się nowych zawodów. To efekt przede wszystkim dynamicznej cyfryzacji, walki o konkurencyjność, ale także walki o wzrosty gospodarcze. To również efekt zmian demograficznych.

Komisja Europejska jednakże wysyła sprzeczne sygnały. Transformacja ekologiczna miała tworzyć nowe miejsca pracy, a w przemyśle motoryzacyjnym obserwujemy masowe zwolnienia. Zielony Ład miał być lekiem na europejskie problemy, jednakże staje się podstępłą chorobą wyniszczającą gospodarkę Starego Kontynentu.

Pozostawiam Państwa z jednym pytaniem: Unia Europejska nie radzi sobie z niedoborem pracowników i kluczowych kompetencji. Jak zatem poradzi sobie z nowym ekologicznym wyzwaniem i z nowymi regulacjami ekologicznymi, gdy te wejdą w życie?

Anna-Maja Henriksson (Renew). – Fru talman! Den viktigaste resurs vi har är ju våra människor. Därför behöver vi se till att alla får en god utbildning. Vi lär oss för livet, och i de här osäkra tiderna som vi nu lever är en god utbildningsnivå för alla otroligt viktig – för vår kriställighet, för vår demokrati och för jämställdheten, men också för Europas konkurrenskraft.

Därför är det också viktigt att kommissionen och Europaparlamentet kan fortsätta att stödja Erasmus+-programmet och att också de som får en yrkesutbildning kan ta del i Erasmus+.

Sen handlar det om att stärka Europas konkurrenskraft. Våra företag har brist på arbetskraft. Vi behöver utbilda till arbete, inte till arbetslöshet. Som tidigare undervisningsminister i Finland vet jag att här är samarbete mellan företagen, mellan yrkesutbildarna och med regionerna oerhört viktigt. Och vi kan bättre. Vi ska satsa på att alla känner att de gör ett värdefullt arbete också när de utbildar sig inom yrkesutbildningen.

Andrzej Buła (PPE). – Szanowni Państwo! Chciałbym skupić się na trzech elementach, które według mnie są zasadnicze w omawianym temacie. Po pierwsze – ścisła, systemowa i instytucjonalna współpraca szkół branżowych z przedsiębiorstwami. W moim regionie na Opolszczyźnie w Polsce stworzyliśmy 54 szkolne punkty informacji i kariery. Są to swoiste showroomy regionalnych firm, miejsca zdobywania wiedzy o prowadzeniu własnej działalności gospodarczej.

Kolejnym kluczowym elementem jest odpowiednie przygotowanie pedagogów i doradców zawodowych w szkołach oraz kadry w przedsiębiorstwach. Pracodawcy muszą być świadomi swojej roli i gotowi do oddelegowania pracowników, którzy będą odpowiedzialni za opiekę nad stażystami.

Trzecim bardzo ważnym aspektem jest kontakt uczniów z lokalnymi przedsiębiorcami już na jak najwcześniejszym etapie, jeszcze w szkole podstawowej, przed wyborem ścieżki edukacji. Pracodawcy widząc merytorycznego, otwartego partnera, angażują się w proces edukacyjny. Istotną rolę odgrywa tutaj Europejski Fundusz Społeczny Plus, od finansowania praktyk, wymian edukacyjnych, aż do budowania i wyposażenia pracowni.

Chciałem tutaj zwrócić uwagę Komisji Europejskiej, aby planując nową politykę spójności, wzięła pod uwagę konieczność zapewnienia jak największego i jak najszerszego cross-financingu dla EFS Plus.

Marc Angel (S&D). – Madam President, Commissioner, Minister, dear colleagues, digital and climate transitions are transforming our labour markets and challenging millions of jobs, but also bringing millions of new opportunities.

Faced with this new reality, we must invest massively in vocational education and training, but not only for young people, but also for workers whose qualifications need upskilling. Training these experienced workers is not just about offering them a new chance, it's also a social and economic imperative. We must complement their skills for innovative sectors such as digital technologies, renewable energies, the health care sector and green industries.

Nevertheless, the responsibility does not solely rest on individuals. The state and businesses must take action. Member States must guarantee more funding for supporting vocational education and training, and the companies must be more open for apprenticeships.

Combining theoretical classroom training with a practical component in the company is the best springboard towards internal professional reconversion. This is how we will turn the digital and the climate transition into an opportunity for all our citizens, but also for all our businesses.

It is also important to have better recognition of these diplomas of vocational training because let's not forget the millions of mobile workers and cross-border workers in the European Union.

Mélanie Disdier (Pfe). – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, tel un anti-Midas, la Commission européenne détruit tout ce qu'elle touche. Après avoir détruit notre économie, notre industrie et notre compétitivité, voilà qu'elle cherche maintenant à desservir nos politiques de formation professionnelle. Le seul exploit dont la Commission pourra se targuer est celui de réussir à épuiser le pactole.

Que peut-on donc espérer de sa part lorsque cette dernière lorgne sur la formation des travailleurs? Pour exemple, la directive Stages, dont les travaux viennent de démarrer: la Commission n'est même pas capable de proposer des définitions correctes pour définir un stagiaire. Dans cette situation, sa proposition ne peut que conduire à affaiblir nos filières de formation.

Évidemment, il ne s'agit pas de rester passifs non plus. Néanmoins, il serait de bon ton de confier ces dossiers à des gens compétents plutôt qu'à des technocrates isolés du monde extérieur. Quand on connaît les tests de la Commission pour recruter ses propres agents, on préfère éviter qu'elle se mêle de la formation professionnelle des États membres.

Ивайло Вълчев (ECR). – Г-жо Председател, г-н Комисар, за да се справим с предизвикателствата на променяния се пазар на труда, трябва да направим професионалното образование по-достъпно, по-гъвкаво, и най-важното – много по-реалистично свързано с нуждите на икономиката.

Първо, необходимо е да разширим програмите за преквалификация и допълнителна квалификация, така че работниците в застрашените сектори да могат лесно, и най-вече навреме, да преминават към нови професии. Второ, трябва да засилим партньорството между бизнеса и образователните институции, за да гарантираме, че обучението отговаря на реалните нужди на индустрията – професионалните гимназии, там където ги има, би трябвало да покриват търсенето на специалисти първо на местно ниво. И трето, трябва да въведем много по-гъвкави форми на обучение, включително дигитални курсове и практическо обучение в реална работна среда.

Трябва да осигурим финансовата подкрепа за обучаващите се, както и стимули за работодателите да инвестират в уменията на своите служители.

Само чрез тези конкретни действия можем да осигурим сигурност на работниците и конкурентоспособност на европейската икономика.

Sérgio Humberto (PPE). – Senhora Presidente, Caro Comissário, Caros Colegas, o crescimento requer inovação. Estamos perante um mercado de trabalho em constante mudança, sedento de investimentos adequados, de colaboração entre os setores público e privado de Estados-Membros competitivos, capazes de combater o défice de competências e a escassez de mão de obra qualificada. Precisamos de pensar, mas, sobretudo, planear e agir no curto, no médio e no longo prazo.

O futuro do trabalho na Europa depende da nossa capacidade de readaptar e impulsionar o ensino e a formação profissional. Depende de novas competências digitais e tecnológicas para incentivar a aprendizagem ao longo da vida. Depende da nossa adaptação às necessidades do trabalho e depende da requalificação de competências. Este é o caminho. Coordenarmos esforços entre todos para impulsionar o crescimento económico sustentável na UE, aproveitar as oportunidades da transição digital e ecológica, promover a criação de empregos de qualidade, aumentar a nossa resiliência económica e social face às mudanças geopolíticas, assegurar o financiamento para as políticas sociais e de emprego na União Europeia e apostar decisivamente nas áreas de I&D. Este é o caminho para voltarmos a liderar em conhecimento e em inovação e para garantirmos uma força de trabalho qualificada e resiliente.

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

João Oliveira (The Left), Pergunta segundo o procedimento «cartão azul». – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Deputado Sérgio Humberto, em Portugal, a geração mais qualificada de sempre é também uma daquelas que mais sai do país à procura de outras paragens, onde as suas qualificações sejam reconhecidas e melhores condições de trabalho e melhores salários e melhores perspetivas de vida. E o Senhor Deputado fez aqui uma intervenção a propósito da qualificação e da formação profissional, exclusivamente em função dos critérios da competição, da competitividade, da capacidade de as empresas gerarem lucros.

E a pergunta que lhe faço é se o Senhor Deputado não considera a necessidade de encarar as questões da formação e da qualificação profissional a partir da perspetiva dos trabalhadores, da melhoria das suas condições de trabalho, da redução dos horários de trabalho e da melhoria dos seus salários. Essa era a perspetiva que importava aqui discutir.

Sérgio Humberto (PPE), Resposta segundo o procedimento «cartão azul». – Caro colega João Oliveira, respondendo de uma forma sintética, nós só conseguimos ter melhores trabalhos se produzirmos riqueza para depois distribuir essa riqueza. Mas precisamos de ter trabalhos e, portanto, é isso que tem acontecido. E este governo, em Portugal, tem feito isso e já demonstrou isso em menos de um ano, essa aposta na formação, quer no ensino universitário, quer na formação profissional. Mas, sobretudo, precisamos de investimentos adequados para ter trabalhos e para ter melhores rendimentos e para não vermos os nossos jovens a sair de Portugal para fora e para outros países, não só na União Europeia, mas para todo o mundo.

Sabrina Repp (S&D). – Frau Präsidentin! Frau Exekutiv-Vizepräsidentin! Digitalisierung, künstliche Intelligenz und der demografische Wandel verändern den Arbeitsmarkt rasant. Doch dieser Wandel darf niemanden zurücklassen. Der Schlüssel dafür ist die berufliche Bildung, um allen, ob am Anfang oder in der Mitte des Arbeitslebens, die nötigen Fähigkeiten zu vermitteln, um sie fit für den Arbeitsmarkt zu machen.

Programme wie Erasmus+ oder Interreg zeigen, wie wertvoll der internationale Austausch ist. Deshalb müssen wir die Austauschmöglichkeiten für Auszubildende und Lehrkräfte weiter ausbauen. Berufliche Bildung muss aber auch vor allem in den ländlichen Regionen gefördert werden.

Lernen endet nicht mit der Ausbildung. Lebenslanges Lernen ist unerlässlich, damit Berufstätige mit Veränderungen Schritt halten können. Weiterbildung ist kein Luxus, sondern eine Notwendigkeit. Bei allen Herausforderungen und Veränderungen, die es gibt, ist es wichtig, dass wir alle Menschen mitnehmen und keine Region abgehängt wird. Die Förderung der Berufsbildung ist nicht nur eine wirtschaftliche, sondern vor allem eine soziale Verantwortung.

Unsere Aufgabe ist es, dass alle faire Chancen haben, sich weiterzuentwickeln, und aktiv beim Wandel unserer Arbeitswelt unterstützt werden.

Annamária Vicsek (PFE). – Tisztelt Elnök Asszony! A munkaerőpiac drámai változásokon megy keresztül. A digitalizáció, automatizáció és a zöld átállás új készségeket követel meg, miközben a demográfiai kihívások és a globális verseny tovább fokozzák az alkalmazkodás szükségességét.

Ebben a helyzetben a szakképzés és a szakoktatás átalakítása nem csupán lehetőség, hanem kötelességünk. Az Erasmus+ program kulcsszerepet játszik ebben, hiszen nemzetközi tapasztalatot, korszerű tudást és piacképes készségeket ad a fiataloknak. Éppen ezért elfogadhatatlan, hogy a brüsszeli döntés eredményeként közel 200 ezer magyar hallgató szorult ki az Erasmus+ programokból. Annak ellenére történt mindez, hogy az Európai Bizottság által kéréket teljesítette a magyar kormány, de mégis újabb kifogásokat és akadályokat állítanak elébe.

Büszkék lehetünk ugyanakkor a magyar szakképzési és szakoktatási reformokra, és külön kiemelném a 2024. második felében lezajlott magyar elnökségi hozzájárulását, amely hatékonyan erősítette az európai szakképzési együttműködéseket és a jó gyakorlatok megosztását.

Elena Donazzan (ECR). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la settimana prossima voteremo la posizione del Parlamento europeo sul Fondo sociale europeo Plus. Sono molto preoccupata, da relatrice ombra, di quello che sta accadendo, perché è molto distante dal dibattito di quest'Aula. Quest'Aula ha riconosciuto il rapporto tra scuola e lavoro, la transizione e la formazione professionale con il suo ruolo centrale.

Ho governato per anni una tra le più grandi regioni d'Italia e abbiamo usato molto bene il Fondo sociale europeo, a detta della Commissione e della Direzione generale. Però abbiamo spinto sulla formazione professionale durante tutto l'arco della vita. Abbiamo creduto nell'istruzione tecnica e tecnologica superiore. Abbiamo costruito rapporti tra mondo della scuola e mondo del lavoro con le imprese attraverso l'alternanza scuola-lavoro.

Ebbene, tutto questo sembra non trovare spazio e l'approccio di questa posizione della commissione EMPL sarà molto assistenzialista. Io credo che sia molto sbagliato.

Ελεονώρα Μελέτη (PPE). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, κύριε Επίτροπε, αγαπητοί συνάδελφοι, εξέλιξη, αυτοματοποίηση, ψηφιοποίηση, οικονομική κρίση, πανδημία, ανάγκη για πράσινη μετάβαση είναι παράγοντες που έχουν θέσει σε κίνδυνο πολλά επαγγέλματα, αλλά έχουν ανοίξει όμως πόρτες και σε νέα. Και όσα επαγγέλματα καταφέρνουν να επιβιώσουν, θα πρέπει να προσαρμοστούν σε νέα δεδομένα και να αναβαθμιστούν.

Σε κάθε περίπτωση, η επαγγελματική κατάρτιση, οι νέες δεξιότητες και η εκπαίδευση θα είναι προαπαιτούμενα για όποιον θέλει να παραμείνει δυναμικά στο παιχνίδι και να είναι ανταγωνιστικός και καινοτόμος. Όσο κάνουμε update στον εαυτό μας μέσω της επανεκπαίδευσης και χρησιμοποιούμε τις δεξιότητες του μέλλοντος ως νέα λογισμικά, θα μπορέσουμε να εκπληρώσουμε το όραμα της Ευρώπης, να είμαστε ανταγωνιστικοί.

Θα μου επιτρέψετε όμως, ως συντονίστρια στην Επιτροπή Γυναικών, να περάσω και το μήνυμα πως η ομπρέλα της δια βίου μάθησης μπορεί να γίνει ένα δυνατό όπλο και για όλες τις γυναίκες. Για εκείνες που αγαπούν την καριέρα, για εκείνες που βρίσκονται σε κακοποιητική περιβάλλον και θέλουν να φύγουν, αλλά δεν έχουν πόρους. Για εκείνες που κάποτε άφησαν τις δουλειές τους για χάρη της οικογένειας και τώρα ζητάνε μια δεύτερη ευκαιρία στην εργασία, για εκείνες που δεν έχουν δουλέψει ποτέ στη ζωή τους, αλλά θέλουν τώρα να κυνηγήσουν το όνειρο.

Isilda Gomes (S&D). – Senhora Presidente, Senhora Comissária, caros colegas, se há algo que a última década nos ensinou é que a velocidade das mudanças tecnológicas está a transformar rapidamente as exigências de qualificação dos trabalhadores. Um trabalhador formado para uma função específica pode ver essa função transformada ou mesmo vê-la desaparecer rapidamente. Para fazer face a esta realidade, é necessário reforçar o investimento na competência dos trabalhadores. Mas não basta que a formação profissional responda apenas às necessidades imediatas do mercado de trabalho. O foco deve estar nas pessoas, na sua capacitação contínua, preparando-as com uma mochila de competências que possam mobilizar ao longo da sua vida profissional, ajudando-as a novas exigências, sem receio de se tornarem ultrapassadas. Se queremos uma Europa preparada para o futuro, temos de garantir que cada cidadão europeu tem acesso às competências que lhe permitirão adaptar-se a um novo desafio. Esse é o verdadeiro significado de uma transição justa. Melhor formação, melhor economia.

Juan Carlos Girauta Vidal (PSE). – Señora presidenta, la actividad en todos los sectores se nutre de conocimiento, el activo más importante en el mundo contemporáneo. La aportación de ese activo clave ha estado en una grandísima medida a cargo de la educación y formación profesionales. Hemos sufrido un paulatino abandono de este activo que está altamente correlacionado con la generación de riqueza, con la competitividad, con el aumento de la productividad; en su lugar, se ha promovido una hiperinflación de universidades.

El error se va a pagar caro en el nuevo paradigma tecnológico, se ha preferido primar el adoctrinamiento. Les habla el representante de un país que tiene el paro juvenil más alto de Europa: a nuestra juventud española se la engañó pintando la formación profesional como algo de segunda categoría.

2023 fue el Año Europeo de las Competencias. Sin embargo, no ha habido ningún intento serio de revitalizar esta área crítica, sin la cual las empresas y organizaciones carecen de recursos humanos adecuados a sus variadas y específicas necesidades.

Vilija Blinkievičiūtė (S&D). – Ponia prezidente, Europos Sąjungos konkurencingumo stiprinimas yra neatsiejamas nuo tvarios socialinės užimtumo ir švietimo politikos. Darbuotojai su darbo rinkos poreikius atitinkančiais įgūdžiais, kokybiškos ir gerai apmokamos darbo vietos yra stiprios ir konkurencingos ekonomikos pagrindas.

Darbo rinkos poreikiai skaitmeninėje ir žaliajo perėjimo ekonomikoje greitai kinta, todėl privalome išsaugoti visas profesinio mokymo galimybes, kad darbuotojai pirmiausia galėtų persikvalifikuoti, įgyti naujus darbo rinkos poreikius atitinkančius įgūdžius ir kad jie pagaliau jaustųsi saugūs.

Darbdavių vaidmuo darbuotojų profesinio mokymo ir kvalifikacijų kėlime yra itin svarbus, tačiau dažnai pirmenybė teikiama naujų darbuotojų samdymui ir nenorima investuoti į mokymus, ir apskritai bandoma perkelti atsakomybę dėl mokymų patiems darbuotojams.

Todėl labai raginu Komisiją imtis konkrečių iniciatyvų ir pateikti direktyvą dėl darbuotojų teisės į mokymą, kad visiems darbuotojams būtų užtikrinta teisė į apmokamą su darbu susijusį mokymą ir švietimą.

Marie Dauchy (PFE). – Madame la Présidente, vous vous acharnez à imposer une vision dogmatique héritée de Robert Mundell, qui voulait une Europe sans frontières, où les travailleurs et les capitaux seraient interchangeables, au mépris des peuples et des nations. Dans cet esprit, vous rêvez d'un Erasmus du travail. Aujourd'hui, encore, vous souhaitez uniformiser l'enseignement et la formation professionnels, écrasant la souveraineté des États.

Vous n'avez pas à nous imposer des choix que les peuples n'ont jamais validés. Vous vous dites soucieux des travailleurs, mais vous organisez leur précarisation au nom d'une concurrence sans limite. Les pays européens n'ont pas besoin d'une bureaucratie qui brade leurs intérêts sous couvert de mobilité. Ils ont besoin de travail, de réindustrialisation, de protection et non d'un nouveau levier pour accélérer l'immigration et dévaloriser les salaires.

La France n'a pas vocation à être un marché livré à la loi du plus fort, mais une nation qui protège ses travailleurs et prépare son avenir selon ses propres choix. L'avenir de notre peuple ne vous appartient pas, il appartient aux Français.

Procedura «catch-the-eye»

Nina Carberry (PPE). – Madam President, Europe stands at a pivotal moment in relation to skills. Our labour market is undergoing significant change, driven by technology, the green transition and changing economic demands. Without investing in skills, we risk falling behind on the global stage.

As our industries and businesses are crying out for workers with the right expertise, further education and training is more crucial than ever. Apprenticeships help develop the entrepreneurial skills employers seek, and vocational training and education equip workers to thrive in evolving industries. By 2030, 90 % of jobs will require digital skills. But as pointed out by Draghi, 37 % of Europeans in the workforce lack even the basic digital knowledge.

The Union of Skills must be more than just an EU initiative. We need significant investment. The time for action is now. Europe must invest in the skills of tomorrow, today.

Nikolina Brnjac (PPE). – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, povjereniče, prolazimo kroz brze industrijske i društvene promjene, suočavamo se s ozbiljnim nedostatkom kvalificiranih radnika, digitalna i zelena tranzicija mijenjaju prirodu poslova, a upravo strukovno obrazovanje i osposobljavanje moraju biti naš ključ.

Danas oko 50 posto učenika srednjoškolskog obrazovanja u Europskoj uniji završava programe strukovnog obrazovanja, no unatoč tome, više od 75 posto europskih poduzeća prijavljuju poteškoće u pronalasku radnika s odgovarajućim vještinama. Zato moramo osigurati da strukovno obrazovanje bude fleksibilno, inovativno i usklađeno s potrebama tržišta rada.

Države članice moraju provesti ambicioznu reformu strukovnog obrazovanja kako bismo povećali broj kvalificiranih radnika i omogućili cjeloživotno učenje. Samo tako ćemo osigurati da europski radnici ostanu konkurentni, a naša ekonomija snažna i otporna.

Marcos Ros Sempere (S&D). – Señora presidenta, ¿queremos talento europeo para liderar los cambios en el mercado laboral? Necesitamos reforzar el papel de la Unión Europea en la educación y formación de calidad, no hay otro camino.

Uno de los elementos más importantes es la igualdad de oportunidades: es crucial garantizar que todos los jóvenes, independientemente de su género, origen o situación, tengan acceso a una educación y formación de calidad. Justo hoy, además, Día Internacional de la Mujer y la Niña en la Ciencia, debemos comprometernos a seguir trabajando para eliminar las brechas de género en la educación: tenemos que fomentar una participación equitativa de las mujeres en la ciencia, la tecnología, la ingeniería y las matemáticas. Estos ámbitos son especialmente importantes para hacer frente a las transiciones verde y digital.

La educación y la formación son motor de igualdad y progreso social, y por eso necesitamos una mayor inversión. Si queremos mejor talento europeo, tenemos que dar oportunidades de formación sin importar el origen de quienes la reciben.

Alicia Homs Ginel (S&D). – Señora presidenta, me gustaría preguntar a sus señorías de la derecha si lo que quieren es una economía donde las personas trabajadoras sean piezas de usar y tirar, siempre obligadas a reciclarse sin ningún tipo de garantía, o si lo que quieren es una sociedad con empleos dignos y con derechos.

Estamos viendo que lo que esta derecha quiere es imponer la competitividad como único objetivo, sin importarle el impacto social. Para ellos la formación es un privilegio; para los socialistas, en cambio, es un derecho fundamental. Por ello, lo que debemos hacer es exigir una directiva que garantice el derecho a la formación remunerada, porque los trabajadores y trabajadoras no necesitan una eterna carrera de reciclaje profesional, lo que necesitan es estabilidad y salarios dignos.

España ya marca el camino con la mayor inversión de formación profesional de su historia, apostando por la educación, la digitalización y la transición verde. Aquí vemos dos modelos claros: la precariedad sin rumbo, o derechos, dignidad y futuro. El modelo por el que debe apostar la Unión Europea es este último.

Kateřina Konečná (NI). – Paní předsedající, po desetiletích sprostého zanedbávání odborného studia v Evropě zjišťujeme, že nám schází kvalifikovaná pracující síla nejen pro průmysl, který si i takto likvidujeme. Já doufám, že tahle debata skutečně poslouží ke změně přístupu Evropské unie a jejích členských států ke školství se zvláštním ohledem na odborná učiliště, které elity vždy přehlížely či na ně vzhlížely skrz prsty.

Nejen gymnázia, ale právě i učňovské obory potřebují větší investice do vybavení škol i do platů jejich zaměstnanců. Člověk, co se vyučí, musí mít zároveň jistotu, že dostane poté v práci dobře zaplacen. Dobře zaplacen však musí dostat i pedagogičtí i nepedagogičtí zaměstnanci, aby evropští učni byli učeni dovednostem a vědomostem od skutečných mistrů ve svých oborech a aby jejich školy a dílny byly v dobrém stavu, protože almužnou se jen těžko motivuje.

Lukas Sieper (NI). – Frau Präsidentin! Liebe Menschen! Hohes Haus! Ich freue mich, dass in dieser Debatte zur Berufsausbildung öfter auch das Wort Erasmus+ gefallen ist. Sie kennen das schon von mir, ich bin ein Riesenfan von Erasmus+. Ich war selber Erasmus+-Student.

Genauso müssen wir dieses Programm auch wieder mehr und mehr in die berufliche Ausbildung einbeziehen, denn es sind inzwischen fast zehn Jahre vergangen, seit Erasmus+ für alle Arten von formaler und non-formaler Bildung ein inklusives Programm wurde und sich eben nicht mehr nur an Studierende gewandt hat.

Aber trotzdem hält die Mehrheit der jungen Menschen es immer noch für genau so ein Programm. Ich selber habe erst letztes Jahr, als wir unser Europawahlprogramm geschrieben haben, gelernt, dass es mehr als das ist, dass es sich an mehr als die Studierenden richtet. Deswegen möchte ich noch einmal betonen, dass wir hier die Finanzierung ausbauen müssen. Niemals einschränken, immer weiter ausbauen, denn das Erasmus+-Programm ist unser Leuchtturmprojekt in der Bildung. Es bietet jungen Menschen auf dem ganzen Kontinent die Möglichkeit, Fähigkeiten zu erlernen, die sie in dieser globalisierten und immer moderner werdenden Welt brauchen.

(Fine della procedura «catch the eye»)

Glenn Micallef, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, colleagues, thank you for your interventions, your suggestions, your ideas, especially for highlighting the role, the important role played by programmes which have become synonymous with our citizens, like Erasmus+. I'm happy to hear that we share the view that these are flagship programmes of our Union and that we need to continue to strengthen them.

Improving the European skills landscape is essential to deliver both on, first and foremost, social fairness, but also on competitiveness. As explicitly stated in the Competitiveness Compass, social policies built around the European Pillar of Social Rights are central to shaping a competitive Europe. Better skills for a more competitive European economy also mean better skills for a more equitable society. Competitiveness and equality are complementary objectives, and the Commission will soon present the Union of Skills, which aims to contribute to both these objectives.

The Union of skills will not just be a vision, it will also be a call for action. The Commission will endeavour to work closely with Member States, with social partners, and with businesses to turn our ambitions into tangible actions. Addressing the skills shortages, improving vocational education, training and our attractiveness, as well as supporting mobility, will be key to strengthening Europe's workforce and our economy. The twin transitions that are at the core of our work will require a workforce that is ready for this change.

In the Commission, we will focus to accelerate our efforts to promote the integration of cutting-edge digital and sustainability competencies into vocational education and training. At the same time, access to skills must also be inclusive. The Commission will analyse what the barriers are that will encourage the training and opportunities to reach everyone, including the disadvantaged groups in our societies and underrepresented communities. To do this, the continuous support of this House will be key, but it will also be important to make skills a true driver of Europe's competitiveness, innovation and our social progress.

Adam Szlápka, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Madam President, honourable Members, Commissioner, thank you very much for this debate, which clearly demonstrates how the issue of vocational education and training plays a key role in some of the major challenges faced by the EU today – the challenge of competitiveness and the challenge of labour market transition.

The options expressed by you will certainly feed into the Council discussion on the topic, namely in our examination of the different dimensions of the Competitiveness Compass.

Presidente. – La discussione è chiusa.

Dichiarazioni scritte (articolo 178)

Ioan-Rareș Bogdan (PPE), *în scris*. – În contextul recentelor dezbateri din Parlamentul European cu privire la încurajarea educației și formării profesionale în perioadele de tranziție de pe piața muncii, consider că este esențial să reflectăm asupra impactului profund pe care schimbările rapide și tranzițiile economice le pot avea asupra forței de muncă europene. În fața provocărilor generate de automatizare, digitalizare și schimbările economice globale, mulți lucrători se află în fața unor perioade de incertitudine, dar și oportunități de a-și îmbunătăți competențele și de a se adapta noilor cerințe ale pieței.

Uniunea Europeană trebuie să își asume un rol de lider, prin adoptarea unor politici eficiente care să sprijine accesul larg la programe de formare profesională și educație continuă, atât pentru tineri, cât și pentru adulții aflați într-o perioadă de reconversie profesională.

Investițiile în educație și formare profesională nu trebuie văzute doar ca o cheltuială, ci ca o investiție în viitorul economic al Europei. Educația și formarea profesională trebuie să devină un pilon esențial al politicilor economice europene, mai ales în perioadele de tranziție ale pieței muncii. Fiecare cetățean european merită oportunitatea de a se adapta la schimbările economice și tehnologice, iar prin educație și formare profesională, vom construi o Europă mai puternică, mai echitabilă și mai rezilientă.

Gabriela Firea (S&D), *în scris*. – În Europa de astăzi, schimbarea nu mai vine treptat, ci ne lovește din plin. Astfel, într-o economie marcată de transformări rapide, educația și formarea profesională sunt esențiale pentru ocuparea forței de muncă. Însă, deși industriile se gândesc la competitivitate, iar angajatorii se confruntă cu un deficit de forță de muncă calificată, doar 47 % dintre adulții europeni au acces la programe de formare continuă.

România, cu peste 56 % dintre elevi înscriși în învățământul profesional și tehnic, depășește media UE, dar provocările persistă. Inteligența artificială, tranziția verde și automatizarea transformă fundamental cerințele pieței muncii. Multe meserii dispar, altele noi apar, iar cei care nu țin pasul riscă să fie lăsați în urmă. De aceea, educația vocațională nu trebuie să fie văzută ca un compromis, ci o alegere strategică pentru viitor.

Pentru competitivitate reală, trebuie să consolidăm programe precum Pactul pentru competențe, Erasmus+ și Fondul Social European+, care sprijină recalificarea a milioane de europeni. În plus, noua strategie europeană pentru educație și formare profesională, sub coordonarea comisarei Roxana Minzatu, trebuie să asigure că nimeni nu este lăsat în urmă. Și, să nu uităm că succesul acestor inițiative depinde și de pregătirea profesorilor și de eliminarea barierelor care limitează accesul la educație.

Kinga Kollár (PPE), *írásban*. – Szeressünk tanulni! Ez az a hozzáállás, ami gyermekeinket a jövőben sikeressé teheti. Ennek a leckének a megtanítása szülőként és Európa döntéshozóiként is a feladatunk! 3 indok, amiért ez kulcskérdés: A World Economic Forum előrejelzése szerint az iskolát most kezdő gyerekek kétharmada olyan munkakörben fog majd dolgozni, amely ma még nem létezik. Jelenleg a KKV-k 80%-a küzd nehézséggel a megfelelő tudással bíró munkaerő megtalálásában. Végül az áhított termelékenység növekedés a hasznosítható tudással bíró munkaerő által valósulhat meg, vagyis az európaiak képzettsége az európai versenyképesség záloga. A folyamatos tanulás és képzés tehát elengedhetetlen. Nem a kínai érdekeltségű összeszerelő üzemek elvárásához kell igazítani a szakképzési követelményeket, ahogyan az történik a jelenlegi magyar kormányzat által. Ez zsákutca. Helyette erős alapokat nyújtó, de a változásokhoz való alkalmazkodóképességet és a készségeket fókuszba állító szak- és továbbképzésre van szükség. Olyan okos finanszírozási és támogatási rendszert kell biztosítanunk a munkavállalók és munkáltatók részére, amivel motiváljuk őket az emberekbe való befektetésre, a piaci igények mentén. Ehhez komoly állami és európai erőforrásokat is mozgósítani kell. Ezért jóval nagyobb összegeket kell biztosítanunk a továbbképzésre. A magyar kormánynak pedig végre meg kellene tennie a szükséges lépéseket, hogy az erre rendelkezésre álló uniós források eljussanak az emberekhez!

Sebastian Tynkkynen (ECR), *kirjallinen*. – Kun puhutaan terveydenhuollon työvoimapulasta ja työpaikkojen luomisesta, on syytä nostaa esiin vakavat huolenaiheet, jotka liittyvät vieraskielisten työntekijöiden kielitaidon puutteisiin.

SuPerin, eli Suomen lähi- ja perushoitajaliiton, jäsenkysely paljastaa karun totuuden: kielitaidon riittämättömyys johtaa suoraan vaaratilanteisiin ja potilasvahinkoihin.

Kyselytilastot paljastavat seuraavaa:

80 % vastaajista koki ulkomailta rekrytoitujen työntekijöiden kielitaidon riittämättömänä.

83 % koki kuormittuvansa työkaverinsa kielitaidottomuuden vuoksi.

Lisäksi 53 % vastaajista koki kielitaidon puutteen aiheuttavan suoraan vaaratilanteita työpaikoilla.

Kielitaidon puute on johtanut potilaiden saamiin väärin lääkkeisiin, väärinymmärrettyihin hoito-ohjeisiin ja lisääntyneisiin hoitovirheisiin.

Terveydenhuoltoalalla ei ole varaa joustaa ammatillisten vaatimusten ja kielitaidon suhteen.

Työvoimapulan paikkaaminen työperäisellä maahanmuutolla ei saa tarkoittaa turvallisuuden menetystä.

Μαρία Ζαχαρία (NI), *γραφτως*. – Η επαγγελματική εκπαίδευση πρέπει να εξυπηρετεί πρωτίστως τα δικαιώματα και τις προοπτικές των εργαζομένων, όχι απλώς τις ανάγκες της αγοράς και της ανταγωνιστικότητας. Και πρέπει να είναι δικαίωμα, σε εθελοντική βάση, παρέχοντας πραγματικές ευκαιρίες, και όχι ένας μηχανισμός συμμόρφωσης στις απαιτήσεις των επιχειρήσεων. Η χαμηλή ποιότητα των θέσεων εργασίας είναι αυτή που οδηγεί σε έλλειψη προσωπικού. Η λύση δεν είναι περισσότερη εκμετάλλευση, αλλά καλύτερες συνθήκες και δίκαιες αμοιβές. Συνάδελφοι, τα κοινωνικά δίκτυα, η τηλεόραση, η οργάνωση των κοινωνιών μας δημιουργούν πρότυπα. Υπάρχει το πρότυπο του πτυχιούχου γιατρού, του δικηγόρου, του πολιτικού μηχανικού, κ.λπ., αλλά δεν υπάρχει το πρότυπο του ψυκτικού, του υδραυλικού, του καλλιτέχνη, κ.λπ. Η τεχνική εκπαίδευση δεν έχει ίση αναγνώριση πτυχίων με τα πανεπιστημιακά πτυχία, το ίδιο και η καλλιτεχνική εκπαίδευση. Με αποτέλεσμα, βάση προτύπων της

κοινωνίας, να κατευθύνονται οι νέοι στα αναγνωρισμένα ανώτατα εκπαιδευτικά ιδρύματα, με ό,τι αυτό συνεπάγεται για την μετατόπιση του εργατικού δυναμικού και τις ελλείψεις που βιώνουμε σήμερα. Αυτό πρέπει να αλλάξει! Ισότιμη αναγνώριση τώρα, πανευρωπαϊκά, της τεχνικής και καλλιτεχνικής εκπαίδευσης, αντίστοιχης με τα ανώτατα εκπαιδευτικά ιδρύματα (πανεπιστήμια).

12. Bredere samlet EU-strategi for Mellemøsten (forhandling)

Presidente. – L'ordine del giorno reca la discussione sulle dichiarazioni del Consiglio e della Commissione sulla strategia globale più ampia UE-Medio Oriente (2024/3015(RSP)).

Adam Szlápka, President-in-Office of the Council. – Madam President, honourable Members, Commissioner, the Middle East is a region of strategic interest for the EU and a priority of our discussions in the Council. I would therefore like to thank the Parliament for scheduling such a timely debate.

The Middle East is part of our neighbourhood, immediately adjacent to some of our Member States. It plays a pivotal role in our security, geopolitical positioning, energy needs and migration challenges. For these reasons, a stable Middle East is of crucial importance for Europe. Notwithstanding our broad engagement over the years, it remains one of the most volatile regions in the world. Conflicts such as the war in Gaza, the Israel-Hezbollah tensions, the Syrian civil war and destabilising actions by Iran continue to profoundly influence regional and global politics and make stability in the regions the more elusive. Pressing issues need to be addressed, but there are also emerging opportunities for peace, stability and economic cooperation that must be seized.

In Syria, we stand before a historic window of opportunity. The EU, alongside our key partners, must work decisively and cohesively to advance a Syrian-led, Syrian-owned inclusive political process supported by the United Nations. Our collective goal is to establish a government that respects all components of society, rebuilds institutions, combats Daesh and ensures the complete destruction of chemical weapons.

In Gaza, after months of negotiations, a breakthrough was finally achieved. The release of hostages we have witnessed in recent weeks is a reason for satisfaction. We hope that all those held captive by Hamas will be released and foreseen in a deal. We are equally pleased to see thousands of trucks carrying much-needed humanitarian aid across Gaza without any obstacle. The deal is fragile, but it is a relief to see that so far both sides are upholding their commitments.

Many open issues remain to be tackled in the next phases, and the EU is ready to play its part. As a contribution to the ceasefire and at the request of both sides, with the agreement of Egypt, the EU has redeployed the European Union Border Assistance Mission, at the Rafah crossing point between Gaza and Egypt, in support of the Palestinian Authority. Between 70 and 100 civilians, including some in need of medical care, are being transferred out of Gaza every day. The EU is also working closely with the Palestinian Authority for the day after, focusing on reforms, reconstruction, recovery and the long-term implementation of the two-state solution. We are also opening a new chapter of strengthening and engagement through the EU-Israel Association Council and the first ever EU-Palestine high-level dialogue.

The situation in Lebanon is another key factor for long-term stability in the Middle East. We welcome the election of the president and the formation of a fully fledged government to take forward a reform-oriented and forward-looking agenda. President, honourable Members, Commissioner, the EU's approach to the Middle East region has always been one of partnership and cooperation with other actors. We should continue to pursue this approach through an active engagement with the G7, Arab states and other partners. We should work towards a solution that may bring long-term stability and prosperity to the region, starting with a relaunching of the Middle East peace process.

Dubravka Šuica, Member of the Commission. – Madam President, Minister Szlápka, honourable Members of the European Parliament, it is an honour to be here to present the Commission's foreseen contribution to the European Union-Middle East strategy.

The wider Middle East is a region of key importance for the European Union in terms of geopolitical positioning, security and stability, and economic cooperation. It is also one of the most volatile areas in the world with multiple conflicts having strong humanitarian consequences and repercussions on regional and global politics in terms of peace, security and the global order, but also migration, energy and economics.

The current disruptive and uncertain environment requires a strong signal of enhanced European engagement in the Middle East peace process. The ceasefire in Gaza, the fall of the Assad regime in Syria, and the election of a new leadership in Lebanon present an unprecedented opportunity for political transition, and strong European presence and engagement is required in these cases too.

This new reality calls for a fresh and comprehensive approach and the European Union engagement to ensure a more impactful European role in the Middle East, to stabilise the region and anchor countries more closely to the European Union. Peace and stability in the Middle East are an overarching European interest.

Key to this is a permanent peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians, based on the two-state solution, which is the only way to ensure peace and security for both peoples. In seeking to revive a political horizon towards the two-state solution, the European Union should work closely with like-minded partners, the G7 and with regional partners.

Also, thanks to its long-lasting financial engagement, the European Union is well placed to play a leading role in the post-conflict stabilisation and early recovery, reconstruction, security and support to the future governance in Gaza.

For the European Union, a revitalised Palestinian Authority is the only viable partner and we will continue to push and support for much needed reforms and modernisation.

The European Union has for many years promoted the development of relations between Israel and the countries of the region in the understanding that normalisation of their bilateral relations will be beneficial to all parties, and represents a fundamental step for the stabilisation of the region as a whole. We continue to see further regional integration as an asset for a comprehensive and lasting peace for the entire region, and stand ready to work to this end together with our regional and international partners.

We should also identify and support new forms of cooperation that can bring significant opportunities on a variety of horizontal topics that are strategic for the region, from natural resources to clean energy, critical minerals, and access to its growing, educated workforce.

The IMEC project, which is the India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor, has been endorsed at G7 level to promote transportation and communication links between Europe and Asia through the Middle East, and if strategically designed, it can also be a key deliverable of an enhanced Middle East peace process.

It is time for the European Union to use its convening power, as well as its financial clout, incentivising reforms, allowing a stable transition, taking full part in the process of reconstruction, and providing an offer for economic prosperity.

Increasing the engagement with the Gulf countries will be another key component. Political and financial support from key Gulf countries will be particularly important to the European Union's efforts to reignite the Middle East peace process.

Since the signature of the 2022 EU strategic partnership with the Gulf, the European Union has sought to increase its engagement with the six GCC partners – Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates – which are emerging as important geostrategic players.

Last but not least, the European Union's approach to the Middle East should ensure its full synergy with the proposals to be made under the new pact for the Mediterranean, both in terms of enhanced bilateral economic cooperation partnerships, but also in terms of regional and thematic initiatives.

The European Union should reflect on leveraging on its biggest strengths: the internal market, the creation of mutual investment opportunities, and corridors for cooperation in key sectors such as energy, water and digital connectivity.

Dear Members of the European Parliament, during my hearing, I made it clear that I view working with you, honourable Members of this Parliament, as an essential ingredient of my professional DNA, and as key to successive initiatives and to the formation of a stronger European unity. Against that background, I will be careful listening to you today and to your suggestions of what shall be the key principles and key components of the European Union's approach to the Middle East.

David McAllister, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, Madam Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, dear colleagues, geography dictates that developments in the Middle East are always of key interest to the European Union. Yet things are as they are. Our influence in the region is at a low. A fragmented patchwork of strategies has failed to account for the political realities of the region, and internal divisions amongst our Member States have hindered meaningful impact.

Amid claims of double standards, a shifting balance of power and an unpredictable US administration, you, dear Commissioner, together with the High Representative, will have to find common ground amongst our 27 Member States on issues where certainly no easy answers exist. Our strategy must indeed prioritise the two-state solution for a sovereign Israel and the Palestinian Territories, based on the 1967 borders and with Jerusalem as the shared capital. This is, in the end, the only sustainable path to peace. We should therefore resist the temptation to address only the immediate crisis in Gaza but attend to all obstacles that prevent the realisation of the two-state solution.

An effective Middle East strategy must treat the mullah regime in Iran for what it is: a mastermind of instability and terror. The fall of the Assad regime in Syria was a strategic blow to Iran, one that didn't go unnoticed with Hezbollah either. After two years of political stalemate, the new government in Lebanon offers hope for much-needed recovery. Let us use the leverage, this momentum, to break Iran's so-called axis of resistance. And finally, while we admittedly have limited influence in the Middle East, we can constructively engage countries that do: Türkiye, the Gulf States, Egypt and Jordan.

The High Representative has indicated that the new Middle East strategy might take longer than originally planned. Indeed, let us not act in haste. This strategy must be prepared carefully. But, dear Commissioner, I would ask you to also consult the European Parliament, because here there is a wealth of expertise, and I believe it would be highly beneficial to consult us before finalising the new strategy.

Γιάννης Μανιάτης, *εξ ονόματος της ομάδας S&D*. – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, αγαπητοί συνάδελφοι, είναι κρίμα που η Ύπατη Εκπρόσωπος δεν βρίσκεται σήμερα στο Κοινοβούλιο για να συζητήσουμε την πολιτική της Ένωσης για τη Μέση Ανατολή. Μια περιοχή ιδιαίτερου γεωπολιτικού, ενεργειακού και ανθρωπιστικού ενδιαφέροντος για την Ευρώπη, όπου οι εξελίξεις τρέχουν. Δυστυχώς, η Ένωση δεν είναι παρούσα όσο θα έπρεπε.

Η νέα μας στρατηγική θα πρέπει να καλύψει το κενό αυτό άμεσα, καθώς είμαστε σε ένα ιδιαίτερα κρίσιμο στάδιο. Η συμφωνία κατάπαυσης του πυρός στη Γάζα δημιουργεί μια αχτίδα αισιοδοξίας. Η παροχή ανθρωπιστικής βοήθειας και η ανοικοδόμηση της περιοχής πρέπει να είναι προτεραιότητά μας. Όμως, οι δηλώσεις του Προέδρου Trump για εκδίωξη των Παλαιστινίων από τη Γάζα και η απειλή για λήξη της εκκευρίας το Σάββατο με την προσθήκη νέων όρων δυναμιτίζουν την προσπάθεια αυτή.

Δεν πρέπει να αφήσουμε την ευκαιρία να χαθεί. Η λύση των δύο κρατών, ενός ασφαλούς Ισραήλ και ενός ανεξάρτητου, βιώσιμου και δημοκρατικού παλαιστινιακού κράτους, είναι η μόνη επιλογή για ειρήνευση στην περιοχή. Στον Λίβανο, ο σχηματισμός κυβέρνησης μετά από χρόνια αδιεξόδων και παράλυσης είναι ασφαλώς ένα πολύ θετικό γεγονός.

Τέλος, παρά την κατάρρευση του καθεστώτος Assad, είμαστε ακόμη μακριά από το να μιλήσουμε για την επόμενη μέρα. Οι νέοι ιδύνοντες θα πρέπει να αποδείξουν με πράξεις ότι έχουν αποκηρύξει το βάρβαρο παρελθόν τους. Η μεταβατική κυβέρνηση και το Εθνικό Συμβούλιο θα πρέπει να είναι συνεκτικά και να εκφράζουν όλες τις θρησκευτικές και όλες τις εθνικές μειονότητες. Δεν πρέπει να επιτρέψουμε την παρέμβαση τρίτων χωρών, ούτε τη μετατροπή της Συρίας σε χώρα δορυφόρο. Οι ευρωσυριακές σχέσεις θα πρέπει να βασίζονται στην προστασία του πολυπολιτισμικού μωσαϊκού της Συρίας, όπως επίσης και στον σεβασμό του διεθνούς δικαίου, συμπεριλαμβανομένου του δικαίου της θάλασσας, αφού γνωρίζουμε όλοι ότι η Συρία έχει εκτεταμένα παράλια στη Μεσόγειο. Η Ευρώπη οφείλει να είναι δυναμικά παρούσα, με ισχυρή φωνή και ολοκληρωμένη στρατηγική στην περιοχή της Μέσης Ανατολής. Αυτή η ευρωπαϊκή στρατηγική απουσιάζει σήμερα και πρέπει άμεσα να διαμορφωθεί.

Jorge Martín Frías, *en nombre del Grupo PñE*. – Señora presidenta, señora comisaria, señorías, el plan propuesto por la Comisión persevera en el error y nos debe llevar a preguntarnos cómo es posible que siempre predominen posiciones contrarias a Israel y a su sociedad en todo lo que la Comisión trae al Pleno. ¿Cómo es posible que el plan, lejos de estar inspirado en los principios de la libertad y la democracia y en proteger y ayudar a quienes han sido atacados, esté inspirado en ayudar a quienes quieren liquidarlos? ¿Cómo es posible que la Comisión siga financiando a organizaciones como el UNRWA, que cuenta con terroristas entre sus empleados, que se dedica a educar en el odio contra Israel y su sociedad y que debería ser introducido en la lista de organizaciones terroristas?

La Comisión Europea tiene una forma muy fácil de enmendar todos sus brutales errores en Oriente Medio: dejen de proteger a Irán y dejen de financiar a terroristas de diferentes pelajes, y defiendan a la única democracia en su derecho y su deber de defenderse y crear una nueva realidad de paz y cooperación en la región.

Ana Miranda Paz (Verts/ALE). – Señora presidenta, quiero referirme al artículo 10, apartado 4, del Reglamento interno. En los debates parlamentarios en el salón de sesiones, los diputados no recurrirán a un lenguaje ofensivo: el lenguaje difamatorio, el discurso de odio y la incitación a la discriminación en el sentido del artículo 21 de la Carta de los Derechos Fundamentales. El UNRWA no es una organización terrorista, es una organización de las Naciones Unidas, por lo cual pido una rectificación.

Presidente. – Ha ragione e ha fatto benissimo a puntualizzarlo e naturalmente prendiamo nota del suo ordine del giorno.

Rihards Kols, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Madam President, Madam Commissioner, the EU speaks of strategy in the Middle East, yet too often we watch from the sidelines. The Abraham Accords proved that Arab-Israeli cooperation is possible, yet we played little part or no part at all. While the US and Gulf states lead, we remain reactive and divided.

First, we must strengthen bilateral ties and act as facilitators where needed. Arab states are taking steps towards peace: our role should be to support, not to obstruct. The EU was built on regional cooperation, we have the know-how to contribute.

Second, we must not leave a vacuum that autocrats will fill. That means direct engagement with the Gulf partners, countering Iran-backed militias and cutting off financing that enables Hamas to rebuild. It is incomprehensible that the Commission and Council still refuse to designate the IRGC as a terrorist organisation.

The region will decide its future, but if the EU wants a seat at the table, we must act, not just observe.

Hilde Vautmans, *namens de Renew-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, Europa moet zijn verantwoordelijkheid nemen in dit conflict. In 1948 kreeg het Joodse volk — terecht — een eigen staat. Maar vandaag wordt het Palestijnse volk met uitroepen bedreigd. In Gaza dreigt een genocide. Honderdduizenden mensen worden verdreven. Dit is geen oorlog tegen Hamas meer, dit is etnische zuivering.

Nu spreekt Trump zelfs over “Gaza kopen”. Alsof Palestijnen geen mensen zijn, maar een probleem dat je met geld oplost. Constructies gefinancierd door Europa, door ons, worden vernield.

Waar zijn wij? Europa kan niet aan de zijlijn blijven staan. We moeten waken over de uitvoering van het akkoord en de vrijlating van alle gijzelaars. De handel met de illegaal bezette gebieden moet daadwerkelijk worden stopgezet. We moeten het associatieakkoord met Israël herbekijken. De aanhoudingsbevelen tegen Hamas en tegen de Israëlische leiders moeten worden gerespecteerd en uitgevoerd. We moeten ervoor zorgen dat de noodzakelijke humanitaire hulp echt naar binnen kan.

Toon wat Europa en onze principes waard zijn!

Hannah Neumann, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, Commissioner, dear colleagues, people in the Middle East have endured violence and protracted displacement for decades.

There is zero appetite for Iranian terrorism, Russian destabilisation, Chinese exploitation or the chaos that Trump has unleashed in just two weeks, announcing the withdrawal of security from ISIS camps, threatening massive forced displacement of Palestinians from Gaza, or cutting all funding to human rights defenders in the region.

And the European Union? Too often we stood by divided or distracted while people on the ground begged us to step up. But it doesn't have to stay that way and there are clear opportunities of what we can do.

Let's use the EU-Israel Association Council to urge Israel to uphold the ceasefire. Let's strongly support UNRWA and its humanitarian work and the United Nations in the region as a whole. Let's engage with Lebanon's new leadership. Let's support a green growth strategy for the Middle East in coordination with the Gulf states. Let's step up our support to local civil society and all those that promote human rights, freedom and democracy in the region.

And this time, dear colleagues, let's get it right in Syria. The country is in transition with a blatant power vacuum. Iran and Russia are ready to step back in. Yet, the people that I met on the ground are fighting for an inclusive, for a peaceful future. For years, dictators in the region crushed calls for democracy, warning: do you want to end up like Syria?

Let's rewrite that narrative and let's show what the European foreign policy supporting local partners and stepping up to regional bullies can achieve: turning the region from our biggest worry to our strongest partner.

Lynn Boylan, *on behalf of The Left Group*. – *A Uachtarán*, the repeated violations of the agreement by Israel is threatening a fragile ceasefire. There must be accountability for the latest killings and the failure to allow medical evacuations, and for aid to enter. The Israeli Government must be held to account for the attacks in the West Bank. And we need action against the increasing extremist settler violence.

All of us who respect international law were horrified by President Trump's proposition to ethnically cleanse Gaza and steal what little land the Palestinian people still have. This plan is colonialism in its most brutal form, and the silence from the Commission was astounding. The Commission must answer for the EU's astounding moral failure to stand up to Trump's colonial rhetoric, or attacks on international law and the multilateral institutions that we claim to hold so dear. Let us be very clear: Gaza is not for sale. Gaza is not for sale, and the land and resources belong to the Palestinian people.

The EU's strategy for the Middle East, if it respected international law, would be suspension of the EU-Israel Association Agreement. It would mean sanctions. It would mean the end of weapons transfers from EU Member States and full implementation of the ICJ advisory opinion of the 19 July. We cannot have a long-term strategy until we recognise the immorality and illegality of the occupation and pursue true justice for the people of Palestine. The EU has spent the last 15 months engaging in moral cowardice in the face of and in complicity with genocide, and this cannot continue. We need to respect international law and the protection of multilateral institutions.

Free Palestine.

Petras Gražulis, ESN frakcijos vardu. – Gerbiama pirmininke, Europos Sąjunga yra praradusi geopolitinę įtaką pasaulyje ir Artimuosiuose Rytuose, ir ne tik Artimuosiuose Rytuose. Jos balsas pasaulyje ir regionuose nėra girdimas. Ir aš manau, jeigu ir toliau Europa bus susiskaldžiusi, nevieninga, Europos balsas kuo toliau, tuo silpniau bus girdimas pasaulyje, Artimuosiuose Rytuose ir ne tik.

Štai dabartinė komisarė gyresė, kad galų gale Palestinoje pasiektos paliaubos. Bet, aš noriu paklausti, kieno sąskaita? Ar tai Europos? Pirmą dieną, tik priesaikos metu, Trumpo pastangų dėka pasiektos paliaubos ir išlaisvinta keletas įkaitų. Štai Amerika girdima visame pasaulyje. Jeigu Europa tęs tokią politiką, tai jos ateitis tikrai yra gana sudėtinga. Pažiūrėkime, mes čia kalbėjome, ir artėja trys metai karo Ukrainoje. Ką padarė Europa? Kodėl į jos balsą neįsiklauso Putinas? Kodėl nebijo jos Putinas? Kodėl tęsia toliau prieš Ukrainą įžūlų karą?

Europa, turi būti vieninga! Jeigu būsi vieninga, tai būsi ir stipri. Štai Trumpas pasakė: išspręsiu tą klausimą, sustabdysiu karą Ukrainoje. Tai *mums* daug svarbiau, ne Amerikai, – *pašonėje* vyksta karas, okupacija vyksta *Europos*. Neaišku, kokiomis sąlygomis bus išspręsta, pasiekta ši taika. Bet aš esu įsitikinęs, kad bus sustabdytas kraujo praliejimas. Ir, mano manymu, tai didžiulė gėda Europos Sąjungai. Viena iš galingiausių ekonominių sąjungų, bet, deja, neturi jokių principų, nuostatų ir negirdi šitos sąjungos pasaulio šalis. Susimąstykite, Europos Sąjungos šalys, ir susiimkite ir gerbkite pačios save – tada išgirs ir kitos šalys jus.

Antonio López-Istúriz White (PPE). – Madam President, Commissioner, the EU-Middle East strategy. What strategy? Do we have a strategy? Good. First time. The ones that have a strategy are the Russians, the Chinese, Turkish, Iranians in the region. It's about time that as Europeans we have a strategy for the Middle East and not let others interfere. We have a different approach and we should implement it.

We should be enthusiastic about the Abraham Accords. Here in this Parliament, we have not been. In the Commission, they have not been. We have to. Prosperity for the people in the region – including the Palestinians, they cannot be left out of this – of course, we all agree on that. Different from other countries.

And then we have to be clear. Blacklist, terrorist list. We have to help the Palestinian people, the Lebanese people, not to suffer the tyranny of terrorist organisations financed by Iran and by others, and supported by others like the Muslim Brotherhood, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, Hezbollah, Hamas. We have to do this from a European perspective now.

Hana Jalloul Muro (S&D). – Señora presidenta, señora comisaria Šuica, hace unas semanas celebramos con esperanza en este Parlamento el alto el fuego entre Hamás e Israel y el reencuentro de rehenes y prisioneros con sus familias que están sufriendo, pero hoy este acuerdo está en peligro: no hay garantía para la paz ni en Palestina con la ocupación, la escalada de la violencia en Cisjordania, el desplazamiento de palestinos y los asentamientos ilegales ni en Israel mientras Hamás continúe con la detención de los rehenes. Llamamos a los dos estados y a las fronteras de 1967. Y mientras estos días los gazatíes volvían a sus casas para reconstruir su vida, Trump afirmaba su voluntad de controlar Gaza contra el derecho internacional humanitario porque cree que puede comprarlo todo. Ni siquiera la gravedad de estas declaraciones han sido suficientes para una respuesta contundente desde la Comisión: solo vemos impunidad y silencio.

Y en este contexto, la señora Kallas se comprometió a desarrollar una estrategia para Oriente Medio basada en la reconstrucción de Gaza. No conocemos los avances y ni siquiera ha sido incluida en el programa de trabajo para 2025, vamos tarde. ¿Qué reconstrucción plantea la Comisión? ¿La puede garantizar? ¿Cómo va a integrar a los actores claves en la región y a este Parlamento? Necesitamos liderazgo, acompañamiento en los procesos democráticos. ¿Qué vamos a hacer con Irán —se ha preguntado hoy varias veces aquí— y con partidos o con fuerzas terroristas como Hizbulá y también como Hamás? Necesitamos una estrategia —nuestra prioridad es la paz— y desde luego tener más en este Parlamento a la alta representante, que debe venir a darnos más explicaciones: si su estrategia es la del silencio, están equivocados.

António Tânger Corrêa (PSE). – Madam President, Madam Commissioner, I can see here that we are discussing a wider, comprehensive EU-Middle East strategy. Let me say one thing: the strategy is the same. I cannot see any kind of improvement. I see difference in the region, but I don't see a different attitude from the European Union. On the contrary, it's more of the same.

We now have a ceasefire in Gaza, which is a good step, but it's not enough. We have a ceasefire in Lebanon. Good step, not enough. And the big question mark in Syria, which probably is not a good step and definitely not enough.

So we have to take a more proactive approach to these questions. I just have to remember you: five times there was put on the table the solution of two states and five times didn't work, because of the Palestinians, not the Israelis.

I remember you Black September in 1970, when King Hussein fought the Palestinians and there was about between – we don't know the numbers – tens and thousands of deaths. Nobody cared about. But now they care because it's the Israelis who are doing it. When it was the Jordanians, nobody cared about it.

So is there a solution? Maybe. But the solution goes through an international administration of the Palestinian areas, because they themselves cannot do it, as it is proven. To say 'two-state solution and bye bye' is not a solution. You have to have an international administration of Gaza, international administration of the West Bank and to be very careful with the Palestinians living in Jordan.

Joachim Stanisław Brudziński (ECR). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Oczywiście powinniśmy jako Unia Europejska śledzić na bieżąco sytuację na Bliskim Wschodzie, ale to nie Unia powinna być autorem długotrwałego porozumienia, bo to jest zadanie stron konfliktu. Truizmem byłoby tutaj odwoływać się do biblijnego konfliktu między Izaakiem a Ismilem, synami jednego ojca – Abrahama. Dziś na naszych oczach widzimy kolejną odsłonę tego biblijnego konfliktu. Dziś pomiędzy Palestyńczykami i Żydami.

Jako Unia powinniśmy dyplomatycznie wspierać Izrael i Palestyńczyków w wypracowaniu jak najstabilniejszej opcji szanującej prawa obu narodów. Ale przede wszystkim jesteśmy zobowiązani do zapewnienia bezpieczeństwa naszym własnym obywatelom w naszych własnych krajach. A postępująca destabilizacja na Bliskim Wschodzie jak zawsze może zakończyć się kolejnym napływem nielegalnych imigrantów do Europy.

Dlatego zadaniem unijnej dyplomacji powinno być w pierwszej kolejności zapewnienie, aby pomoc dla dotkniętych olbrzymią tragedią, trzeba to przyznać, Palestyńczyków popłynęła najpierw z bogatych krajów rejonu Zatoki Perskiej. A dla nas, Europejczyków, w ramach świętej zasady *ordo caritatis* powinna być przede wszystkim pomoc dla Chrześcijan, którzy od tysięcy lat zamieszkują te kraje, ale pomoc nie polegająca na tym, że na tym, że ich ściągniemy do Europy, tylko pomożemy im tam na miejscu.

Urmas Paet (Renew). – Madam President, dear colleagues, the European Union is committed to lasting peace in the Middle East, supporting a two-state solution and halting Iran's destabilising actions.

However, the EU's ability to influence the region has been limited by the need for consensus among all Member States, resulting in a fragmented approach.

This lack of unity has prevented the EU from fully leveraging its foreign policy potential. A European Parliament report in March 2023 on the functioning of the European External Action Service and advocating for a stronger EU in the world called for a stronger EU presence in global affairs. But progress on these recommendations seems minimal.

Without significant changes in shaping EU foreign policy, the EU's role will remain constrained. Given the current geopolitical situation, it's time to implement the European Parliament's proposals from two years ago and strengthen the EU's positive foreign policy impact, including in the Middle East.

Villy Søvndal (Verts/ALE). – Fru formand! En riviera med guld, glitrende skyskrabere bygget på knoglerne af 50 000 døde palæstinensere. Det kan næsten ikke være mere absurd og menneskeforagttende end det, Trump foreslår. Netanyahu og Trump anerkender, at Gaza er ubeboelig efter 16 måneders tæppebombardement. Men Trumps løsning med at tvangsforflytte to millioner mennesker fra deres eget land er endnu et bevis på, at han er ligeglad med retfærdighed, og at han er ligeglad med international ret. På Vestbredden har israelsk militær dræbt mindst 70 i år. Bulldozere og bomber har smadret palæstinensiske hjem. Der er stadig flere checkpoints og lukkede områder, der umuliggør en normal hverdag for palæstinenserne. Det er tydeligt for enhver, at den internationale retsorden er truet. Israel ignorerer ICJ's krav om at undgå et folkemord i Gaza. USA indfører sanktioner mod ICC. Israel gør en humanitær FN-institution ulovlig, nemlig UNRWA. Fra EU's side bør vi overveje at aktivere artikel 2 i associeringsaftalen med Israel og stoppe handel med varer fra de besatte områder. Vi bør også overveje at reagere på USA's sanktioner mod ICC og støtte det arabiske fredsinitiativ. Fred kræver frihed og sikkerhed, men for begge folk.

João Oliveira (The Left). – Senhora Presidente, uma paz justa e duradoura no Médio Oriente exige o fim do genocídio e da política criminosa de Israel contra o povo palestiniano. Exige o cumprimento integral do cessar-fogo em vigor, que deve ser permanente, e o urgente acesso à ajuda humanitária, que continua a ser limitada. Exige a total retirada das forças israelitas da Faixa de Gaza e o fim dos seus ataques na Cisjordânia e em Jerusalém Leste. Exige o cumprimento dos direitos nacionais do povo palestiniano com o fim da ocupação e com a criação do Estado da Palestina, conforme determinam as resoluções das Nações Unidas. Exige o fim da agressão de Israel ao Líbano e à Síria, e a retirada dos territórios que ocupa ilegal e militarmente naqueles dois países. As inaceitáveis declarações de Trump sobre a intenção de ocupação da Faixa de Gaza e a expulsão do povo palestiniano são reveladoras da cumplicidade e apoio dos Estados Unidos à política genocida de Israel. O silêncio ensurdecador perante essas declarações e intenções são reveladoras da cumplicidade da União Europeia com as políticas dos Estados Unidos e Israel, que obstaculizam a paz no Médio Oriente.

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

Ana Miranda Paz (Verts/ALE), Pergunta segundo o procedimento «cartão azul». – Senhora Presidente, eu queria perguntar ao Senhor Oliveira, você vem de Portugal, e tanto em Portugal como na Galiza, o meu país, há muita solidariedade. Mas, neste Parlamento, não houve nenhum minuto de silêncio pelas vítimas assassinadas por Israel em Gaza. Qual é a sua opinião? E também queria perguntar: pode ir à Palestina? Eu não posso ir, já que Israel me proíbe porque estive num barco humanitário. E há uma resolução do Parlamento Europeu que diz que os deputados europeus podem ir. No entanto, ali em cima, estão os delegados de Israel, e eles entram aqui livremente. Qual é a sua opinião?

João Oliveira (The Left), Resposta segundo o procedimento «cartão azul». – Senhora Deputada Ana Miranda, de facto, a posição da União Europeia tem sido uma posição de cumplicidade com a política de Israel e uma posição de duplo critério, porque, verdadeiramente, a União Europeia, que tanto intervém e tanto atenta está a outros conflitos, tem fechado os olhos àquilo que tem acontecido na Palestina com a política genocida de Israel. E essa dupla posição, esse duplo critério, essa cumplicidade da União Europeia entra em confronto com aquilo que é o sentimento popular, não apenas em Portugal, mas em praticamente todos os países da Europa, que é um sentimento popular de solidariedade, de solidariedade com o povo palestiniano, com a sua luta, e de denúncia e de combate à política genocida que Israel está levando por diante. Nós continuaremos a trazer ao Parlamento Europeu essa voz das ruas que fala em nome da solidariedade com o povo palestiniano e a causa pela luta dos seus direitos.

Alexander Sell (ESN). – Frau Präsidentin! Mehr als 1 Mrd. EUR für Palästina seit 7. Oktober, 2 Mrd. EUR für die Türkei und den Libanon, auch die Islamisten in Damaskus sollen bald Geld aus Brüssel bekommen. Und, was hat es gebracht?

Die vielen Milliarden, die Sie in den Mittleren Osten geschickt haben, konnten keinen Bürgerkrieg in Syrien, keine Taliban in Afghanistan und keinen Krieg in Gaza verhindern. Ihre sogenannte Strategie ist die alte, und sie ist schon damals gescheitert.

Wir haben eine andere Strategie: Statt das Geld der Europäer in den Mittleren Osten zu schicken, sollten wir uns zuerst um Europa kümmern. Denn wenn es so weitergeht, dann brauchen wir bald keine Strategie mehr für den Mittleren Osten. Dann ist der Mittlere Osten nämlich bei uns. Allein im vergangenen Jahr sind fast 400 000 Migranten nach Deutschland gekommen, vor allem aus Syrien.

Warum? Der Krieg in Syrien ist vorbei! Fast eine Million Syrer in Deutschland könnten jetzt in ihre Heimat zurückkehren. Deshalb: Hören Sie auf, unser Steuergeld in aller Welt zu verschleudern. Altersarmut, Wohnungsnot, kaputte Brücken und Straßen – der Wiederaufbau von Gaza oder von Syrien ist nicht unsere Aufgabe. Unsere Aufgabe ist der Wiederaufbau von Deutschland.

Νικόλαος Αναδιώτης (NI). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, αγαπητοί συνάδελφοι, ας μην λησμονούμε τα εξής: όσον αφορά την Τουρκία, αποτελεί μείζονα αποσταθεροποιητικό παράγοντα στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο και τη Μέση Ανατολή. Με την επεκτατική και αναθεωρητική της πολιτική συνεχίζει να εκφράζεται με απειλητικές δηλώσεις και προκλητικές ενέργειες εις βάρος δύο κρατών μελών, της Ελλάδας και της Κύπρου, καθώς και της Συρίας και του Ιράκ. Εάν δεν ακυρώσει το *casus belli* εναντίον της Ελλάδας και αν δεν αποσύρει τον στρατό της από την κατεχόμενη Κύπρο, κάθε χρηματοδότηση της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης προς αυτήν πρέπει να σταματήσει εχθές.

Ως προς τη Συρία, προτείνουμε την αποστολή παρατηρητών, ώστε σε συνεργασία με τον ΟΗΕ και τον ΟΑΣΕ να προστατευθούν οι μειονότητες και να επισπευσθούν αδιάβλητες εκλογές. Πρέπει επειγόντως να αρθούν οι κυρώσεις επ' ωφελεία του συριακού λαού, αλλά με προσοχή σε τυχόν χρηματοδότηση τρομοκρατικών οργανώσεων. Η Ελλάδα μπορεί να συνεισφέρει στην προσπάθεια αυτή ως μέλος του Συμβουλίου Ασφαλείας του ΟΗΕ.

Τέλος, σχετικά με τη Γάζα και τη Δυτική Όχθη, προσβλέπουμε στην αποστολή ανθρωπιστικής βοήθειας. Υποστηρίζουμε τις σχετικές αποφάσεις των διεθνών οργανισμών και δικαστηρίων. Θεωρούμε σημαντικότερο βήμα τη συμφωνία εκεχειρίας μεταξύ Ισραήλ και Χαμάς. Ελπίζουμε στη δημιουργία ενός κράτους όπου οι Παλαιστίνιοι, ελεύθεροι και ισότιμοι, θα ζουν με αξιοπρέπεια.

Hildegard Bentele (PPE). – Frau Präsidentin! Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Der entscheidende politische Akteur mit tatsächlicher Verhandlungsmacht im Nahen Osten sind die USA mit ihrer militärischen Stärke. Das ist in diesen Tagen wahrscheinlich allen klar. Aber: Auch wir als EU haben Stärken und Grundüberzeugungen, die wir im Nahen Osten einbringen sollten. Wir sind stark in der Bereitstellung humanitärer Hilfe. Wir sind erfahren im Aufbau von Institutionen. Wir sind gut im Aufbau von regionalen Märkten, wissensstark bei grenzüberschreitender Kooperation. Und hier gibt es viel zu tun.

Frau Kommissarin, Sie haben es beschrieben, vom Aufbau von Infrastruktur über den Ausbau erneuerbarer Energien bis zur Wasserversorgung. Wir können mit verstärktem europäischen Engagement viel, auch Frieden, bewirken und sollten deshalb jetzt unsere außenwirtschaftlichen Instrumente schärfen.

Gleichzeitig, und das habe ich viel zu wenig gehört von Ihnen, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, müssen wir aber auch sehr deutlich unsere roten Linien aufzeigen. Und das sind: keinerlei Kooperation mit oder Finanzierung von Terroristen, Deradikalisierung, Bekämpfung von Hass, Förderung demokratischer Prozesse und die unbedingte Gewährleistung von Israels Sicherheit.

Francisco Assis (S&D). – Senhora Presidente, Senhora Comissária, a União Europeia tem revelado uma grande dificuldade, historicamente, em lidar com os problemas do Médio Oriente, o que é compreensível, dada a própria natureza da União Europeia, constituída por vários Estados dotados de políticas externas diferentes e até, nalguns casos, antagónicas. Mas nunca, como hoje, foi tão necessária uma presença mais ativa da União Europeia no Médio Oriente. A que é que temos assistido nas últimas semanas e, em particular, nos últimos dias? A declarações absolutamente demenciais, e até obscenas, da parte do presidente dos Estados Unidos, quando se refere a Gaza e aos palestinianos, nos termos que nós todos tivemos oportunidade de ouvir, há poucos dias e há poucas horas. Um comportamento do governo de Israel que é completamente inadmissível. Israel tem hoje o governo mais extremista de direita da sua história, e o seu comportamento pôde até em causa alguns dos princípios fundamentais do sionismo. Porque, independentemente da posição que tenhamos em relação ao sionismo, este comportamento de Israel, deste governo de Israel, afasta-se completamente dos princípios generosos, de alguns deles, que estavam na base desse movimento.

E, por outro lado, também temos o Irão como uma fonte de permanente instabilidade na região. Perante tudo isto, a União Europeia tem de assumir as suas responsabilidades. Só nós, creio eu, estaremos hoje em condições, dadas as evoluções verificadas recentemente no mundo, para ter uma participação mais ativa no sentido de contribuir para o reconhecimento dos dois Estados, para a viabilização dos dois Estados. Isso passa, desde logo, creio eu, e isto até há pouco tempo não era uma coisa clara, pelo reconhecimento por parte dos Estados nacionais da legitimidade do Estado da Palestina. E eu faço um apelo, até no caso do meu próprio país, que é Portugal, para que se avance no sentido do reconhecimento do Estado da Palestina, porque me parece ser um passo em frente no sentido da resolução deste

problema. Mas o tema é complexo e não podemos ter visões maniqueístas.

György Hölvényi (Pfe). – Tisztelt Elnök Asszony! Sikerült elmozdulni a holtpontról Közel-Keleten. Ez a jó hír. A gázai, a szíriai és libanoni fejlemények egyszerűen esélyt teremtenek a térség stabilizálására. 2011 óta 14 millió szíriai menekült kényszerült elhagyni otthonát, vagy 6 millió szíriai menekült várja a Közel-Kelet országában, hogy hazatérhessen.

Eközben Szíriában is 7 millió belső menekült él. A lakosság 90%-ának megélhetése humanitárius szállítmányoktól függ. Önök mondhatják, három hete Szíriáról van vita, de „repetito est mater studiorum”, muszáj még egyszer elismételni: az egyik legfontosabb cél, hogy a szíriai menekültek mihamarabb tartósan hazatérhessenek. Ehhez a kormánynak garantálnia kell az alapvető jogok tiszteletben tartását, emellett pedig meg kell teremteni a hazatérés alapvető feltételeit. Enélkül nincs hazatérés. Választ kell adniuk a kérdésekre: hol fognak lakni, hol fognak dolgozni és hová fognak iskolába járni a gyerekek? Ma erre nincsenek válaszok.

Legfőbb ideje, hogy a helyi, eltűnőben lévő közel-keleti keresztény közösségek mellett kiálljon az Unió. Ez nem vallási kérdés. Ez nekünk, európaiaknak egészen egyszerűen egy morális és kulturális kérdés. Ez éppen úgy jelenti a libanoni szíriai keresztény oktatási intézmények támogatását, mint a keresztények vallásszabadságának támogatását.

Marion Maréchal (ECR). – Madame la Présidente, malheureusement, à travers les objectifs flous et vagues de cette stratégie au Proche-Orient, l'UE, une fois de plus, conforte son image d'entité passive, se contentant de souhaiter la paix et l'harmonie, mais incapable de revoir profondément son logiciel diplomatique pour faire face aux grands bouleversements en cours.

Pourquoi, dans ses orientations politiques, les véritables problèmes sont-ils occultés? Je pense, par exemple, à l'agressivité répétée de la Turquie envers son voisinage lorsque Ankara instrumentalise le désordre moyen-oriental dans son intérêt. Je pense aussi au sujet très problématique du nouveau dirigeant syrien, qui est passé par l'État islamique en Irak et par Al-Qaïda.

Face à ce régime, la naïveté est interdite et la complaisance est odieuse, en particulier quand elle vient du président de la France, pays martyr de l'islamisme, qui se dit prêt à recevoir ce djihadiste au palais présidentiel, au risque de lui accorder une respectabilité internationale.

Gardons en tête, par pitié, l'expérience des talibans en Afghanistan. Et n'oublions pas quels sont nos intérêts et nos devoirs dans cette région, qui devraient guider notre stratégie, à savoir nous préserver du risque terroriste, nous préserver des flux migratoires incontrôlés et nous tenir aux côtés, bien sûr, des communautés chrétiennes d'Orient, aujourd'hui gravement menacées, en particulier en Syrie.

Irena Joveva (Renew). – Madam President, there are no words. No words that would sufficiently express how absolutely appalled I am by the statements from the American President.

Throughout history, American involvement in the Middle East has only worsened the situation by prolonging conflicts with military engagement and lack of coherent strategies. Meanwhile, the EU has been, rather unsuccessfully, trying to resolve resulting humanitarian crises.

Enough. This time, the EU has to take a stand and not be bullied into the unimaginable transitions of the world, including not supporting ethnic cleansing and permanent displacements of people from their land, their homes, to create a new American playground. We need to help create regional alliances and not conflicts.

And while many of you are turning a blind eye – or worse, are even glad to see it – maybe you'll understand this: if 'all bets are off' and 'all hell breaks out', the shock waves will reach the European Union. This is not just about the region; it's about the very fabric of humanity.

Martin Schirdewan (The Left). – Frau Präsidentin! Das Ziel einer jeden EU-Strategie für den Nahen Osten muss natürlich ein dauerhafter Frieden in der Region sein. Dafür gibt es zwei Voraussetzungen.

Erstens, es braucht die Anerkennung der kurdischen Selbstverwaltung in Nord- und Ostsyrien und die Aufnahme diplomatischer Beziehungen mit Kurdistan. Der Machtwechsel in Syrien bietet ja jetzt auch die Chance, das Selbstbestimmungsrecht des kurdischen Volkes in einem multiethnischen Staat durchzusetzen. Das muss auch die Türkei akzeptieren. Der völkerrechtswidrige Angriffskrieg Erdogans gegen das kurdische Volk muss sofort eingestellt werden!

Zweitens braucht es die Anerkennung des Staates Palästina durch den Europäischen Rat. Im Rahmen einer Zweistaatenlösung muss es ein souveränes Palästina an der Seite eines souveränen Israel geben. Diese Realität muss dann auch die Regierung Netanjahu und vor allem Donald Trump anerkennen. Dessen Aussagen zur Zukunft Gazas sind skandalös, gefährlich und aufs Schärfste zurückzuweisen.

PREȘEDINȚIA: NICOLAE ȘTEFĂNUȚĂ

Vicepreședinte

Ruth Firmenich (NI). – Herr Präsident! Meine Damen und Herren! Die Lage in Gaza spitzt sich weiter zu. Ganz im Sinne der in Teilen rechtsextremen Regierung Israels möchte US-Präsident Trump die Palästinenser aus Gaza vertreiben und in die Nachbarstaaten umsiedeln, wie es beschönigend heißt. Statt einem Palästinenserstaat soll eine Luxus-Riviera entstehen. Diese Pläne sind menschenverachtend und gehören auf den Müllhaufen der Geschichte.

Mit Trumps Ultimatum stehen nun der Waffenstillstand zwischen Israel und der Hamas, die Hilfslieferungen und das Schicksal der Geiseln völlig infrage. Doch was ist in dieser dramatischen Lage von der EU zu hören? Nicht viel. Denn diejenigen, die sich sonst gerne als moralische Instanz aufspielen, bleiben stumm, wenn es um die Palästinenser geht. So wird der letzte Rest an Glaubwürdigkeit verspielt. Stattdessen nimmt man hin, dass wie die USA auch Deutschland weiter Waffen an Israel liefert.

Meine Partei, das Bündnis Sahara Wagenknecht, fordert ein Ende der Waffenlieferungen. Statt Waffen braucht es Einsatz für die Schaffung eines unabhängigen Palästinenserstaates in den Grenzen von 1967 mit Ostjerusalem als Hauptstadt.

Ingeborg Ter Laak (PPE). – Voorzitter, Gaza, Israël, Libanon, Iran, Irak, Afghanistan, Syrië: het Midden-Oosten staat op zijn kop. Oorlog, conflict, spanningen. Dat bedreigt het leven van miljoenen mensen. Al die verschrikkelijke beelden raken ons als mens, terwijl de gevolgen ons raken als maatschappij in haar geheel. Ben je voor de een of juist tegen de ander? Want ook in Europa staan mensen lijnrecht tegenover elkaar. En alsof het nog niet erg genoeg is, praat Donald Trump over het Midden-Oosten alsof hij bezig is met het ontwikkelen van het volgende golfresort voor multinationals.

Oorlog in het Midden-Oosten raakt ons hier. De aanvallen op schepen in de Rode Zee, grote groepen mensen op de vlucht, op zoek naar voedsel en onderdak. Vrede, veiligheid en handel staan onder druk. De Europese Unie heeft een strategie voor het Midden-Oosten nodig, net zoals het Midden-Oosten Europa nodig heeft. Ik vraag de Commissie om hier zo snel mogelijk werk van te maken.

Lucia Annunziata (S&D). – Mr President, Donald Trump presented himself as a pacifier and in a few weeks turned to be 'Mr Chaos'. But we Europeans should not be afraid of this. The truth is that the more that America withdraws into its nationalism, the more we can move into a space of influence greater than ever.

In the Middle East, many influential countries are orphaned at the moment of any initiative: Lebanon, the Gulf countries, Syria, Israel itself – which is not the kingdom of Benjamin Netanyahu, it's a much more complex country. We have to work to revive this network of alliances.

I hope that the High Representative Kaja Kallas will take this step and will work with this Parliament, as many of my colleagues who have spoken today before me in this room are asking, and as it's urgent to have an answer.

Cristian Terheş (ECR). – Mr President, dear colleagues, two major topics must be at the centre of the EU Middle East strategy.

First, stop rewarding the bad behaviour: the European Union allocates hundreds of millions of euros to the Palestinian Authority, which continues to implement the 'pay-for-slay' programme, based on which families of terrorists who have killed or injured Israeli citizens get a pension. As long as individuals are incentivised – even with money – to kill other people, there will not be peace.

Second: start the de-radicalisation. Even as we speak, UNRWA schools are using textbooks that indoctrinate Palestinian children to hate Jews, motivate them to kill Jews, and teach them that violence is the method to achieve their political aspirations. Educations shape minds and societies. Today, however, Palestinian textbooks glorify terrorism, promote martyrdom, and incite children to violence rather than teaching them coexistence and how to pursue political aspirations through non-violent means.

I call, therefore, that no money be given anymore to the Palestinian Authority and UNRWA schools until the 'pay-for-slay' programme is abolished and the schools' curriculum is de-radicalised.

Abir Al-Sahlani (Renew). – Mr President, Commissioner, representative of the Council, dear colleagues, President Trump says that he is committed to buying and owning the Gaza Strip. He says that the Palestinians can get much better housing in neighbouring countries. Wow. I did not know, actually, that the conflict in Israel and Palestine was about better housing.

And you know what? Surprisingly enough, Prime Minister Netanyahu says it's an innovative proposal. And the world is silent. It may come as a surprise to you, Mr. Donald Trump, but neither people, their rights nor their lands are up for sale.

On 25 February, the EU-Israel Association Council is meeting, and we from this House do not expect anything less than the utmost pressure on the Netanyahu Government to commit to a long-term peace, and let me tell you how it starts. It starts with seriously committing by the Israeli side, by Netanyahu, to the ceasefire deal, ending the violence in the occupied West Bank and lifting the ban on UNRWA. And the EU must invest in the rebuilding of Gaza without forced displacement.

Let this be very clear: you cannot have safety and peace in Israel if you do not have safety and peace in Palestine. All human rights matter, enough with the double standards.

Elena Yoncheva (Renew). – Mr President, dear colleagues, today we face a critical challenge once again: the future of the Middle East. And we find ourselves asking, how can the European Union make a meaningful impact?

The answer lies in our commitment to a two-state solution. And this is not just an option – it's the only path to true and lasting peace. The recent hostage deal is a vital step for the good example of diplomatic settlement. It's about bringing people back to their homes, back to their families. And this process must continue without pause until every hostage, every man and woman, is free and safe.

I believe the Munich Conference this week will provide a clear perspective, and I hope the European Union will take these matters into account in every discussion.

Andrey Kovatchev (PPE). – Mr President, Commissioner Šuica, dear Minister, dear colleagues, to foster peace and promote democratic values, the EU must strategically engage in the Middle East with a consistent and systematic approach. We must build a partnership with each country based on shared goals while addressing the destabilising malicious influence of Russian-Iranian acts of evil and their proxies in the region.

Support for the Abraham Accords, the release of all Israeli hostages, recognising Israel's right to exist again, and guaranteeing a sustainable solution for the Palestinian people are essentials for regional peace and must be shared objectives of the EU, together with the Arab countries, the US and Türkiye.

Our comprehensive Middle East strategy should include support for Europe's partners in the region – Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt – who have been impacted by the flows of displaced persons. And we must build on the work towards sustainable solutions for refugees to return to their homes.

To ensure a stable, democratic future for Syria, the EU and Member States should actively support the transition period, set clear conditions under which we would legitimise the interim government and the future new constitution and government, and, especially, exclude the presence of Russian and Iranian infrastructure in Syria.

Evin Incir (S&D). – Mr President, Commissioner, Minister, what I should have brought with me is a sign that reads 'Missing Person: High Representative Kaja Kallas', as this is the second session we are discussing the Middle East and she has not been a part of the discussions.

The Middle East is at a crossroads in many ways: Gaza is at risk of being occupied by a new force, the US under Trump. Yes, you heard me correctly: Trump's attempt to expel Palestinians from Gaza and take control is effectively replacing one occupying power, Israel, with another occupying power, the US, all while the Palestinian people are suffering, and this is a violation of international law.

Meanwhile, Syria has rid itself of its brutal dictator and has a new power in place. However, the future remains uncertain as we cannot realistically consider HTS a democratic force, given their history.

Turkey is attacking the Kurds in the Rojava region, it is risking to put ISIS on our streets. At the same time, in Turkey, the negotiations are taking place between the Turkish Government and the PKK leader, Öcalan. For the first time in a long time, the prospects seem positive for a resolution on the Kurdish issue and for a democratic Turkey. Development in Turkey will undoubtedly impact also Syria.

Where is the HR/VP? A silent voice is not a voice at all.

Εμμανουήλ Φράγκος (ECR). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, πλήθος δολοφονικών επιθέσεων σε ιερείς και επιφανείς χριστιανούς στο Λίβανο και στη Συρία. Για μεμονωμένες περιπτώσεις στις ΗΠΑ, στη Ρωσία, στην Κίνα και στην Αίγυπτο, το Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο έβγαλε πλήθος ψηφισμάτων.

Για τη συστηματική εκκαθάριση κατά των Χριστιανών στη Μέση Ανατολή δεν μιλάμε ποτέ, λες και οι Χριστιανοί δεν είναι άνθρωποι. Ας δούμε την αλληλεγγύη που δείχνει το Ισραήλ στους Εβραίους ανά τον κόσμο και ας ξαναβρούμε τη χριστιανική μας πυξίδα, τη χαμένη χριστιανική μας ταυτότητα.

Η Χαμάς γνωρίζει ότι η επίθεση σε Ισραηλινούς πολίτες φέρει αποφασιστική απάντηση του Ισραήλ. Αντιστοίχως, πρέπει τα τουρκοτζιχαντιστικά ενεργούμενα στη Συρία και στο Λίβανο να ξέρουν ότι, αν αγγίξουν τους Χριστιανούς αδελφούς μας, θα δεχθούν συντριπτική απάντηση. Σε ετούτη την αίθουσα, πρέπει να εκπροσωπείται η Ευρώπη και όχι η Μουσουλμανική Αδελφότητα. Όλοι οι Χριστιανοί, Ελληνορθόδοξοι, Ελληνοκαθολικοί, Αρμένιοι και Μαρωνίτες πρέπει να χαίρουν της προστασίας μας.

Billy Kelleher (Renew). – Mr President, we're talking about a comprehensive EU Middle East strategy.

Well, first and foremost, we must have a strategy around the issue of Israel and Palestine, and today the European Union simply does not have a strategy. It has been dishonest in its approach: it says on the one hand that it supports a two-state solution. Yet, over the last number of days since President Trump announced that he was going to annex financially Gaza and make it into a riviera, there has been no commentary from the Commission. Zero. Same from the Council.

Our leadership across Europe has gone blind to the fact that the Palestinian people have now been told by the United States – and by Europe, by its complicity in its silence – that Palestine has no right to exist. And yet we say that we are supporting the two-state solution.

I have to say that our manner on this has been shameful, and we ought to ensure that we stand by our original proposals of a two-state solution, protecting the security and the right for Israel to exist, and also for Palestine, Gaza and the West Bank to live in security and independence as well. That is our stated policy, and it should be time that the Commission and the Council stand up and voice that particular position.

Alice Teodorescu Măwe (PPE). – Herr talman! I år är det 80 år sedan utmärglade, hålgöda judiska fångar befriades från nazisterna. I lördags släpptes tre utmärglade, hålgöda israeler ur djävulens tunnlar i Gaza, och deras blotta uppenbarelse blev en påminnelse om att det som aldrig skulle få ske igen har skett igen, med vår vetskap. Så när vi står här och debatterar en ny Mellanösternstrategi, samtidigt som Hamas meddelat att den kommande frigivningen av gisslan stoppats på obestämd tid, vill jag påminna den här kammaren om att en sådan strategi måste ta avstamp i Israels rätt att existera och rätt att försvara sin existens.

Vägen till fred i regionen innebär en gemensam kamp mot terrorstaten Iran och dess proxys. Om EU inte ska reduceras till en kravlös bankomat för terrorister behöver vi, innan det är för sent, kräva att gisslan frigges och att Hamas och alla andra som vill förinta Israel omedelbart kapitulera.

Davor Ivo Stier (PPE). – Poštovani predsjedavajući, poštovana gospodo povjerenice, strategija EU-a za Bliski istok morala bi imati barem pet elemenata.

Prvo, podržati, promovirati proces pomirenja i suradnje Izraela i arapskih država. To mora, naravno, uključiti uspostavu bilateralnih odnosa Izraela sa Saudijskom Arabijom, ali i implementaciju koncepta dviju država, dakle Izraela i Palestine, koji će živjeti u miru i sigurnosti.

Drugo, paktom za Mediteran stvoriti novi okvir za političku, sigurnosnu, gospodarsku i energetska suradnju s regijom.

Treće, jasno i čvrsto suprostaviti se Muslimanskoj braći i njihovu konceptu kalifata. Oni su doista prijatelji za regionalnu stabilnost i za Europu.

Četvrto, jasno se suprostaviti iranskim hegemonijskim ambicijama u regiji i, naravno, revizionističkim politikama koje Iran provodi na globalnoj sceni.

I peto, zauzeti se za kršćanske zajednice na Bliskom istoku jer ako se Europa ne zauzme za njih, onda nitko neće. To je, dakle, moralno, moralna obaveza, ali i geopolitička nužnost jer nitko neće na Bliskom istoku ozbiljno shvatiti Europsku uniju ako se ona ne zauzme za kršćane na Bliskom istoku.

Michał Szczerba (PPE). – Panie Przewodniczący! Pani Komisarz! Panie Ministrze! Czas najwyższy powiedzieć tutaj, w tej Izbie, że Unia Europejska nie może być tylko płatnikiem, ale przede wszystkim musi być aktywnym graczem, który kreuje rozwiązania na rzecz bezpieczeństwa, ale bezpieczeństwa również na Bliskim Wschodzie. Ta sytuacja na Bliskim Wschodzie jest najtrudniejsza od wielu lat. Atak Hamasu 7 października 2023 roku przyniósł chaos, doprowadził do rozlewu krwi, ale również cały czas czekamy na uwolnienie wszystkich zakładników terrorystów.

Chcę bardzo wyraźnie powiedzieć, że musimy prowadzić aktywną politykę. Politykę również, która wspiera demokratyczne procesy, społeczeństwo obywatelskie, ale również reaguje na kryzysy humanitarne. Takim kryzysem ogarnięta jest obecnie Strefa Gazy. I bardzo ważna sprawa – wtedy, kiedy Amerykanie wycofują się ze swojej pomocy rozwojowej, humanitarnej, musimy przejąć odpowiedzialność. To jest również odpowiedzialność nasza, nasza, naszego pokolenia wobec świata i wobec tych ludzi.

Wouter Beke (PPE). – Voorzitter, commissaris, er gaat geen week voorbij zonder een nieuw bizar voorstel van president Trump. Zijn laatste plan om de Gazastrook op te kopen en om te bouwen was niet alleen bizar, het was gek en gevaarlijk voor de hele regio.

Het toont eens te meer aan dat Europa aan tafel moet gaan zitten om mee te praten over de toekomst van het Midden-Oosten. Niet alleen om de Palestijnse en Israëlische burgers de vrede te geven die ze verdienen, maar ook in ons eigen strategisch belang. Een stabiele vrede in het Midden-Oosten betekent immers minder vluchtelingenstromen — de helft van de Palestijnse vluchtelingen komt op dit ogenblik naar België. Een stabiele vrede zorgt voor minder radicalisering en meer samenwerking tegen de allianties van Iran, Rusland en Noord-Korea, die in de hele regio alleen maar schade willen aanrichten.

Het is dan ook van groot belang dat wij zelf een plan voor het Midden-Oosten uitwerken. Ik roep u op om ervoor te zorgen dat we op die manier vrede, stabiliteit en perspectief in de hele regio kunnen brengen.

Nicolás Pascual de la Parte (PPE). – Señor presidente, en Oriente Próximo se están produciendo cambios tectónicos que posiblemente van a cambiar el mapa geopolítico y geoestratégico en la zona, e incluso hasta las fronteras. Pero de momento lo que tenemos es un acuerdo de tregua entre Hamás e Israel que nos da esperanza de que vuelva la paz a esa región.

Hay una realidad que no podemos perder de vista: entre el mar Mediterráneo y el río Jordán viven siete millones de palestinos y siete millones de judíos. Ellos tienen que aprender a vivir en paz, con respeto y con reconciliación. Por eso, nosotros apostamos por la solución de dos Estados como la única posible que ofrece un futuro de seguridad y de estabilidad a Israel y de prosperidad y dignidad a los palestinos. Eso lo debemos aplicar a través de nuestro diálogo con las autoridades israelíes y palestinas para poner en marcha la Estrategia de la UE en Oriente Próximo, el nuevo Pacto por el Mediterráneo y la estrategia para los países del Golfo.

La Comisión va a presentar estas propuestas y las debemos apoyar a la vez que seguimos apoyando nuestras dos misiones sobre el terreno, EUPOL COPPS y EU BAM Rafah, que están haciendo un trabajo magnífico con pocos recursos.

Reinhold Lopatka (PPE). – Mr President, dear Commissioner, dear colleagues, the EU must act in adopting a comprehensive strategy for the Middle East very fast, particularly in the light of the developments in Syria and Israel. We have a responsibility to lead on fostering cooperation and diplomacy in the region, not least because it has a strong impact on our own security, stability and prosperity.

Our relationship with the Gulf Cooperation Council – with which we have increased trade by over 35 % only in one decade – highlights this potential. We need a free trade agreement with the GCC, but we also have to address the negative role of Iran and its proxies, destabilising the region. And our support for a two-state solution for Israel and Palestine has to play a key role in this strategy, like the support for Israel in their fight against Hamas terrorists.

Intervenții la cerere

Vytenis Povilas Andriukaitis (S&D). – Posėdžio pirmininke, gerbiama komisare, gerbiami kolegos. Pavadinimas mūsų debatų – apie strateginę ir visa apimančią Europos Sąjungos Artimųjų Rytų politiką. Tačiau mane daug daugiau žeidžia trumpalaikių veiksmų nebuvimas. Trumpo pareiškimas apie Gazoje įsteigiamą rivjerą yra karikatūristų objektas. Bet tylą iš Komisijos pusės ir tylą iš Europos Sąjungos Vadovų Tarybos nepasakant, kad šis pareiškimas prasilenkia su visomis tarptautinėmis konvencijomis, yra dar baisesnė karikatūra. Man, kaip buvusiam komisarui, deja, sunku sutikti su ta tylą. Ir tai yra atsakymas, kad dabar, kaip tik dabar, reikalingas be galo stiprus Europos Sąjungos balsas prieš visus tarptautinės teisės konvencijų, Genocido konvencijos ir visus pažeidimus. Norėčiau įkvėpti jums drąsos tą padaryti.

Sebastian Tynkynen (ECR). – Mr President, the EU's Middle East strategy is doomed if it follows once again the failed path of endless spending of taxpayers' money and weak diplomacy.

We must learn from President Trump: his strong ultimatums immediately brought swift results in the region. Hamas doesn't listen to soft EU diplomacy talk, we need to be tougher.

Also, money-wise, why should we waste billions of euros on another continent when we have major crises on our own continent? We face growing crime, illegal migration and economic decline, yet we have poured massive amounts of money into an area that is filled with radical Islam. You could say Europe has been stupid.

The EU must prioritise our own security and our own economic strength. Let us finally put Europe first: our people, our borders and our future.

Ana Miranda Paz (Verts/ALE). – Señor presidente, quiero referirme a esas obscenas palabras del presidente Trump, que declara que quiere anxionar Gaza, que quiere expulsar a los palestinos —que están en su legítimo territorio— de su lugar: de su lugar de vida y del lugar en el que quieren disfrutar de una vida digna y no de esta vida de genocidio que Israel les está haciendo pasar.

Quitar a los palestinos de Gaza... ¡qué idea tiene el señor Trump! Y a mí me gustaría que hoy estuviese la señora Kallas. Precisamente, comisaria, usted está ahí y representa a la Comisión, pero lo normal es que estuviese la alta representante, porque es la segunda vez que tenemos un debate de estas características y debería venir aquí a decir alto y claro qué opina de esas palabras. Son palabras muy obscenas y que atacan los valores fundamentales y, además, con desplazamientos étnicos prohibidos precisamente por las Naciones Unidas.

Y yo también estoy de acuerdo en la revisión del acuerdo con Israel y en las sanciones pertinentes, porque quien comete genocidio tiene que ser sancionado.

Marc Botenga (The Left). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, j'ai essayé de comprendre la stratégie de l'Union européenne au Moyen-Orient.

D'abord on m'a dit: «Oui, mais c'est des droits humains.» Je me suis dit: «Les droits humains, mais attendez, quand Israël fait un génocide contre les Palestiniens, quand les Israéliens vont porte à porte, maison par maison, pour voler, pour expulser les Palestiniens de leurs maisons, l'Union européenne leur livre les armes. Quand l'Arabie saoudite exécute un nombre record de prisonniers l'année passée, on laisse passer tranquillement.» Alors vous m'avez dit: «Non, mais il y a le droit international qui est important pour nous.»

Mais Israël occupe illégalement non seulement la Palestine, mais aussi une partie du Liban et une partie de la Syrie, et vous voulez renforcer les liens avec Israël?

Quand Donald Trump menace de déporter 2 millions de Palestiniens, vous ne dites rien. Maintenant j'ai compris, c'est l'économie: vous voulez le gaz et le pétrole. Vous l'avez dit, le corridor économique de l'Inde passe par le Moyen-Orient, l'Arabie saoudite et Israël, pour même voler le gaz des Palestiniens potentiellement.

Pour cela, vous marchez donc sur les corps des Palestiniens, sur les corps des peuples arabes, qui ne veulent qu'une chose, c'est la souveraineté, et pouvoir décider eux-mêmes de leur sort. Respectez cela, Madame la Commissaire.

Diana Iovanovici Șoșoacă (NI). – Domnule președinte, vorbiți aici, văd, pentru prima dată, de creștini. Când v-am ridicat icoana în plenul Parlamentului European, m-ați sancționat. Când am vorbit și am acuzat-o pe Ursula von der Leyen de acțiuni care au dus la crime în plandemie, m-ați sancționat. Vorbiți acum să apărați creștinii! Cum să apărați creștinii din țările arabe, când dumneavoastră acuzați toate țările arabe? Nu îi respectați, nu-i cunoașteți, nici pe perși, nici pe arabi, îl discreditați pe Trump, îl discreditați pe Putin, sunteți în război cu toată lumea.

Vreți strategii? Vă dau un sfat: uitați-vă la politica lui Nicolae Ceaușescu. Nimeni nu l-a egalat vreodată. Dictator, dictator, dar a avut cea mai bună politică externă. A reușit să pună la aceeași masă Israelul cu Palestina și a adus pacea în regiune. De aceea, Comisia Europeană se pare că nu este pregătită, doamna Ursula von der Leyen nu face decât să ne pună în război cu toată lumea și de aici, din plenul Parlamentului European, cer demisia Ursulei von der Leyen.

Președinte. – Aș adăuga, ca președinte al acestei ședințe, că Nicolae Ceaușescu a fost și sursa a milioane de crime în România. Dar nu purtăm o dezbatere despre asta și dau cuvântul doamnei Șuica din partea Comisiei Europene.

(Încheierea intervențiilor la cerere)

Dubravka Šuica, Member of the Commission. – Mr President, honourable Members, thank you for your interventions, for your feedback and your comments, which are very useful. This debate shows clearly that the Middle East region is a very important and crucial region for Europe. But more united and active European involvement is of paramount importance. I will try to reply to some of your questions.

First of all, we are not silent. This is not the case. As we said in January at the Foreign Affairs Council, the Palestinian people have suffered greatly and both Israelis and Palestinians deserve peace. This was one of the conclusions, and all of us know this. The ceasefire is a positive development, but now we have to take steps in order to bring these hostilities to an end and to keep stability and peace in the region.

From our point of view, once again, this requires a two-state solution. That is why the European Union is supporting the Palestinian Authority in its reforms to allow it to return to govern Gaza. So this is what we are doing. The international community must work with Palestinians to rebuild Gaza. We would welcome a proactive role from the United States in this reconstruction or reconstructing process. It is also worth recalling that among the five key conditions set by the Commission President last year on Gaza, one was the essential part of the future Palestinian state, and that there should not be any further displacement of Palestinians. This is something that we are saying and that was the conclusion of the Foreign Affairs Council in January.

On Palestinian social protection law: yesterday, the new social protection law was signed by the Palestinian President Abbas and it is now to be officially published. The law replaces all existing allowances, including the payment to the families of the prisoners and martyrs. This decision is fully in line with the reform matrix as agreed between the European Commission and the Palestinian Authority. So we certainly welcome this step by the Palestinian Authority.

On UNWRA: the European Commission will continue to support UNWRA both politically and financially. Precise amounts are being defined according to our NDC Global Europe regulation, and that's it. Last year, the European Union disbursed EUR 92 million to UNWRA following – very important – the Commission's monitoring of the implementation of the conditions that were agreed for funding. So we were monitoring the situation.

On the EU-Israel Association Council and high-level dialogue with the Palestinian Authority: the EU-Israel Association Council will take place on 24 February, with 27 European ministers, as you know, who will be participating. The meeting will be the opportunity to discuss the situation in the Middle East, including the conflict in Gaza and EU-Israel cooperation. The high-level dialogue with the Palestinian Authority will take place in the margins of the 17 March Foreign Affairs Council. The Palestinian Authority will be represented by Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Mustafa.

Regarding the Gulf: someone said that he or she is in favour of coordination of the Gulf countries. Of course, this is exactly why Gulf countries are under my portfolio, Mediterranean – although we know that geographically they are not Mediterranean – we 100 % agree with this. So we have to work with the Gulf Cooperation Council but, of course, bilaterally, because they are also, as you know, diverse. So increasing engagement with the Gulf will be a very important component here. You remember this is what I said at the beginning: since the signature of the strategic partnership with the Gulf from 2022, we are trying to increase engagement with all six countries.

Last but not least, the European Union's approach to the Middle East, as all of us know, should ensure a full synergy with the proposals to be made under the new pact for the Mediterranean, which I mentioned, which will be done in consultation first with this House, in consultation with Member States, but also in consultation with those on the other shore of the Mediterranean. So this is something which we will be doing in the next 5 or 6 months.

As I said, this debate is important, and I have to mention diplomatic efforts, which included first calling for the protection of civilians in line with international humanitarian law, then redoubling our humanitarian engagement in the region, then calling for dialogue between Israel and these neighbour countries to continue to keep stability and peace in the region. And, of course, we are seeking long-term solutions which bring peace and security to everyone.

To conclude: yes, Europe wants to be a player. We have a role there and this is something which we want. Of course we have to increase our role and this is what we are doing. So, as you know, we are saying that we are payers and not players – we want to be players, both payers and players, not only payers – and this is something which is important. So once again, I can agree with some of you: no cooperation with terrorists, deradicalization, no hate speech, and, of course, promoting democratic values or our common values.

On our dear colleague HR/VP: we work in synergy on the Middle East strategy. It's also part of my mission letter, so we are working together on this, so this is something which should be mentioned here. She is working with us and she will be with you as soon as possible.

Adam Szlápka, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Mr President, honourable Members, Madam Commissioner, thank you very much for this debate. Today's exchange is a part of the ongoing reflection on the EU's engagement and actions in the Middle East, at a time of many parallel developments that will shape the situation on the ground for years to come.

In spite of our different views on the causes as well as on the the solutions for the challenges faced by countries in the region, I take from this debate that we all agree that any outcome of current events in the in the Middle East will directly impact the stability, prosperity and security of the European Union. This is why our collective engagement in the region is crucial. I can assure you, on behalf of the High Representative, that the situation in the Middle East will remain a key priority for the Foreign Affairs Council of the European Union. The Council looks forward to working together with the other EU institutions to promote peace and reconstruction in this vital region for the European Union.

President. – The debate is closed.

Declarații scrise (articolul 178)

Laura Ballarín Cereza (S&D), *por escrito*. – La Comisión se comprometió a desarrollar una estrategia integral de la UE para Oriente Medio fundamentada principalmente en dos objetivos.

Primero, garantizar la solución de los dos estados «el día después en Gaza». Y segundo, fortalecer la colaboración con los principales países de la región.

Sin embargo, el borrador del primer programa de la Comisión no incluye el desarrollo de esta estrategia para 2025. Tampoco se ha presentado un horizonte temporal para su ejecución y la vicepresidenta / alta representante, Kaja Kallas, ha vuelto a ausentarse durante el debate en el Pleno.

En un momento en el que el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos ha reafirmado su interés por la ejecución de un plan de control sobre Gaza -que conlleva desplazamientos forzados por parte de los gazatíes y que incumple el Derecho internacional y el Derecho internacional humanitario-, creemos que la Comisión ha de ser contundente. Requerimos que se priorice el desarrollo de la estrategia, pues también implica participar en el proceso de reconstrucción para Gaza, incidir en que se cumpla el acuerdo de alto al fuego y fortalecer las relaciones con la región.

También, creemos que es imprescindible garantizar la participación del Parlamento y embajadas de la UE en esta estrategia.

Γεώργιος Γεώργιος (ECR), *γραφιώς*. – Θα επαναλάβω την δήλωση που έκανα ενώπιον του Σώματος, όταν πολλοί σε αυτό το Σώμα πανηγύριζαν μετά την πτώση του Άσαντ. Είχα αναφέρει αυτολεξεί «Έπεσε ένα δικτατορικό καθεστώς και στη θέση του ήρθε ένα άλλο δικτατορικό καθεστώς που είναι βαθιά εξτρεμιστικό, ακραία ισλαμικό».

Θα πρέπει άπαντες να κατανοήσουν ότι, εάν η Συρία περιέλθει εξ ολοκλήρου στην κυριαρχία των τζιχαντιστών, θα γίνει παγκόσμιος κόμβος τρομοκρατίας. Ακόμα πιο ανησυχητικό είναι το γεγονός ότι και το Ισραήλ δέχεται μαζική επίθεση από το ακραίο Ισλάμ. Με λύπη σημειώνω ότι πίσω από τις ισλαμιστικές τρομοκρατικές οργανώσεις, καθόλου τυχαία, βρίσκεται ένα υπό ένταξη κράτος, η Τουρκία, που έμαθε να ευδοκμεί στο χάος και τη βαρβαρότητα.

Ο δυτικός κόσμος πρέπει να δράσει αποφασιστικά, όχι μόνο για το μέλλον της Μέσης Ανατολής, αλλά και για τη δική του ασφάλεια. Υπογραμμίζω ότι η Μέση Ανατολή δεν πρέπει να αφεθεί στα χέρια των ακραίων ισλαμιστικών οργανώσεων. Αλλιώς, κινδυνεύουν και η Κύπρος και η Ευρώπη, καθώς και ολόκληρος ο δυτικός κόσμος και πολιτισμός.

13. Optrapning af volden i den østlige del af Den Demokratiske Republik Congo (forhandling)

President. – The next item is the debate on the Council and Commission statements on the escalation of violence in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (2025/2553(RSP)).

Adam Szlápka, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Mr President, honourable Members, Madam Commissioner, the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo is experiencing a new dramatic escalation. The M23 armed group, a UN-sanctioned entity backed by Rwanda and its armed forces, has advanced further in North and South Kivu and has captured Goma, a town of over 2 million people. The already dire humanitarian and human rights situation has worsened even further.

The EU is extremely concerned by the ongoing escalation. This was made clear in our statement on 25 January 2025. Rwanda's support to M23 and direct military intervention in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is a blatant violation of its territorial integrity, which we condemned in the strongest terms. Rwanda must cease these actions. All other regional actors, including the Democratic Republic of the Congo, must stop any support and cooperation with all other armed groups operating in the country.

The EU's priority is to contribute to efforts for an immediate ceasefire and a rapid, sustained resumption of peaceful negotiations under the Luanda process led by Angola. We urge Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo to re-engage in the process and abide by the commitments that were made. The EU has been actively pursuing these goals and in coordination with like-minded and regional partners.

The President of the European Council recently spoke with President Tshisekedi and President Kagame and called for the political solution to the crisis. Also, the High Representative met with the Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and clearly reaffirmed that territorial integrity is non-negotiable. Furthermore, the EU Special Representative for the Great Lakes Region, who held discussions with the Foreign Ministers of Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo will travel in the region in the coming days.

Our intensified diplomatic outreach will continue in the coming days and weeks. The situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo will be discussed at the Foreign Affairs Council in February.

Dubravka Šuica, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, honourable Members, dear Minister Szlapka, what is happening in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is not a new crisis; it is an escalation of the crisis within the crisis.

The humanitarian situation is devastating. Already before the latest developments, there were 800 000 internally displaced persons around Goma, cramped in heavily populated sites for displaced persons. Since the attack on Goma by M23 and the Rwanda army, many displacement sites are now reported to have been emptied. Some occupants have fled to other neighbourhoods of Goma; others have attempted to return to their villages in the Masisi and Rutshuru territories, which are currently under M23 control. The risk of forced closure of the remaining sites is high due to the policy of M23, which opposes the presence of this kind of sites in areas under its control. There are reports from Goma of around 3 000 deaths caused by the fighting, with bodies in the streets and overloaded morgues. All hospitals in this town are overcrowded and many are operating at twice their capacity. The threat for epidemics such as cholera is growing. Humanitarian actors are slowly coming back now that the fighting is over, and assessments for restarting the response as soon as possible are ongoing, notably at sites for displaced and medical facilities.

However, the response is severely hampered by the security situation and by a lack of available commodities, as many warehouses of humanitarian aid agencies were broken into and looted during the fighting. The airport of Goma was damaged in the fighting and is not operational for humanitarian aid flights. Humanitarian access to the most vulnerable people has been limited and remains a challenge where fighting is taking place. We need urgent political action to secure a humanitarian truce, ensure the protection of civilians and enable full humanitarian access.

The European Union has insisted on key humanitarian messages to all parties in conflict: keep borders open for refugees and humanitarian workers; allow humanitarian corridors where appropriate and ensure principled humanitarian access; ensure the protection of civilians and respect for international humanitarian law, particularly with the increased risk of gender-based violence in this context; preserve the safety of humanitarian staff, health workers and medical facilities; engage in negotiations for a humanitarian truce.

It is imperative that the airport in Goma reopen for humanitarian flights to allow our partners to resupply their looted stocks and to bring in much-needed life-saving equipment. The European Union stands ready to continue supporting the humanitarian response. The European Union alone is the second largest humanitarian aid donor in the DRC – Democratic Republic of Congo. We have allocated EUR 112 million in humanitarian aid to the Democratic Republic of Congo last year. EU Member States are also strongly contributing to this response. As a response to this new crisis within a crisis, the Commission has accelerated the disbursements of its initial 2025 budget for the Democratic Republic of Congo of EUR 60 million. We are currently establishing which humanitarian partners still have the capacity to effectively intervene. On that basis, we have preselected the first six partners already on 27 January, while the fighting for Goma was still raging for urgent interventions of EUR 25 million of the EUR 60 million announced, and we are ensuring that these funds will be disbursed without delay.

Ingeborg Ter Laak, *namens de PPE-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, commissaris, een stad van meer dan een miljoen mensen wordt binnengevallen en in de fik gestoken. Mannen worden vermoord, vrouwen verkracht en kinderen tot soldaat gedwongen. De meeste mensen hebben echter nog nooit van deze stad gehoord. Het is het tragische lot van de mensen in Goma, een stad in Congo, aan de grens met Oeganda en Rwanda. En dit is de harde realiteit van de situatie in Congo. Rusland zou de Congolese overheid hebben gesteund in de strijd tegen M23. Rwanda zou met hulp van de rebellen minerale smokkelen uit Congolese mijnen. En de rest van de wereld kijkt toe.

Iedereen heeft oog voor het eigen belang, maar vergeet waar het om gaat: mensenlevens. Massa's mensen zijn op de vlucht en er is te weinig humanitaire hulp. En de hulp die er is, komt niet aan. Organisaties die hulp willen bieden, vrezen voor het leven van hun eigen medewerkers. We moeten ervoor zorgen dat hulporganisaties mensen kunnen bereiken en dat de rust in het land terugkeert. Dat lukt alleen als andere landen stoppen met het financieren van militaire organisaties voor hun eigen belang en als we daadwerkelijk oog krijgen voor het leed van honderdduizenden mensen.

Marit Majj, *namens de S&D-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, commissaris, minister, een maand geleden viel Goma. We hebben hierover al gesproken: meer dan drieduizend mensen in de stad zijn vermoord. Vijfhonderdduizend mensen zijn op de vlucht, vijfhonderdduizend mensen boven op de zeven miljoen mensen die in Goma al op de vlucht zijn. En seksueel geweld wordt weer grof ingezet als wapen in oorlogsvoering.

Dit alles omdat M23, gesteund door de Rwandese regering, Goma is binnengevallen. We weten dat M23 zijn acties ook financiert met mineralen die ze illegaal in handen krijgen uit Kivu, uit de regio rondom Goma. We weten ook dat de Europese Unie investeert in Rwanda. Meer dan negenhonderd miljoen vanuit de Global Gateway om kritische mineralen, ook uit die regio, te krijgen.

Wij vragen de Commissie om zich uit te spreken tegen M23, om te pleiten voor een humanitaire corridor, voor meer humanitaire hulp vanuit de Europese Unie en verbeterde zorg voor slachtoffers van seksueel geweld. Wij vragen ook om te reflecteren op onze eigen rol, de rol van de Europese Unie. Dat betekent het opschorten van de deal voor kritieke grondstoffen, het memorandum van overeenstemming met Rwanda, en geen militaire steun meer voor landen die dit conflict financieren en voeden.

Thierry Mariani, *au nom du groupe PSE*. – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, ce n'est pas une crise humanitaire. Cela fait trente ans que ça dure. Trente ans! On recevait dans ces murs le prix Nobel et docteur Denis Mukwege, qui nous alertait en disant: «Les femmes, les hommes et les enfants tombent comme des mouches au Kivu.» Et déjà en 2008, dans cet Hémicycle, on avait voté une résolution pour une crise exactement similaire. Sauf que ce n'est pas une crise. Cela fait trente ans que cela dure. Et cela fait trente ans qu'on ne fait rien. Cela fait trente ans qu'on dit qu'on va envoyer des camions pour sauver les gens et tout.

Ce qu'il faut aujourd'hui, c'est qu'on s'attaque aux racines du mal. Or, les racines, on sait d'où elles viennent. On sait très bien qu'il y a un pays voisin qui, en réalité, participe au pillage des recettes et des ressources minérales de la RDC et qui nous revend une partie de ces minéraux. On sait aujourd'hui qui est complice: c'est l'Union européenne.

L'Union européenne, vous le savez, a signé un traité, ou plutôt un accord, le 19 février de l'année dernière pour racheter ces minéraux volés. Et c'est depuis septembre que je demande qu'on ait une commission spéciale sur ce sujet. Rien. J'ai appris qu'on allait la faire la semaine prochaine, à huis clos, sans traduction.

Alors, vous savez ce qu'il faut faire. Ce qu'on doit faire, c'est annuler d'urgence l'accord sur les minéraux qui nous lie au Rwanda. C'est suspendre le partenariat sécuritaire que nous avons avec ce pays. C'est bloquer le versement des 20 millions d'euros supplémentaires promis par l'Europe en novembre dernier dans le cadre de la facilité européenne au Rwanda. C'est condamner fermement les massacres et les exactions et prendre des sanctions concrètes contre les responsables, qui se trouvent en grande partie au Rwanda. Voilà ce qu'on attend. Ce n'est pas de voter une nouvelle résolution dans cinq ou dix ans.

Alberico Gambino, *a nome del gruppo ECR*. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signora Commissaria, quanto sta accadendo nella Repubblica democratica del Congo è estremamente preoccupante.

La caduta di Goma nelle mani dei ribelli M23 ha scatenato una crisi umanitaria gravissima, mentre la tensione cresce anche a Kinshasa, con episodi che dimostrano una crescente sfiducia da parte della popolazione nei confronti della comunità internazionale.

L'Unione europea, quindi, deve voltare pagina. Dobbiamo iniziare a costruire un nuovo partenariato con l'Africa, basato sul rispetto reciproco e sulla crescita condivisa. In questo senso, il piano Mattei, questa idea geniale della presidente del Consiglio dei ministri italiano Giorgia Meloni, rappresenta un modello concreto per rafforzare la cooperazione, promuovendo sviluppo, stabilità e sicurezza.

Ovviamente servono anche scelte politiche chiare. Dobbiamo sostenere con determinazione i processi di mediazione guidati dai paesi africani, riconoscendo il loro ruolo centrale nella ricerca di soluzioni durature. L'Africa non ha bisogno di interventi calati dall'alto, ma di partner affidabili. E ovviamente io credo che l'Europa deve dimostrare di essere all'altezza di questo ruolo.

Hilde Vautmans, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, les morts du Congo n'attendent plus des rapports, mais des actes. Cela fait plus de trente ans déjà que le peuple congolais est massacré, violé, déplacé. Ce peuple n'a que faire de nos discours ou de nos timides condamnations.

Quand la Russie a envahi l'Ukraine, nous avons réagi immédiatement et nous avons raison. Mais aujourd'hui, alors que le Congo est attaqué, où est notre réaction? Pourquoi cette indifférence? Ce qui se passe dans l'est du Congo est une guerre d'occupation directe menée par le Rwanda et ses complices. Les preuves sont accablantes, et pourtant nous, l'Europe, continuons de temporiser, de chercher des solutions diplomatiques creuses pendant que les Congolais tombent comme des mouches.

Nous avons les moyens d'agir. Nous devons le faire maintenant. Au lieu de récompenser Kagame avec des centaines de millions d'euros, nous devons adopter des sanctions qui frappent là où ça fait mal: suspendre immédiatement le protocole d'accord sur les matières premières avec le Rwanda, élargir les sanctions contre les hauts responsables du Rwanda et du M23, bloquer toute assistance européenne à Kigali. Enfin, nous devons garantir l'accès de l'aide humanitaire et la protection de l'hôpital Panzi, de ses équipes et ses patients.

À quel point pouvons-nous être naïfs? Toute autre réponse sera une trahison de nos propres intérêts européens et de nos valeurs fondamentales. L'Europe doit cesser d'être complice par son inaction. Soyons du bon côté de l'Histoire, car nos descendants nous jugeront sur nos actes d'aujourd'hui et non sur nos discours et nos intentions.

Sara Matthieu, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Mr President, colleagues, as we speak blood is being shed in eastern Congo. Rebels and Rwandan troops are terrorising innocent communities. There's mass rapes, there's killings, there's hundreds of thousands of people being displaced from their homes. And what fuels this devastating conflict? The very minerals in our smartphones, in our laptops, in the devices we use every day. How can we as Europeans look away when our hunger for critical raw materials is staining our hands with blood?

The EU's recent deal with Rwanda isn't just a political misstep, it's a moral failure. I call for an immediate embargo on all minerals exported from Rwanda, and a suspension of the MoU, sanctions on Rwandan military leadership, and an immediate and unconditional withdrawal from both the M23 rebels and the Rwandan army from the DRC soil. We can't let our pursuit of critical raw materials turn ourselves into accomplices of warfare – we need to stop this war now.

Marc Botenga, *au nom du groupe The Left*. – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, il faudrait m'expliquer quelque chose: le Rwanda envahit le Congo et nous, en tant qu'Union européenne, en tant que pays européens, nous envoyons encore des armes au Rwanda? Le Rwanda vole les ressources congolaises et nous, nous allons passer un accord avec le Rwanda pour acheter ces matières premières des Congolais qui ont été volées?

Parce que c'est ce qu'il se passe: la Commission européenne a signé cet accord avec le Rwanda et qu'est-il arrivé deux mois après? Le M23, ce mouvement rebelle soutenu par le Rwanda, a été conquérir la plus importante mine de coltan au Congo pour, en contrebande, voler ces ressources et les vendre sur les marchés internationaux. Donc, en fait, la Commission européenne a, en quelque sorte, donné son feu vert aux Rwandais pour envahir le Congo. L'Europe se trouve en d'autres termes du côté de l'agresseur. Et tout cela pour les profits des multinationales, sur le corps et les corps des Congolais.

Alors pillages, destructions, des millions de morts entre-temps, il faut que cela cesse. Les Africains en ont marre, parce qu'on l'a vu avec l'or au Mali. On l'a vu au Niger avec l'uranium, on l'a vu en Libye avec les gaz et le pétrole. C'est toujours la même chanson de pillage. Et après vous vous étonnez que les peuples du Sud se révoltent. Les Africains en ont marre. On le voit au Mali, au Niger, au Burkina, au Tchad, en Côte d'Ivoire, en République centrafricaine, au Sénégal. À chaque fois, il y a des Européens qui ont été mis à la porte.

Alors aujourd'hui c'est le moment de dire «basta!». Le temps du colonialisme est révolu. Suspendez cet accord de pillage des ressources naturelles congolaises et imposez un embargo militaire au Rwanda. Madame la Commissaire, on n'a pas besoin de larmes de crocodile, on a besoin d'action.

Petras Gražulis, ESN frakcijos vardu. – Gerbiamas pirmininke, stebina Europa savo vykdoma užsienio politika, ir ypač Ruandos atžvilgiu. Čia prieš tai mane kalbėjo... kalbėję parlamentarai taip pat stebėjosi, kaip gali Europos Sąjungos šalys, Europos Sąjunga, skirti finansavimą Ruandai. Jūs atsakykit į šitą klausimą: ar tai yra moralu? Kada Ruanda įsiveržia į Kongą, žudo žmones, moteris prievartauja, prievartauja visus kaimus. Kaip jūs galite šitaip elgtis?

Pažiūrėkit, ką jiems padarė Amerika! Amerika sustabdė, ir uždraudė Amerikos vyriausybė pirkti žaliavas, kurios naudojamos kompiuterių ir mobiliųjų telefonų pramonei. O jūs? Jūs gi pareiškimus priiminėjate ir toliau, kaip sako, ne tik kad neperkate, bet jūs finansuojate Ruandos pramonę. Tai kas, šiandien už visokias vertybes moralines, žmonių mirtis yra daug svarbiau pinigai?

Kaip jūs norite, kad jus girdėtų pasaulis, Europa? Aš manau, kad mes turime imtis ryžtingų veiksmų, o ne deklaracijų, kurias nuolat ir nuolat priiminėjame. Kas pasikeis po to? Niekas nepasikeis! Jei mes priimsime kažkokią rezoliuciją, dar vieną kartą pasmerksime Ruandą, pasmerksime sukilėlius, kas pasikeis? Niekas nepasikeis!

Keiskime patys savo požiūrį į tai, kas vyksta Ruandoje. Nutraukime finansavimą ir suteikime pagalbą ten ir tiems žmonėms, kurie prievartaujami, ir stabdykite šituos veiksmus.

Wouter Beke (PPE). – Voorzitter, commissaris, we kunnen niet langer zwijgen over de situatie in Oost-Congo. De feiten zijn duidelijk: duizenden Rwandese troepen op Congolees grondgebied, een oprukkende rebellengroep — M23 — die richting Kinshasa wil marcheren, miljoenen aan gesmokkelde grondstoffen en duizenden slachtoffers, waaronder ook VN-blauwhelmen. Dat alles tegen een achtergrond van seksueel misbruik als wapen en miljoenen intern ontheemden. Alle rapporten zijn duidelijk. Dit moet stoppen.

De bijkomende humanitaire ondersteuning van zestig miljoen voor de burgerslachtoffers in Oost-Congo is een goede eerste stap. Er zal bijvoorbeeld ook meer moeten worden ingezet op de hervormingen van het veiligheidsapparaat in Congo om dergelijke wantoestanden te vermijden. Het uitgangspunt blijft de strategie die in 2023 is uitgezet. Nu moet de diepgaande implementatie volgen.

Ik wil collega's oproepen om samen met de Verenigde Naties te tonen dat Europa nog steeds een belangrijke rol kan spelen in het Grote Merengebied. We mogen de regio niet ten prooi laten vallen aan Rusland of China, maar ook niet uit elkaar laten vallen door onderlinge twisten. Morgen zal er over een resolutie worden gestemd om een halt toe te roepen aan het geweld in de regio. Het is tijd voor een duidelijk signaal vanuit Europa dat wantoestanden in de regio en de Rwandese inmenging niet zonder gevolgen kunnen blijven. Ik hoop op uw steun.

Francisco Assis (S&D). – Senhor Presidente, Senhora Comissária, o que se passa hoje na República Democrática do Congo é mais um trágico capítulo na história de violência de que os africanos são vítimas. O relato das atrocidades que nos chega da região é especialmente cruel, porque elas têm como um dos principais alvos as mulheres e as meninas sujeitas à violação, como uma sistemática arma de guerra e de afirmação sobre os adversários. É preciso garantir que os responsáveis por esses crimes hediondos sejam levados à justiça e que haja, na medida do que é humanamente possível, reparação para as vítimas. Não podemos ignorar que o Ruanda é um dos responsáveis por esta escalada de violência. Este país tem feito um jogo duplo na região. Por um lado, compromete-se com a paz, por outro, vai armando e dando cobertura às forças militares que avançam sobre Goma. A União Europeia tem a capacidade para chamar o governo

ruandês à responsabilidade, suspendendo a parceria e os projetos de cooperação que tem com esse país, até que este clarifique de forma muito clara a sua participação nos confrontos e ponha fim a qualquer colaboração com os grupos armados que estão hoje no terreno.

György Hölvényi (Pfe). – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! Alig pár órája frakciótársaimmal alkalmunk volt online beszélni William Ngumbi gombai püspökkel, itt a Házban. A nyolcszázezer emberért felelős püspök elmondta, hiány van mindenből élelmiszerből, gyógyszerből, ivóvízből, nincs se egészségügyi ellátás, se áram.

Legóvatosabb becslések szerint több mint 3600 halott január óta. Ez kellett, hogy végre a nemzetközi közösség ingerküszöbét is elérje az évtizedek óta tartó konfliktus. Botrány. 2,7 millió ember néz most szembe éhezéssel Goma térségében. Egyértelmű véget kell vetni az M23 okozta vérontásnak. Tűzszünet kell és béke kell Kongóban is.

Van azonban néhány dolog, amihez nem árt átgondolnunk, mi a szerepük a Torontóban, Londonban bejegyzett kelet-kongói bányavállalatoknak. Mit keresek ugandai és burundi katonák Kongónak ebben a térségében? A biztonság és a béke címszavak alatt a Bizottság által tárgyalta úgynevezett Szamoa-megállapodás közvetítést és békefenntartást említ.

Miközben az EU soha nem késlekedik emberjogi leckét adni partnerországának, most képtelen a nemzetközi jogi kötelezettségének érvényt szerezni. Mi lesz így, kedves képviselőtársaim, a hitelességünkkel?

Charles Goerens (Renew). – Monsieur le Président, le problème dont nous discutons n'est pas nouveau. Il se résume à la question de savoir comment transformer le cercle vicieux de l'exploitation des ressources rares face à la convoitise d'acteurs venant des quatre coins du monde. Avec l'art déclaratoire, nous n'allons pas y arriver.

Les condamnations maintes fois prononcées n'ayant abouti à rien, on ne voit pas pourquoi cela fonctionnerait cette fois-ci. De mon point de vue, le seul moyen susceptible de faire plier les responsables des violences dans la partie orientale de la RDC, ce sont des sanctions ciblées et décidées par une large coalition de pays qui ne sont plus prêts à cautionner le drame qui se produit dans la région de Goma.

Par ailleurs, la large coalition que j'appelle de mes vœux devrait soutenir la tenue d'un sommet sur le pillage des ressources en Afrique et plus particulièrement en RDC. Cela permettrait de tirer au clair les responsabilités des uns et des autres et de sanctionner des comportements illicites.

Ayant itérativement articulé cette revendication, j'aimerais que cette fois-ci elle soit suivie d'un peu plus d'effets. La suspension du protocole d'accord entre l'UE et le Rwanda sur les matières premières me semble être la moindre des choses que l'on puisse faire en l'occurrence.

Majdouline Sbai (Verts/ALE). – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, Madame la Commissaire, l'exploitation minière est une source de conflits sanglants partout dans le monde. Les richesses des sous-sols sont parfois une malédiction pour les populations: violences, empoisonnement des sols, déforestation. C'est pourquoi, lors de la précédente législature, dans le cadre d'une politique de coopération durable avec une dizaine de pays dans le monde qui ont des minerais rares, nous, l'Union européenne, nous nous sommes engagés à favoriser leur développement économique, la transparence, la traçabilité, la paix, la préservation de l'environnement. Et nous n'avons pas tenu ces engagements.

Ce qui se passe aujourd'hui en RDC le prouve. Dès juin 2024, les Nations unies dénonçaient la contrebande pratiquée par le Rwanda. Nous le savions, car nous avons inscrit dans le protocole d'accord avec le Rwanda l'obligation d'intercepter les minerais de contrebande.

Aujourd'hui, il ne s'agit plus de contrebande, mais d'occupation et de guerre ouverte. Alors, pour stopper l'embrasement, nous demandons la suspension de l'accord, l'embargo sur les minerais étiquetés rwandais ainsi qu'une vigilance absolue, à l'avenir, sur ces protocoles d'accord.

Marcin Sypniewski (ESN). – Panie Przewodniczący! Unia Europejska uwielbia pouczać świat o wartościach, demokracji i prawach człowieka, a jednocześnie tak naprawdę własnymi decyzjami finansuje wojnę hybrydową, którą obserwujemy w Demokratycznej Republice Kongo. Podpisując umowę z Rwandą na import surowców, Bruksela dała Rwandzie faktycznie przyzwolenie na grabież złóż kobaltu i koltanu, które są kluczowe dla produkcji chociażby baterii czy akumulatorów. Problem w tym, że te surowce nie znajdują się w Rwandzie, ale we wschodnim Kongu, gdzie wcześniej swoje wpływy umacniały Chiny.

I tak w tej chwili rękoma rwandyjskiej milicji M-23 Unia prowadzi w rzeczywistości wojnę proxy o te strategiczne zasoby niezbędne do realizacji Zielonego Ładu, jarzma, które sama na siebie Unia nałożyła. I nie chodzi mi tutaj o krytykę woli zabezpieczenia tych surowców krytycznych, co o hipokryzję, dlatego, że z jednej strony zamykamy własne kopalnie, a jednocześnie patrzymy na niewolniczą pracę w Afryce, także dzieci. I patrzymy na tą straszną tragedię, bo dzisiaj Kongo płonie i Kongijczycy wiedzą, że to tak naprawdę Zachód sponsoruje ich tragedię.

Jeżeli mamy mówić o wartościach, to zacznijmy od własnej odpowiedzialności.

Lukas Mandl (PPE). – Herr Präsident! Frau Kommissarin! Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Es ist eine Tragödie unvorstellbaren Ausmaßes, die sich im Kongo abspielt, und ich werde gleich zu Beginn sagen: Wenn die einen oder anderen in Europa fragen „Was geht uns das an?“, dann sage ich, aus vielen Gründen geht uns das etwas an!

Erstens gehört zu den Werten, die Europa vertritt, die Menschenwürde, gehören Freiheitsrechte. Das heißt, es betrifft uns, wenn Menschen solches Leid erleben wie im Kongo gerade.

Zweitens brauchen wir die Partnerschaft mit den Staaten in der Region auch, um negative Einflüsse, beispielsweise Putins Russlands, zurückzudrängen, die dort versucht werden.

Drittens betrifft uns selbstverständlich auch jede Bewegung der illegalen Migration durch organisierte Schlepperkriminalität, durch die Mafias, die auf diese Weise versucht werden. Deshalb ist es nicht ein Geschenk, wenn wir helfen wollen, sondern es ist in unserem eigenen Interesse.

Viertens müssen wir genau hinschauen, wer hier was tut. Wenn von Ruanda die negativen Entwicklungen ausgehen, letztlich der Terror, dem die Zivilbevölkerung im Kongo ausgesetzt ist, dann kann uns das nicht ruhig schlafen lassen, weil Ruanda als Partnerstaat gilt, seit langer Zeit in ein Projekt der Global-Gateway-Initiative der Europäischen Union eingebettet ist und vieles andere.

Wenn wir sehen, dass selbst das Welternährungsprogramm – das immer hilft, wenn es irgendwie möglich ist – sich zurückziehen musste, weil Infrastruktur und Kommunikation zerstört sind, dann muss uns das alarmieren; dann müssen wir hinschauen und zur Lösung beitragen und Ruanda dringend auffordern, die negativen, gewalttätigen Aktivitäten zu beenden.

Laura Ballarín Cereza (S&D). – Señor presidente, la República Democrática del Congo sangra de nuevo. Desde la última ofensiva en el este del país por parte del grupo armado M23, apoyado por Ruanda, se cuentan más de 3 000 muertos y más de 700 000 desplazados internos. Miles de personas están sin acceso mínimo a comida, agua potable, medicamentos o electricidad. Y por si esto no fuera suficiente, vemos cómo la violencia sexual vuelve una vez más a ser utilizada como arma de guerra. En el este del país una mujer es violada cada cuatro minutos.

El origen de todo esto: los minerales claves para las transiciones digitales y verdes. Según las Naciones Unidas, el M23 extrae 120 toneladas de coltán al mes desde Kivu del Norte a Ruanda, generando 280 000 euros de tráfico ilícito de materias primas raras.

Por eso, pedimos a la Unión Europea no solo que reaccione con ayuda humanitaria, sino también suspendiendo el acuerdo de materias primas de la Unión Europea con Ruanda hasta que no quede ninguna duda de que los minerales no son extraídos de forma ilícita. Lo hicimos con los diamantes de sangre, lo tenemos que hacer ahora.

Comme nous l'a dit le docteur Mukwege, lauréat du prix Sakharov et du prix Nobel de la paix, «Il ne s'agit plus d'une simple crise humanitaire, mais d'une véritable crise de notre humanité.»

¡Actuemos ya!

Jan-Christoph Oetjen (Renew). – Herr Präsident! Verehrte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Seit mehr als zwei Jahrzehnten tobt ein Bürgerkrieg im Osten Kongs, hunderttausende vertriebene Personen. Dieser Krieg ist manchmal in den Medien, manchmal ist er es nicht, aber er ist immer da. Dieser Krieg – da werden junge Frauen und Kinder als menschliche Schutzschilde benutzt, in einem Konflikt, an dem nicht nur Kongolesen beteiligt sind, sondern auch unterstützte Kämpfer aus dem Nachbarland Ruanda.

Ich möchte hier an dieser Stelle sagen, dass es inakzeptabel ist, wenn ein Land ein anderes Land überfällt, egal wo auf der Welt. Wir sollten als Europäisches Parlament immer deutlich machen, dass wir an der Seite derer stehen, die angegriffen werden.

Deswegen ist es meine Auffassung, dass wir mit gezielten Sanktionen die Menschen bestrafen sollten, die Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit begehen, gemeinsam aus der Europäischen Union heraus. Und wir sollten vor allen Dingen aufhören, mit Ruanda den Handel zu verstärken, sondern wir sollten ihn mit dem Kongo intensivieren und unsere Unterstützung für den Kongo nach vorne stellen.

Saskia Bricmont (Verts/ALE). – Monsieur le Président, le M23 et les troupes rwandaises sèment une fois de plus la terreur dans l'est de la RDC, faisant des milliers de morts et des centaines de milliers de déplacés supplémentaires, et les corps des femmes et des filles qui sont utilisés comme un véritable champ de bataille.

La situation humanitaire est catastrophique et il est donc impératif d'obtenir un cessez-le-feu et d'acheminer l'aide humanitaire jusque dans les zones rurales. Les Congolais et les Congolaises se sentent aujourd'hui littéralement abandonnés, pillés, sacrifiés pour des ressources qui font la richesse des autres.

La situation révèle non seulement l'échec de la diplomatie européenne, mais aussi la complicité dans l'alimentation du conflit. L'Union européenne doit donc d'urgence suspendre la coopération militaire et adopter un embargo sur les armes et un embargo commercial, notamment sur les minerais étiquetés comme rwandais; suspendre le protocole d'accord sur les minerais – il me semble qu'il y a une unanimité ici pour le demander, de manière urgente, Madame la Commissaire, mais aussi des sanctions contre les dirigeants du M23 et les officiers rwandais qui sont impliqués –; protéger la société civile.

Le deux poids, deux mesures de l'Union européenne vis-à-vis des agresseurs est inacceptable. L'Union européenne doit donc utiliser tous les moyens d'action qu'elle a entre ses mains et cesser d'être complice du régime de Kigali.

Hildegard Bentele (PPE). – Herr Präsident! Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Ich möchte mich als Berichterstatterin für das EU-Gesetz über kritische Rohstoffe, das wir hier im Parlament im vergangenen Jahr mit großer Mehrheit verabschiedet haben, in diese Diskussion einbringen.

Besonders, weil die EU-Kommission unter der Federführung der sozialdemokratischen Kommissarin Urpilainen und dem liberalen Vizepräsidenten Séjourné im letzten Jahr entsprechende Memoranden zur gemeinsamen nachhaltigen Entwicklung strategischer Rohstoffe unterzeichnet hat. Ich gebe zu, das hat mich überrascht. Aber in gewisser Weise war es konsequent.

Ruanda und die Demokratische Republik Kongo wollen ihre Rohstoffe nutzen, und wir in Europa brauchen sie. Wenn wir also immer von Partnerschaften auf Augenhöhe mit Afrika sprechen, dann war dies eine Gelegenheit, dies in die Praxis umzusetzen. Aber seit der Unterzeichnung im Februar und im Oktober ist nichts unter diesem Abkommen geschehen, das nun infrage gestellt oder gar aufgekündigt werden könnte. Es ist einfach gar nichts passiert. Im Gegenteil.

Diese Abkommen enthalten wichtige Verpflichtungen, mit denen wir in beiden Ländern positive Entwicklungen fördern können – Herkunftsnachweise, Sorgfaltspflichten und die Einhaltung von Standards. Ja, die Umsetzung von EU-Regeln war in der Vergangenheit nicht immer reibungslos. Aber ist das ein Grund, nun aufzugeben und sich zurückzuziehen, gerade jetzt, wo beide Seiten ein wachsendes Interesse an Zusammenarbeit zeigen? Ich sage Nein.

Unsere Rohstoffpolitik in Afrika, insbesondere gegenüber strategisch wichtigen Partnern wie Ruanda und Kongo, muss von Geduld, langfristigem Engagement und Verlässlichkeit geprägt sein und nicht von vorschnellem Vertrauensbruch.

Murielle Laurent (S&D). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, Monsieur le Ministre, chers collègues, rappeler les millions de morts et les centaines de milliers de déplacés causés par le M23 aura-t-il un impact ici? Je n'en suis pas sûre. Affirmer notre soutien sans faille à la population congolaise me semble néanmoins l'essentiel.

Le M23 doit stopper son avancée et s'engager dans des négociations de paix. Chaque partie impliquée dans ce conflit doit s'engager définitivement à œuvrer pour une sortie de crise, sans quoi nous pourrions continuer ici à déplorer le bilan humain effroyable, cela n'y changera rien.

En attendant, il est urgent de garantir aux acteurs humanitaires un accès sécurisé aux civils et il est primordial que le droit international soit respecté. Chaque vie humaine perdue est une catastrophe et la situation n'a que trop duré. Tous les acteurs du conflit doivent s'orienter vers un processus de paix, il y a urgence. L'Union européenne a les moyens d'agir et doit agir vite.

Yvan Verougstraete (Renew). – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, Madame la Commissaire, nous ne pouvons rester spectateurs face à ce qu'il se passe en République démocratique du Congo. Des milliers de morts, presque un demi-million de personnes déplacées, la situation est tout simplement dramatique.

Alors oui, l'Europe doit peser de tout son poids pour encourager la paix. Oui, tout doit être fait pour la protection des populations civiles et le respect de l'intégrité et de la souveraineté congolaises. Nous assistons à un drame et, en être spectateur, c'est en être complice.

Il est temps d'agir et cette réaction doit être ferme et immédiate. C'est pourquoi nous vous demandons de suspendre l'accord avec le Rwanda aussi longtemps que des massacres seront perpétrés et que la région sera déstabilisée. Notre priorité doit être la paix, le bien-être de la population et le respect des droits humains et du droit international. Les intérêts économiques et les accords commerciaux ne sont que des moyens pour y arriver. Nous comptons sur vous.

Giorgio Gori (S&D). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, gli orrori e le violenze nella parte orientale della Repubblica democratica del Congo proseguono in tutta la loro brutalità ed è l'intera popolazione a pagare il tributo più alto in termini di vite umane e sofferenze. Ad oggi gli sfollati sono oltre 700 000.

È anche nostra responsabilità contrastare le mire predatorie dei paesi confinanti. Il Ruanda deve ritirare incondizionatamente il suo supporto alle forze ribelli, che da anni stanno depredando il Congo.

La Commissione europea può esercitare una spinta in tale direzione, esigendo dal Ruanda la piena applicazione del protocollo di intesa firmato appena un anno fa e in particolare il rispetto delle disposizioni relative alla tracciabilità dei materiali e alla lotta contro il traffico illegale, pena la sua sospensione accompagnata da sanzioni. Queste materie rare sono sì importanti per la transizione energetica delle economie occidentali, ma per nessuna ragione possono trasformarsi in minerali di conflitto.

Questa è una vicenda in cui l'Unione europea può giocare un ruolo importante e ha la responsabilità di farlo quanto prima.

Udo Bullmann (S&D). – Herr Präsident! Werte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Wir sehen das Ausmaß der Gräueltaten im Osten des Kongos, der Gräueltaten durch die Kriegsparteien, aber insbesondere auch durch die Miliz M23. Wir sehen das unbeschreibliche Ausmaß sexualisierter Gewalt. Unschuldige Menschen werden Opfer des Kriegsgeschehens.

Frau Kommissarin, Sie haben das Haus gehört: Das muss aufhören, weil es nicht sein darf, dass auch die Industriestaaten zu den Profiteuren von Massentötungen werden, weil es nicht sein darf, dass unsere ökonomischen Interessen Menschenrechte übertrumpfen. Deswegen: keine Scheinheiligkeit in dieser Diskussion!

Sie müssen massiv auftreten dort, wo die Europäische Union Einfluss hat, und das ist in Ruanda. Einen großen Teil des Haushalts finanzieren wir mit. Wir haben ein Memorandum unterschrieben, das bei der Wirtschaftspolitik und beim wirtschaftlichen Austausch moralische Pflichten enthält. Darauf warten wir, darauf drängt dieses Haus.

(Der Redner lehnt eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte“ von Lukas Sieper ab.)

Intervenții la cerere

Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). – Señor presidente, señora comisaria Šuica, ha recibido usted el mensaje con rotunda claridad: el problema no es nuevo, la violencia tampoco, pero su cronificación y recrudecimiento hasta extremos moralmente insoportables exige una respuesta contundente. Esa intervención del M23, fuerza encubierta de la intervención de Ruanda en la República Democrática del Congo, se está saldando con miles de muertos y cientos de miles de desplazados, con todo tipo de violencia, violencia sexual incluida.

Por tanto, es urgente suspender el programa de cooperación con Ruanda y los 20 millones de euros de inversión previstos para lanzar el mensaje claro de que en ningún caso las materias primas, por estratégicas que puedan ser, como el coltán, pueden justificar la continuidad del derramamiento de sangre.

Los diputados al Parlamento Europeo pudimos escuchar el otro día el testimonio absolutamente espeluznante de los testigos de esa violencia. Estaban pidiendo de la Unión Europea que movilizara todas sus energías: no puede hacerlo por sí solo ningún país que haya tenido presencia colonial en África.

Para conseguir compensar la influencia de Rusia y China tiene que ser la Unión Europea la que emplee enteramente todo su peso. Por tanto, el mensaje es muy claro, señora comisaria Šuica: actuar, y actuar ahora.

(Înceierea intervențiilor la cerere)

Dubravka Šuica, Member of the Commission. – Mr President, honourable Members, thank you for your interventions – I will try to reply to some of your questions.

The European Union's position is clear and has remained consistent throughout the discussions with both partner countries. The Commission will not support concrete investments in mineral processing for which the origin is uncertain. In Rwanda, current European Union support focuses on professionalism in the mining sector, for instance supporting skills of miners and digitalisation of licenses, as well as ensuring safe working conditions, including the fight against child labour and enhancing compliance with international safety and environmental standards.

On suspending the Memorandum of Understanding, suspending could be self-defeating as it would remove the basis for this engagement with Rwanda and undermine an incentive to ensure responsible mineral production and trade by Rwanda.

On sanctions against Rwanda – for several years, the European Union has had in place a regime of restrictive measures in view of the situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo, which complements the United Nations' sanctions. These have targeted, among others, the leadership of the armed group M23 and two Rwandan military officers. This is a dynamic process – the European Union is closely monitoring the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo, and can at any time extend the list of persons and entities targeted by its measures, if, of course, all Member States agree.

Once again, I will repeat to Ms Vautmans – on the Commission financial allocation to Democratic Republic of Congo, the EUR 60 million are the initial allocation for the Democratic Republic of Congo under the Humanitarian Implementation Plan for the Great Lakes. Of this, as I said, we already allocated EUR 25 million in an emergency selected process to six partners and our rapid response mechanism in the Democratic Republic of Congo. As soon as we have more clarity on the situation and feasibility of the interventions by other partners, we will allocate the remaining EUR 35 million.

It is too early to say whether the Commission can make available further funding, but we will certainly undertake efforts to do so and we then count on Parliament's support. To complement the funding, we are also looking into the possibility of organising a humanitarian air bridge into Goma, as soon as the airport will be open, and once partners' transport needs are clear.

To conclude, the European Union will continue its efforts to bring humanitarian assistance to those in need despite all the difficulties. But it is clear that the humanitarian aid is insufficient in view of the dimension of the crisis, we are aware of that. So we must use all the political tools at our disposal to urgently bring an end to this fighting, all of you know, and this is what we can do only together.

Adam Szlápka, President of the Commission . – Mr President, honourable Members, Madam Commissioner, we are very well aware that the dramatic situation in North and South Kivu requires more than statements and meetings. Human rights violations, particularly of the most vulnerable, are a major concern.

Two months ago, this Parliament addressed the use of rape as a weapon of war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Unfortunately, the situation has not improved since. The Council is reflecting with its Member States how we can reinforce our engagement in defending international law and in pursuing peace in the Great Lakes.

It is clear that this crisis will not be solved by military means alone. A political solution reached through peaceful negotiations, respectful of international law, is the only way out.

In line with the EU strategy for the Great Lakes, adopted two years ago, we remain committed to support peace, stabilisation and sustainable development of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Great Lakes region.

Hilde Vautmans (Renew). – Mr President, just to say, I'm very sorry because we are debating here now more than an hour, all parties with a very strong resolution. Neither the Commission nor the Council can pronounce that Rwanda is making a big mistake in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I am very sorry – we will vote a very strong resolution on Thursday, and I really hope, Commissioner and Council, that you can clearly state that Rwanda is making mistakes and crimes over in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Președinte. – Mulțumesc, doamna Vautmans, deși notez că nu este *point of order*, dar înțeleg sentimentul dezbaterii. Cu aceasta închidem dezbateră de astăzi.

14. Velkomstord

Președinte. – Deschidem dezbateră privind criza politică din Serbia și aş dori să urez bun-venit unei delegații a Adunării Naționale a Republicii Serbia, care se află în Parlament pentru cea de-a XVI-a reuniune a Comisiei parlamentare de stabilizare și de asociere UE-Serbia. (*Vorbitorul folosește o limbă din afara UE*) Ne bucurăm să avem colegi din Serbia aici, în mijlocul Parlamentului European. Pentru mine și pentru mulți alții toate țările Balcanilor, inclusiv Serbia, aparțin spațiului european. Îi așteptăm în Europa!

15. Politisk krise i Serbien (forhandling)

Președinte. – Deschidem dezbateră privind Declarațiile Consiliului și Comisiei referitoare la criza politică din Serbia (2025/2554(RSP)) prin afirmațiile domnului Adam Szlápka din partea Consiliului.

Adam Szlápka, President-in-Office of the Council. – Mr President, honourable Members, Madam Commissioner, dear guests from Serbia, we welcome this timely debate and thank the European Parliament for holding it. We follow the protests of Serbia's youth and other citizens who have joined them in exercising their democratic rights across the country.

Serbia is a candidate country with an EU membership perspective and negotiating the accession. In this capacity, it is subject to particular scrutiny related to the implementation of the rule of law reforms and respect of fundamental rights. Serbia has undertaken commitments in this regard to promote the values on which the EU is founded, namely the respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights. Everyone should have a right to freedom of peaceful assembly and freedom of association at all levels. Acts that undermine these rights, including reported incidents against demonstrators, must be addressed promptly and decisively. The Council will continue to follow the situation in Serbia closely, and I just would like to underline that enlargement is still a priority for the Polish Presidency and also in Western Balkan direction.

VORSITZ: KATARINA BARLEY*Vizepräsidentin*

Marta Kos, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, honourable Members of the European Parliament, the Commission has been following very closely the current political situation in Serbia and the large mobilisation of students joined by other groups of citizens following the tragic incident at the Novi Sad railway station.

Citizens' participation, transparency and accountability play a vital role in the development of democratic societies. As underlined in my open letter published last week, as an answer to the numerous letters which the Commission received, fundamental values are at the core of our common European project, which the European Union expects all candidate countries to embrace and respect. This includes freedom of assembly, which should be exercised peacefully and in accordance with the law. No violence should be tolerated and we expect the Serbian police to continue ensuring the safety of demonstrators. The Commission has expressed concerns about the incidents against demonstrators that have been witnessed, and we expect a full, impartial and speedy investigation into these attacks.

Language inciting violence and lack of mutual respect also cannot be the solution. We have expressed concerns about the authorities' treatment of a group of peaceful civil society activists from EU Member States and candidate countries who were detained and later asked by the authorities to leave Serbia for representing a security risk.

We have also expressed concerns about reports of illegal access to personal data of citizens and activists, and publication of such data – this is not acceptable and needs to be followed up by the competent national authorities. Furthermore, spreading disinformation, hostile political rhetoric including against the EU, against our citizens, against some respectful Members of the European Parliament and, lately, against EU delegation which holds dialogue to political and civil society stakeholders, has no place and will have no place on the path to EU integration.

In these circumstances, it is important that the conditions are established for inclusive dialogue involving all stakeholders, political actors, institutions, members of civil society, and students and professors to address the concerns and achieve consensus on the reforms that are necessary for the European future of Serbia. This will strengthen Serbian society and consolidate Serbia's future within the EU.

It remains the Commission's priority to support Serbia in advancing on its European path and becoming part of the European Union. But the path to EU membership encompasses reforms which enshrine our values not only in legislation but also in practice.

What is important? It is precisely Serbia's path towards the European Union that offers solutions to many of the issues that are at the heart of the requests of the protesters in Serbia today. The reforms, which we want to see during the accession process, will strengthen the fight against corruption, ensure the independence of the judiciary, accountability of institutions and transparent public procurement, promote media freedom and pluralism, and improve electoral conditions. They should also ensure an enabling environment for civil society and build resilience against disinformation and information manipulation.

All this represents the European way of Serbia as it was well noted in the latest country progress report. If properly implemented, these reforms will have a transformative power that will benefit all citizens of Serbia and bring their country to the European Union. Serbia's leadership has repeatedly committed to these reforms. We are looking forward to the implementation of these commitments.

In this geopolitical situation, EU Member States ask also progressive alignment with the CFSP and they have all legitimate right to ask for that, as we are expecting that future Member States stand with us defending the principles of rules-based multilateral order.

The EU accession process is now more political, more gradual, but also reversible. That is why it requires an intense effort by the entire society. It needs to be a national project owned by everyone: the government, the parliament, the opposition, civil society, every region, town and village, and ultimately every single citizen in the country.

Dear honourable Members, as you know, the European Commission regularly assesses the situation in Serbia, pointing to all the challenges and open issues very clearly, including in our annual enlargement package report. We will continue engaging with the authorities and all stakeholders, political actors and civil society to support the necessary reforms on Serbia's path to the EU for the benefit of all citizens and the whole Serbian society.

Davor Ivo Stier, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, dear colleagues, here and in the gallery, let me begin by expressing our solidarity with the victims and the families of the fifteen people killed on 1 November, after the collapse of the train station canopy in Novi Sad. Since that tragic moment, massive protests have been taking place in Serbia, requesting accountability and the full disclosure of the documents related to the reconstruction of the train station, a job given to the China Railway International Company.

This massive protest, led by students, is the largest demonstration since the fall of Milošević. It is important to reiterate on this occasion that students have the right to peaceful demonstration. This essential democratic right should not be curtailed. On the contrary, the authorities have the obligation to guarantee transparency and accountability and consequently, to restore citizens' confidence in state institutions.

Confidence-building measures are essential for a much-needed inclusive process of dialogue among political and social actors. All stakeholders are expected to contribute to this dialogue, a dialogue conducive to a plural and free society, with free media and independent judiciary. A dialogue based on respect of the rule of law, a key component of the EU accession negotiations.

We look forward to a European Serbia reconciled with itself and with its neighbours. While our aim is to contribute to this goal, we are also fully aware that it is up to the Serbs, as a sovereign nation, to decide and shape its future. We cannot impose on the authorities to align with EU positions, nor can we impose on the students to fly the European flags in the streets and the squares of Serbia. Yet we want them to know that a nation truly embracing and aligning with European values can always, always count on the support of this Parliament.

Tonino Picula, *u ime kluba S&D*. – Gospodo predsjedavajuća, gospodo povjerenice, drage kolege, tragedija u Novom Sadu potaknula je građanske prosvjede koji su prerasli u široki društveni pokret.

Razlozi za nezadovoljstvo su povezani sa stanjem vladavine prava, poštivanjem demokratskih standarda i finansijskom transparentnosti u Srbiji. Još jednom iskazujem podršku svim mladim ljudima koji mirno i dostojanstveno zahtijevaju bolju budućnost za svoju zemlju.

U Srbiji svjedočimo političkoj krizi, a političke krize zahtijevaju politička rješenja. Rješenja ne mogu biti protjerivanja građana Europske unije ni neutemeljene optužbe za vanjsko uplitanje. Novim izborima, ako do njih dođe, treba prethoditi reforma izbornog sustava u skladu s preporukama OESS-a i Vijeća Europe. Rješenje nije ni oportunistička interpretacija stabilnosti potpomognuta europskim novcem za infrastrukturne projekte, uz manjak kritičnosti za stanje demokracije.

Izvjешća Komisije ukazuju na probleme, ali neki europski lideri hvale napredak. Ako kredibilnom politikom proširenja želimo nove članice, trebamo je jasnije komunicirati i više europskih sredstava preusmjeriti u jačanje demokratskih institucija i pravosuđe. Europska unija odavno nije samo zajedničko tržište, nego i zajednica demokratskih vrijednosti.

Annamária Vicsek, *a P/E képviselőcsoport nevében*. – Tisztelt Elnök Asszony! Az Európai Uniónak elsődleges érdeke a tagjelölt országok stabilitása. Ezért érthető, hogy az Európai Parlament is foglalkozik a szerbiai időszzerű politikai helyzettel. Fontos, hogy eközben igazságos és tárgyilagossá legyen a képviselők hozzáállása, hiszen az Európai Unió a tagjelölt országok szuverenitását is tiszteltetben kell tartsa.

Szerbiában hetek óta tartanak a tüntetések, aminek fő kiváltó oka az újvidéki vasútállomás tetőszerkezetének három hónappal ezelőtti tragikus leomlása, amely 15 ember halálát okozta. Időközben megkezdődött a bűnügyi felelősségre vonás. Emellett a politikai felelősségre vonás sem maradt el. A kormány teljesítette a tüntető egyetemisták követeléseit.

A kormányellenes tüntetések azonban mindezek ellenére folytatódnak, sőt újabb társadalmi csoportok csatlakoznak a tüntető egyetemistákhoz. Intézmények vesztégzárját, oktatási intézmények teljes munkabeszüntetését eredményezve. Meggyőződésem, hogy mindennek a kárvallottjai azok az általános és középiskolás diákok, akiknek az oktatáshoz való joga csorbul, hiszen a tanáraik is csatlakoztak a teljes munkabeszüntetéshez, így a gyerekek gyakorlatilag több mint egy hónapja nem járhatnak iskolába. Nehéz ezzel kapcsolatban elfogulatlanul és tárgyilagosan beszélni.

Tarthatjuk a tüntetést a demokrácia egyik eszközének. Politikusként azonban ragaszkodnunk kell ahhoz, hogy a politikai vitáknak nem az utcákon, hanem a parlamentben van a helyük.

Alessandro Ciriani, *a nome del gruppo ECR*. – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la situazione in Serbia oggi è il risultato di anni di incertezze. Da un lato, si evidenziano i progressi nel percorso europeo e, dall'altro, le proteste in atto sembrano dimostrare il contrario.

Va ricordato che Belgrado ha riconosciuto la fondatezza delle proteste, se ne è assunta la responsabilità, con le dimissioni del primo ministro e del sindaco di Novi Sad e perseguendo i responsabili delle violenze.

La Serbia è un partner strategico nei Balcani ed è giusto chiedere un impegno concreto verso le riforme, ma per accelerare il processo di adesione, non rallentarlo. La vera domanda riguarda noi: cosa vogliamo fare noi con la Serbia? Vogliamo agevolare il suo ingresso o la lasciamo in una zona grigia? Perché se scegliamo di non decidere, non possiamo poi sorprenderci se Belgrado rafforza i suoi legami con Russia, Cina ed Emirati arabi, alla ricerca di investimenti e sostegno, mentre i suoi cittadini sviluppano crescente indifferenza verso l'Europa.

La politica è una questione di scelte: o costruiamo con la Serbia un percorso di adesione credibile, o accettiamo di perdere un partner strategico in una regione fondamentale per la nostra sicurezza e la nostra stabilità.

Helmut Brandstätter, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Madam President, Madam Commissioner, Minister, I would like also to express my deepest condolences with the victims of the Novi Sad tragedy. Here's the point: it has to be investigated, but people do not believe that Vučić allows a real investigation.

What the people want and why they go on the street: they want rule of law, they want freedom of speech, they want to express without limitation and violence. And what people in Serbia tell me is they don't want to see Vučić every night on television to say the same things. Sometimes people get fed up with it.

The students are protesting because they need, because they want the rule of law. They want transparency. They are fighting for their future and for their country, and they can be proud of their commitment.

Here in Parliament, we stand for these young people. And Ms Kos, thank you very much for your clear expression. But I'm afraid not everybody in the Commission sees it like you. I think the Commission has to be very clear to Mr Vučić: if you want to be part of the European Union, it's the rule of law, it's the freedom of media, with all the possibilities that people can live in free freedom and peace.

Vladimir Prebilič, *v imenu skupine Verts/ALE*. – Gospa predsednica! Spoštovane gospe in gospodje!

Evropska unija temelji na demokraciji, vladavini prava in človekovih pravicah. In za te se danes pogumno in dostojanstveno borijo mladi v Srbiji. Na ulice so se podali, da bi opozorili na sistemsko korupcijo in zanikanje odgovornosti oblasti. Njihov glas je jasen: želijo državo, ki spoštuje evropske vrednote. V tem nam morajo biti samo vzor.

Tragedija v Novem Sadu je pretresla srbsko družbo, a resnična tragedija bi bila, če bi Evropa ob tem ostala tiho. Zato danes ni čas za tišino, temveč za jasen poziv srbskim oblastem k reformam in spoštovanju temeljnih vrednot demokracije.

Srbski narod in Srbija kot država si zasluži evropsko prihodnost. EU bo naredila vse, da se to zgodi. A manjkajo dejanja aktualnih srbskih oblasti. Te morajo prevzeti odgovornost za trenutno stanje. Državotvorna ravnanja so tista, ki pred lastne interese in interese političnih strank postavijo dobrobit naroda. Zdaj je čas, da srbske oblasti to postanejo.

Konstantinos Arvanitis, εξ ονόματος της ομάδας *The Left*. – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, κύριοι συνάδελφοι, δυστυχώς η Σερβία διάγει μια φάση διαβρωτικής απορρύθμισης. Η πολιτική και οικονομική αστάθεια έχει κορυφωθεί, η διαφθορά καλπάζει και οι τοπικές αρχές παρεκκλίνουν από τα θεμελιώδη δημοκρατικά και δικαιοκρατικά προστάγματα.

Η Σερβία, ωστόσο, είναι μια χώρα με ενταξιακή προοπτική, δηλαδή μια χώρα την οποία έχουμε δεσμευθεί να στηρίξουμε έμπρακτα και θέση μας είναι η διεύρυνση της Ένωσης μας προς τα Δυτικά Βαλκάνια, όμως με προϋποθέσεις. Οι προϋποθέσεις είναι το κράτος δικαίου, κάτι που βλέπουμε ότι γενικώς, και στη Σερβία και αλλού, δεν τα πάει πολύ καλά.

Για μια ακόμη φορά όμως η ηγεσία μας, η ηγεσία της Ένωσης, στέκει αμήχανη και αναποφάσιστη μπροστά στις επικίνδυνες εξελίξεις στην περιοχή των Δυτικών Βαλκανίων. Αντί να σκύψει και να δουλέψει εντατικά με τη Σερβία σε θέματα κράτους δικαίου, οικονομίας και θεσμικών μεταρρυθμίσεων, ώστε να ενδυναμωθεί αυτή η προοπτική της χώρας, αρκείται στις άγονες διαπιστώσεις και πρακτικά εγκαταλείπει τη χώρα στην τύχη της.

Οπότε, για την Ένωσή μας, πρέπει η Ένωσή μας να εκπέμψει ένα μήνυμα σαφές και όχι ένα εσφαλμένο μήνυμα.

Petr Bystron, *im Namen der ESN-Fraktion*. – *Dragi gosti! Frau Präsidentin! Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen!* Die Unruhen in Serbien sind die letzten Zuckungen eines globalistischen Netzwerks, das über Jahrzehnte solche Proteste in der ganzen Welt organisiert hat. Donald Trump und Elon Musk zerschlagen es gerade. Sie zerschlagen die CIA-Vorfeldorganisation USAID. Diese hat Protestbewegungen finanziert, Regierungen destabilisiert und *regime changes* herbeigeführt. Wir haben es zuletzt in Georgien und in der Ukraine gesehen. Nun erleben wir es halt in der Slowakei und in Serbien.

Zu wirklichem Unmut haben die Serben wenig Anlass. Das Land steht wirtschaftlich und politisch weit besser da als andere Länder des Balkans. Serbien bekennt sich klar zum EU-Beitritt, aber verschließt sich nicht Russland und China gegenüber und zieht gerade dadurch Auslandsinvestitionen an, von denen andere nur träumen können. Genau das ist es, was den Globalisten ein Dorn im Auge ist. Sie wollen keine unabhängigen Nationen, sondern folgsame Vasallen.

Doch Serbien ist ein stolzes, ein souveränes Land. Die Serben lassen sich nicht diktieren, wie sie ihr Land regieren sollen und mit wem sie freundschaftliche Beziehungen unterhalten. Daher keine Einmischung, keine Destabilisierung, keine erzwungenen Regimewechsel. Wer mit der Regierung unzufrieden ist, soll das bei demokratischen Wahlen zeigen, nicht bei von außen inszenierten Protesten.

Λουκάς Φουρλάς (PPE). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, κύριε Επίτροπε, επιτρέψτε μου να καλωσορίσω τους φίλους από τη Σερβία που βρίσκονται στο θεωρείο και παρακολουθούν τη συζήτηση. Θέλω να τους διαβεβαιώσω ότι, ως Πρόεδρος της Αντιπροσωπείας στην Κοινοβουλευτική Επιτροπή Σταθεροποίησης και Σύνδεσης ΕΕ-Σερβίας, κάνω ό,τι είναι δυνατόν για να πείσω ότι η Σερβία χρειάζεται την Ευρώπη και η Ευρώπη έχει να επωφεληθεί σε πολλά από τη Σερβία.

Η χώρα βρίσκεται σε ένα κρίσιμο σταυροδρόμι, όπου η πολιτική σταθερότητα και η ευρωπαϊκή της πορεία είναι αλληλένδετες. Είμαι γνώστης της εσωτερικής κατάστασης και ένας από αυτούς που πιστεύουν ότι η ευρωπαϊκή πορεία της χώρας είναι ο μόνος δρόμος.

Δεν θα μπω σε λεπτομέρειες για τα κεφάλαια που άνοιξαν ή θα ανοίξουν. Αυτό που θα πω μόνο είναι ότι χρειάζεται να γίνουν ακόμα πολλά και είμαστε εδώ για να το πετύχουμε. Η Σερβία είναι από τις σημαντικότερες χώρες των Δυτικών Βαλκανίων και πυλώνας σταθερότητας στην περιοχή. Η θέση της είναι στην οικογένεια της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης. Η δημοκρατία και το κράτος δικαίου είναι η μόνη απάντηση στα όποια προβλήματα και στις όποιες σημερινές προκλήσεις. Οι Σέρβοι, είμαι σίγουρος, αγαπητοί συνάδελφοι, ότι ξέρουν τι πρέπει να κάνουν για να οδηγήσουν τη χώρα τους στο ευρωπαϊκό μονοπάτι και σε αυτή τους την προσπάθεια θα μας βρουν δίπλα τους.

Alessandra Moretti (S&D). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, Stato di diritto, lotta alla corruzione, libertà di manifestare e indipendenza della magistratura sono i motivi per cui migliaia di studenti, e non solo, sono scesi pacificamente in piazza negli scorsi mesi.

Ad unirli un coro di richieste che permetterebbe alla Serbia di fare chiarezza sulla tragedia di Novi Sad e di costruire un paese più giusto, libero dalla corruzione. È una forza nata dal basso, da giovani che non si riconoscono in un movimento politico.

Eppure, noi politici europei non possiamo fare a meno di esprimere il nostro supporto a questi manifestanti pacifici, dal momento che le loro richieste sono le stesse espresse dal processo di adesione all'Europa. Diamo voce a questi giovani e chiediamo, insieme a loro, che il governo sappia rispondere in modo chiaro alle domande che vengono poste, che il governo risponda sulle presunte corruzioni e che la magistratura accerti le responsabilità per la tragedia di Novi Sad. Il tutto in un clima pacifico e rispettoso del diritto a manifestare, che va riconosciuto in tutte le democrazie.

Thierry Mariani (PfE). – Madame la Présidente, bien sûr qu'il faut lutter contre la corruption et les responsables du drame de Novi Sad doivent être identifiés. Mais le Parlement européen s'illustre une fois de plus par son hypocrisie: en agitateur zélé, il précipite un débat qui concerne uniquement les affaires intérieures de la Serbie pour mieux dissimuler son silence sur les attaques envers les Serbes au Kosovo.

En janvier, par exemple, Albin Kurti, Premier ministre socialiste, a fait fermer dix municipalités serbes, signant un acte supplémentaire de harcèlement politique et une attaque frontale contre les droits de la population serbe de ce territoire. Ou encore le 9 février, à quelques semaines du scrutin législatif, la commission électorale centrale du Kosovo, aux ordres de Pristina, a tenté d'interdire le principal parti serbe de se présenter aux élections.

Alors, après les violences physiques, les contraintes administratives et les discriminations institutionnelles, pour les Serbes du Kosovo, la coupe est pleine. Ils savent que ces coups de force participent d'un nettoyage ethnique sournois qui dure depuis quatre ans et sur lequel l'Union européenne ferme les yeux.

Ces injustices et ces violences doivent cesser et il serait temps que l'Union européenne l'admette, que nous aussi nous cessions nos ingérences répétées en jugeant et critiquant en permanence un gouvernement démocratiquement élu qui a le droit de conduire sa politique, même si elle vous déplaît.

Șerban Dimitrie Sturdza (ECR). – Stimată doamnă președintă, stimați colegi, în ultimele luni am avut ocazia să observăm cu satisfacție că democrația din Serbia este funcțională. Cetățenii și-au demonstrat spiritul civic, iar protestele au transmis un mesaj clar elitelor politice. Acestea au fost nevoite să ia act de voința populară și să inițieze măsuri menite să recalibreze parcursul european al Serbiei.

Având în vedere că Uniunea Europeană este principalul partener politic și economic al Serbiei, autoritățile de la Belgrad ar trebui să accelereze implementarea reformelor necesare pentru alinierea acquis-ului comunitar. Angajamentul Serbiei față de obiectivul său strategic, integrarea europeană, are nevoie de acțiuni concrete. Astfel, doresc să subliniez situația etnicilor români din Serbia, ale căror drepturi trebuie garantate și respectate conform standardelor europene, așa cum este cazul altor minorități din Serbia.

Sârbii au acum nevoie de un semnal clar de susținere din partea Uniunii Europene, care trebuie să-i încurajeze în lupta lor împotriva corupției și a crimei organizate și pentru statul de drept și valorile democratice.

Eugen Tomac (Renew). – Doamnă președintă, stimați colegi, doamnă comisară, a fost nevoie să moară oameni nevinovați în tragedia de la Novi Sad, pentru a scoate în evidență o nemulțumire justificată pe care cetățenii Serbiei o manifestă. Ca for democratic, cel mai reprezentativ al Uniunii Europene, Parlamentul European este și trebuie să rămână alături de vocile care așteaptă schimbare în societatea Serbiei.

Guvernul a demonstrat în ultimii ani că are o abordare duplicitară: spune că înțelege parcursul european, dar este extrem de fidel în continuare relației cu Federația Rusă. Acest dublu standard nu poate funcționa, iar oamenii din Serbia sunt nerăbdători să se renunțe la acest dublu standard și să se aplice regulile care guvernează în toată Europa.

Asta trebuie să înțeleagă politicienii de la Belgrad și pentru asta trebuie să fim alături de aceste voci ale speranței din Serbia.

Gordan Bosanac (Verts/ALE). – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, povjerenice Kos, predsjednica Europske komisije Von der Leyen posjetila je u listopadu 2024. Srbiju povodom prihvatanja plana rasta.

Na konferenciji za medije s predsjednikom Vučićem tada je rekla ovo: „Srbija je jedna od najnaprednijih zemalja u procesu pristupanja. Obavezali ste se na provedbu reformi, posebice na temeljima vladavine prava i demokracije”. I onda rekla predsjedniku: „I pokazao si da djela slijede tvoje riječi.”

Kako duboko politički je bila promašena ova rečenica prije dva mjeseca, jer niti dva mjeseca kasnije ulice Srbije preplavili su studenti, radnici, poljoprivrednici, umjetnici i digli glas upravo zbog dubokih problema s vladavinom prava i demokracijom. Kako je moguće da je predsjednica Komisije napravila takvu kardinalnu grešku i nanijela veliku štetu proširenju jer je opravdano potpirila sumnje velikog dijela građana Srbije u Europsku uniju? Podržala je naprosto krivu stranu.

Povjerenice Kos, sada nije vrijeme za inkluzivni dijalog s autokratom, nego je ključno da date jasnu i glasnu podršku studentima. I vi i ja znate da ne bi bilo ove krvi pod ruševinama novosadske autobusne stanice da je bilo sve po zakonu. Srbija nije samo Vučić, EU nije samo Von der Leyen. Ima nas i s jedne i s druge strane zida koji ne damo da nam lome bagrenje.

Κώστας Παπαδάκης (NI). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, μαζικές και πολύμηνες κινητοποιήσεις για τους 14 νεκρούς στο Νόβι Σαντ. Όπως και στο έγκλημα στα Τέμπη στην Ελλάδα, έτσι και στη Σερβία, η ασφάλεια επιβατών εργαζομένων θυσιάστηκε στο ζύγι κόστους-οφέλους, βασικό κριτήριο προόδου της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης στις εκδόσεις ένταξης της Σερβίας.

Η παραίτηση του πρωθυπουργού Vučević δεν ήταν αποτέλεσμα δήθεν ευθιξίας, όπως ισχυρίζονται οι δυνάμεις της σοσιαλδημοκρατίας στην Ελλάδα, που ανταγωνίζονται με την κυβέρνηση της Νέας Δημοκρατίας για το κουκούλωμα του εγκλήματος των Τεμπών και των ευθυνών όλων τους.

Άλλωστε, η οργή του λαού και της νεολαίας για το έγκλημα στο Νόβι Σαντ επιδιώκεται να αξιοποιηθεί σε γεωστρατηγικούς ανταγωνισμούς ανάμεσα στα ιμπεριαλιστικά κέντρα για τις αγορές. Το καπιταλιστικό κράτος ούτε αδιάφορο μπορεί να είναι, ούτε δικαίου. Σε Σερβία, Ελλάδα, παντού, τα έργα και στον σιδηρόδρομο εκπονούνται από τους αναδόχους ομίλους και τις αστικές κυβερνήσεις διαχρονικά με κριτήριο το κέρδος. Ή τα κέρδη τους ή οι ζωές μας είναι η απάντηση λαού και νεολαίας στην Ελλάδα, που κλιμακώνεται με την απεργία στις 28 Φλεβάρη, δύο χρόνια από το έγκλημα των Τεμπών.

Reinhold Lopatka (PPE). – Madam President, dear colleagues, we stand at a pivotal moment for Serbia, a cornerstone country for the Western Balkans, with significant impact to the security and stability of the region, and of whole Europe.

The tragic collapse of the Novi Sad railway station canopy, which claimed 15 lives, ignited a wave of protests which have become now a big movement initially started by students but now, step by step, with supporters from many sectors of the society. The protesters believe the incident was a consequence of systemic corruption, and their demands are for accountability and transparency. I think they need support.

And in response to these demonstrations, Prime Minister Miloš Vučević has resigned, stating his intent to defuse tensions. So what is necessary now? Serbian leaders have to engage in an open dialogue with this protest movement. The path forward must be paved with transparency and steadfast commitment. This is a condition for Serbia's EU integration to continue in a positive way.

Italy's Minister Tajani mentioned yesterday he sees Serbia in the European Union in 2029. I am not that optimistic, but I hope he is right. So Serbia has to continue with its reform agenda, which is absolutely necessary for a future in the European Union.

Thijs Reuten (S&D). – President, Commission, Member States, colleagues, this Parliament shares the students' demands and hopes for the future of Serbia. The students and all the Serbs that support them want change, and change is badly needed. Autocratic tendencies in Serbia have only increased. But what are they asking? The students are not asking for dialogue on the rule of law, but for its implementation. And ironically, they are suffering precisely this lack of implementation and also convincing reforms. We need EU institutions to reflect on why years of European support have not led to real change.

My input to the Commission and Member States: engage with the Serbian Government based on our stated democratic values, treat the Serbian Government based on its actions – verified, implemented reforms and public statements, not backdoor promises of regional stability and future reforms. And without all this, we should not congratulate dear Aleksandr, but be honest to the public. Words mean nothing when the underpinnings of democracy are being removed quietly.

Илхан Ключюк (Renew). – Г-жо Председател, уважаема г-жо Комисар, уважаеми г-н Министър, колеги, аз мисля, че днес ставаме свидетели на една много солидна позиция от страна на Европейската комисия, нещо, което ни липсваше през последните няколко години. Да, Сърбия трябва да избере своя път. Не може да продължава да бъде хем на едното място, хем на другото място.

И пътят, ако иска да бъде европейски, трябва да се съобразява с няколко неща – общата външна политика е политика за сигурност. Ние имаме нашите правила и всеки, който иска да се присъедини към Европейския съюз, трябва да ги спазва. Второ, общи ценности. Борбата с корупцията и организираната престъпност трябва да продължи не просто с декларации, когато даден политически лидер е притиснат в ъгъла, а с конкретни действия. Свободата на медиите, правото на гражданите да изразяват свободно своята воля не трябва да бъде потискана. И не на последно място, разбира се, регионалното сътрудничество.

Да, Сърбия има своето място в Европейския съюз, но не тази, а другата Сърбия, реформираната Сърбия, която гледа с надежда към бъдещето и отчита правата и свободите на всеки свой гражданин.

Rasmus Nordqvist (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, the other day, I read from world famous artist Marina Abramović on her social media that the students of Serbia are the heroes of today, and they are. They are – and the protests are indeed something that should call us to stand up and stand next to them, because what is the protest about? It's about fighting corruption, it's fighting for transparency, for accountability and for democracy. So let's step up both in the Commission, in this House and also in the Council, step up and be on the side of the future, be on the side of the heroes, because the heroes are in the streets right now in Serbia and they are fighting for European values.

Zoltán Tarr (PPE). – Tisztelt Elnök Asszony! Szerbiában fiatalok tízezrei mondják ki az utóbbi hónapokban, hogy elég a gyilkos korrupcióból. Rájöttek ugyanis arra, hogy a korrupció nem csak a pénz ellopását jelenti, hanem életek feláldozását is. Az újjvidéki épület tragédia 15 ember életét követelte, ahogy azt már hallhattuk, és ez nem a véletlen műve volt, hanem egy rendszeré, amelyben a pénz és a hatalom fontosabb, mint az emberek jóléte és biztonsága. Ezért silány minőségű beruházás valósult meg.

Ismerjük ezt a rendszert, mi is egy ilyen rendszerben élünk. Magyarországon is tudjuk, mit jelent az, amikor a közpénz elveszti közpénz jellegét. A képmutató Vucsicz rezsim már rég elvesztette az emberek bizalmát. Az államfő, hasonlóan barátjához, Orbánhoz, más országok szuverenitásába rendszerszinten és folyamatosan beavatkozik.

Az a politika, amely nem európai értékek alapján, hanem kizárólag egyének érdekeire építve működik, a végéhez közeledik Szerbiában és más országokban, így Magyarországon is.

De tudjuk azt is, hogy a változás közösségben lehetséges, és ez nem politikai kérdés. Ez a jövőnk kérdése. Szerbiában a fiatalok azt üzenik, a közpénz nem zsákmány, az ország nem az élőködőké, és a jövő nem eladó.

Matjaž Nemec (S&D). – Gospa predsednica! Spoštovani visoki izbor!

Glazen odmev zahtev srbskih študentov mora postati odmev Evropske unije. To, čemur smo danes priča v Srbiji, ni le odraz posamičnih tragedij, ampak dostojanstven in miren protest tisočih proti dobro desetletje trajajoči razgradnji demokratičnih institucij, vladavine prava, teptanju temeljnih pravic lastnega naroda in seveda nacionalizmu.

Ne gre zanemariti, da gre za zgodovinsko mobilizacijo mladih od padca Miloševićevega režima. Zato je nujno spoštovanje, da oblast zagotovi varen prostor za zborovanje. Obsojanja vredni so vsakršna ustrahovanja, politično motivirano nasilje nad protestniki, vključno z deportacijami tujih državljanov. Predvsem pa je nujno, da vladajoči uslišijo kritike in zahteve ljudi z ulice. Do danes jih niso.

Srbija je na resni preizkušnji. Spremembe so neizbežne, rešitev pa v prehodni tehnični vladi, ki bo omogočila izpeljavo demokratičnih volitev. Mi, dragi študentje, državljanke in državljani, drage prijateljice in prijatelji iz Srbije, mi vas slišimo in stojimo ob strani. Srečno!

Irena Joveva (Renew). – Gospa predsednica! *(izklopljen mikrofona v začetku govora)* Bloкаде. Nepregledna množica ljudi – vedno večja in vedno bolj odločna. To so ulice Srbije danes. To je Srbija, ki ne bo več tiho, razen tistih presunljivih petnajstih minut tišine, ki še nikoli ni bila tako glasna. Sporočila, ki še nikoli ni bilo tako jasno.

Mladi so gonilna sila sprememb. Dan za dnem, teden za tednom v Srbiji že od novembra in niso več sami. Štafeto so od njih prevzeli mlajši in starejši. Srednješolci, učitelji, profesorji, starši, vojni veterani, kmetje, upokojenci, civilna družba, vsi združeni v želji po celoviti spremembi sistema, do temelja prepojenega s korupcijo in klientelizmom. Ker jim je mar, ker zavračajo biti del sistema, ki že leta uničuje njihove sanje, njihovo prihodnost.

(del govora v jeziku, ki ni uradni jezik EU)

President. – I understand you want this symbol of speaking Serbian, but nobody of the colleagues understands because there is no translation. So please stick to the languages that we translate. Thank you.

Matej Tonin (PPE). – Gospa predsednica! Podpredsednica! Komisarka! Dragi kolegice in kolegi!

V Srbiji spremljamo moč in odločnost mladih. Ne zahtevajo oblasti, zahtevajo drugačno prihodnost, zahtevajo evropsko Srbijo.

Srbski študentje so glas, upanje in vest celotnega Balkana. Avtoritarne tendence, ki se kažejo v korupciji, zlorabi oblasti in vplivajo na medije, niso samo problem Srbije. Gre za trend, ki se pojavlja v celotni regiji. Politiki z avtoritarnimi tendencami se med seboj povezujejo in si celo pomagajo.

Korupcija ubija. Je ključno sporočilo srbske mladine. Korupcija ubija. Dobesedno. Korupcija ubija ustvarjalni naboj družbe. Korupcija ubija pravno državo. Evropske vrednote in demokracija niso nekaj, kar je dano za vedno, niti v obstoječih članicah Evropske unije.

Župan Ljubljane Zoran Janković je pred dnevi v odprtem pismu srbskemu predsedniku Vučiću ponudil brezpogojno podporo. Gre za popolnoma napačno sporočilo v danem trenutku, ki ga je mogoče razumeti in prebrati kot zanikanje težav, s katerimi se spopada Srbija. Če kaj, potem Srbija potrebuje evropsko prihodnost. Naša dolžnost, dolžnost v tej hiši je, da Srbiji na tej poti pomagamo. Dolžnost srbske vlade in predsednika pa je, da probleme rešuje na evropski način.

Andreas Schieder (S&D). – Frau Präsidentin! Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren! Es sind schon über 100 Tage seit der Tragödie von Novi Sad vergangen. Seit diesem Tag gibt es Proteste im ganzen Land, in ganz Serbien.

Die Menschen, die auf der Straße sind, sind keine Hooligans, sondern ganz normale Bürgerinnen und Bürger, die friedlich für Rechtsstaatlichkeit protestieren. Deshalb gilt es auch, hier unsere vollste Solidarität mit den Protestierenden in Serbien auszudrücken. Dennoch – obwohl friedliche Proteste: Sie werden von der Polizei brutal niedergeschlagen. Auch diese Gewalt, diese Gewalt des Regimes von Aleksandar Vučić, muss ein Ende haben.

Die Forderung ist ganz simpel, nämlich Gerechtigkeit und funktionierende Institutionen in Serbien – ein Land, das endlich nicht mehr korrupt sein soll. Gerade dieser Tage hat wiederum Aleksandar Vučić einen traurigen Rekord geschafft – nämlich: Serbien ist unter den Top drei der korruptesten Staaten in Europa. Das sind Dinge, die die Leute in Serbien, die einfachen Studierenden, nicht mehr wollen und wir mit ihnen.

Dan Barna (Renew). – Doamnă președintă, pentru un român, prăbușirea Gării de Nord, Gării din Novi Sad, și pierderea de vieți nevinovate este un ecou al unei tragedii prea cunoscute. Tragedia din 2015 din clubul Colectiv încă ne bântuie societatea și este o amintire crudă a prețului plătit pentru neglijență și corupție. Nouă ani au trecut de la acea noapte îngrozitoare din București. 64 de suflete au fost pierdute. România a protestat, a cerut schimbare și a continuat să jelească.

În Serbia, ca și în România, vedem același tipar dureros: nerespectarea regulilor, lipsă de responsabilitate și un sistem corupt care nu reușește să-și protejeze cetățenii. Gara din Novi Sad, simbol al progresului, a devenit un mormânt.

Din Parlamentul European, cerem ca cei responsabili pentru această tragedie să fie trași la răspundere. Cerem transparență și stat de drept. Cerem ca libertatea de întrunire să fie protejată, nu suprimată. Președintele Vučić trebuie să înțeleagă că poporul său cere schimbare și este datorია Uniunii Europene să sprijine acest demers.

Tomislav Sokol (PPE). – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, povjerenice, kolegice i kolege, Srbija je autokratska država u kojoj Aleksandar Vučić i njegova stranka upravljaju gotovo svim segmentima društva.

Mediji su pod potpunom kontrolom vlasti i političke slobode su izrazito ograničene. Vanjska politika Srbije oslanja se na izvlačenje ustupaka i od Rusije i od Zapada, odnosno na sjedenje na dvije stolice. Paralelno, Vučić provodi hegemonističku politiku agresivnog širenja srpskog utjecaja u susjednim zemljama.

Posebno je zabrinjavajuća srpska politika u Crnoj Gori, koja je tamo danas dio vlasti i predano radi na uvlačenje Crne Gore u 'srpski svet'. Ciljano narušavanje odnosa s Hrvatskom, kršenje Ustava te najave donošenja novog zakona o državljanstvu, koji bi značio kraj Crne Gore kao samostalne države, dio su ovakve politike Beograda, uz jako sudjelovanje Srpske pravoslavne crkve. Nažalost, svemu tome kumovala je promašena politika dijela zapadnih aktera, kojima je Vučić godinama bio ljubimac.

Demonstracije kojima svjedočimo predstavljaju pobunu raznih društvenih skupina koje u današnjoj Srbiji ne vide nikakvu perspektivu. Tragedija u Novom Sadu predstavljala je povod za bunt, ali uzroka je mnogo više. Međutim, treba biti realan. Problemi u Srbiji puno su dublji od Vučića i SNS-a i vuku korijenje iz toga da ova zemlja nikada nije prihvatila odgovornost za vlastite promašaje iz prošlosti.

Tek kada svi slojevi srpskog društva shvate da od nekakve balkanske hegemonije nema ništa i da je uloga regionalne sile obična iluzija, moći ćemo govoriti o ozbiljnoj europskoj perspektivi za Srbiju.

Spontane Wortmeldungen

Seán Kelly (PPE). – *A Uachtaráin*, I am totally in favour of enlargement of the European Union. In fact, it is far too long since Croatia joined over 11 years ago. But countries must come up to standard if they want to join the European Union, and that is questionable in relation to Serbia. Particularly in relation to the protests which students and others are taking part in now for some time, since the collapse of Novi Sad railway station undertaken by a Chinese state consortium.

So, that being the case, I think the Commissioner is right. Not only must they make changes in terms of law, but they must make changes particularly in relation to action, and violence against protesters who are entitled to freedom of assembly is not part of what we stand for.

So I think the Commission has to say to the Serbian State, 'We are going to pause negotiations in relation to your accession until we are satisfied that the standards have been reached,' because one Putin puppet, Viktor Orbán, is enough in Europe.

Nikos Papandreou (S&D). – Madam President, President Szlapka, Commissioner Kos, let's see where we are now. We had two very good statements from the President and the Commissioner, but we went one step more. I would say most of us here are giving a message to the Serbians. The message is: 'We're listening to you. We are listening to your demand for accountability. We are listening to your calls of corruption.'

And that they are on the streets might be proof of democracy, but it's democracy that wants change. In fact, the people in the streets are very inspiring. They remind us, President Szlapka, of 1989 in Poland; they bring back memories for us here that are very exciting.

So the message from Parliament today: 80 % are saying we want to be on the right side of history when it comes to Serbia.

Sebastian Tynkkynen (ECR). – Madam President, Serbia is facing yet another crisis and not without reason. After the tragic collapse of railway station structures causing several deaths, we have witnessed a strong movement against corruption in Serbia. Following massive student-led protests, the Prime Minister eventually resigned himself.

A political crisis can sometimes act as a turning point for countries. It seems that Serbia's youth is not satisfied with their country's path filled with corruption, breaches of rule of law and disgraceful Russia sympathies. Serbia is a country that has been an EU candidate for 13 years already, a candidate that we all know is far from EU membership. I sincerely hope that the strong voice of the youth will change the course of Serbia for a better future.

Lukas Sieper (NI). – Frau Präsidentin! Liebe Menschen Europas, auch in Serbien. Bevor ich in dieses Hohe Haus hier gewählt wurde, war ich Student. Ein Student mit einem Herz für Politik. Und ich kann Ihnen sagen, das ist nicht immer leicht. Wir leben in einer Welt, in der die Mächtigen in der Regel unsere Eltern sind, in der wir selten gehört werden, in der die Probleme, die unsere Gesellschaft plagen, maßgeblich noch vor unserer Geburt entstanden sind.

Aber wir, die Studierenden, wir haben immer wieder gezeigt, dass auch wir an der Spitze der Veränderung stehen können, dass wir die Fahne der Freiheit nach vorne tragen können. Aber das, liebe Abgeordnete, das konnten wir niemals allein.

Und ich möchte Sie daher alle bitten: Stehen Sie jetzt auf! Stellen Sie sich jetzt an die Seite der Demokratiebewegung in Serbien! Stehen Sie, so wie die Menschen in Serbien jeden Alters und jeder sozialer Herkunft, an der Seite der serbischen Studierenden! Lassen Sie uns Serbien gemeinsam zeigen, dass es einen Platz in unserer Mitte hat, auf dass bald auch einige serbische Studierende hier in diesem Saal sitzen!

Diana Iovanovici Șoșoacă (NI). – Doamnă președintă, bunicii mei paterni sunt din Serbia și Macedonia, așa că știu foarte bine ce vorbesc. Nu-i cunoașteți pe sârbi, nu știți nimic despre ei. Sunt poate cei mai curajoși din toată Europa. Cei mai mulți dintre sârbi nu-și doresc Uniunea Europeană. Au văzut ce s-a întâmplat cu România și în ce hal ați distrus România.

Cei mai mulți dintre sârbi sunt prieteni cu rușii. Asta nu vă convine. Ceea ce se întâmplă acum acolo este un fel de maidan din Ucraina. Asta faceți! Nu v-a interesat că în 1999 trupele NATO au intrat în Serbia, în Iugoslavia, și au bombardat bisericile în care se aflau sârbi, femei și copii, și i-au omorât în noaptea de Paște cu bombe pe care scria „Paște fericit!”

De fapt, asta face Uniunea Europeană, ca și cei din NATO, distrug absolut tot. Europa e coruptă de la vârf și dumnea-voastră vorbiți de curățenie în Serbia? Hoțul strigă hoții! Și vă mai spun ceva: vreți Serbia liberă, dar strigați despre Kosovo? Kosovo e Serbia. Să nu mai îndrăzniți vreodată să vorbiți de Kosovo independentă!

(Ende der spontanen Wortmeldungen)

Marta Kos, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, honourable Members, the debate today illustrates the importance the EU attaches to its relations with Serbia as a candidate country negotiating its accession, and to adherence to EU values in our candidate countries. Yes, I agree with you. The EU is not only a common market; it's a union of values, a union which respects human rights, freedom of media and the rule of law. And this is – and will remain – at the heart of the EU enlargement process and implementation of the commitments – I use your words, not just words – will remain the precondition for the next steps in the accession process.

I took good note of your concerns as regards the current political developments in the country and their impact on Serbia's European path. As I have stressed in my introductory remarks, it is precisely the reforms that are part of the EU accession process that offer solutions to the issues that dominate the current debate in Serbia, and that have triggered the student protests. Therefore, I see, and we should consider the protest of the students as an opportunity for Serbia to advance on its European path.

We have a number of tools on our side to support and encourage these reforms. The accession process as such, the Reform and Growth Facility and our other means of financial and technical assistance, and we will continue to use all these tools, engaging with the authorities and stakeholders, addressing all open issues on its EU path in order to help Serbia to deliver on the required reforms on the basis of its strategic goal of EU integration. And let me conclude by emphasising that it is not for the EU to interfere into internal affairs of candidate countries. But it is in our interest to assist them on the path towards the EU, based on the reforms that will transform the society and political system. Transformative reforms will make Serbia ready for joining the EU. One of you have asked what do we want with Serbia? We want to see Serbia in the European Union. It is in our interest to bring democratic Serbia to the European family. This is also a aspiration of the brave students and Serbian people.

Adam Szlápka, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Madam President, honourable Members, Madam Commissioner, thank you very much for this debate. I heard your concerns regarding the political situation in Serbia and the repercussions for Serbia's European path, and I heard your support to the Serbian people and the Serbian European path.

Please rest assured that we will continue to closely follow the domestic political situation in the country, and we will continue to support Serbia in its EU accession process in accordance with a merit-based approach. As I said, this is among our Polish Presidency priorities.

The rule of law and fundamental rights are among the core values on which the EU is founded. A crucial respect of democratic transformation and indispensable requisite for progress towards EU membership. Freedom of assembly and of expression are a part of these core values. They need to be exercised peacefully and they need to be protected.

Die Präsidentin. – Die Aussprache ist geschlossen.

Schriftliche Erklärungen (Artikel 178)

Kinga Gál (PSE), *írásban*. – Ha az Európai Unió valóban érdemi megoldásokat keres a geopolitikai, energiaellátási és migrációs feszültségekre, akkor fel kell gyorsítani a nyugat-balkáni bővítési folyamatot. A régió igazi kulcsországa Szerbia, az ország mielőbbi csatlakozása az egész balkáni térséget képes új fejlődési pályára állítani.

Szerbia azonban már évek óta előrelépésre vár a csatlakozási folyamatban. A magyar elnökség jelentős erővel dolgozott a tárgyalások előmozdításán: szerintünk nem lassítani, hanem lendíteni kell a bővítési folyamaton. Az elmúlt hónapokban Szerbia határozott lépéseket tett, hogy a fennmaradó csatlakozási fejezetek megnyitásra kerülhessenek. Elkötelezték, hogy 2026 végéig teljesítsék az összes tagsági kötelezettséget. Ezt a folyamatot értékelni és jutalmazni kell, nem pedig becsmérelni.

A szerb kormány elismerte és teljesítette a diáktüntetések után megfogalmazott követeléseket, a szerb Belügyminisztérium pedig számos intézkedést hozott a közbiztonság növelése érdekében. Az Európai Parlamentnek igazságos és objektív intézményi hírnévre kell törekednie, képviselőinek pedig tartózkodniuk kell attól, hogy személyes politikai céljaikat követve beavatkozzanak a tagjelölt országok belpolitikájába.

Szerbiának külső nyomás és befolyás nélkül kell most választ találnia a belső kihívásokra. Nekünk az az érdekünk, hogy Szerbia stabil és európai úton maradjon, ehhez azonban minden segítséget és bizalmat meg kell adnunk az országnak.

Mirosława Nykiel (PPE), *na piśmie*. – Bez Serbii Unia Europejska nie będzie kompletna – to słowa premiera Donalda Tuska podczas wizyty w Belgradzie w październiku zeszłego roku. Widzimy europejskie aspiracje Serbów i je wspieramy.

Společenstvo obywatelskie to filar naszej společnosti i ten egzamin Serbowie zdecydowanie zdali. Dowód na to widzieliśmy w ostatnich miesiącach na ulicach Belgradu czy Nowego Sadu, gdzie odbywały się demonstracje po tej strasznej katastrofie budowlanej, o której w trakcie debaty mówiliśmy.

Jednak praworządność, transparentność i wolność zgromadzeń to wartości, których musi przestrzegać każdy, kto ubiega się o członkostwo w Unii Europejskiej, dlatego popieram apel pani komisarz Marty Kos o śledztwo w sprawie traktowania protestujących w Serbii.

Ивайло Вълчев (ECR), *в писмена форма*. – Политическата криза в Сърбия има своя генезис, за който рядко се говори в тази зала. Президентът на страната Александър Вучич и неговият втори човек Александър Вулин са хора с богата биография, свързана с личности, съдени в международния съд в Хага. Всъщност, Сърбия никога не направи своя преход от разпадалия се режим и разпадащата се държава Югославия към една свободна и демократична държава. Институциите останаха да бъдат управлявани от бившите тайни служби, които използваша властта, за да забогатеят чрез корупция. За съжаление, Европейският съюз и европейските лидери оставиха Сърбия да продължава своята двойна игра. Да взима предприемачески фондове, да отваря глави, да прави фасадни реформи, а властта да трупа значителни капитали и да поддържа силните си връзки с Москва. Трябва да бъдем наясно, че Вучич и кликата около него не биха предали властта мирно. Виждаме, че все по-яростно той напада Европа и Запада като врагове на Сърбия, затова ЕС трябва да предприеме решителни действия. Да спре европейското финансиране и да наложи санкции на политическото ръководство, както САЩ санкционира Вулин. ЕС трябва да бъде фактор в бъдещето на Западните Балкани и начинът за това е да прилага Копенхагенските критерии.

16. USA's restriktioner på eksport af AI-chips: en udfordring for den europæiske AI-udvikling og økonomiske modstanddygtighed (forhandling)

Die Präsidentin. – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über die Anfrage zur mündlichen Beantwortung an die Kommission über US-amerikanische Ausfuhrbeschränkungen für KI-Chips: eine Herausforderung für die KI-Entwicklung in der EU und die wirtschaftliche Widerstandsfähigkeit der EU von Borys Budka im Namen des Ausschusses für Industrie, Forschung und Energie (O-000001/2025 - B10-0002/25) (2025/2539(RSP)).

Borys Budka, autor. – Pani Przewodnicząca! Szanowni Państwo! Pani Komisarz! W imieniu Komisji ITRE mam zaszczyt skierować na Pani ręce pytanie dotyczące sytuacji w branży sztucznej inteligencji, a dokładnie chodzi o niedawną decyzję Stanów Zjednoczonych o nałożeniu ograniczeń wywozowych na zaawansowane chipy sztucznej inteligencji oraz wagi modeli AI. To stwarza poważne wyzwanie dla funkcjonowania jednolitego rynku Unii Europejskiej, jej odporności gospodarczej i suwerenności technologicznej. Klasyfikowanie państw członkowskich Unii Europejskiej do różnych kategorii podważa zasady wspólnej polityki handlowej Unii Europejskiej i zagraża wspólnemu podejściu Unii Europejskiej do rozwoju sztucznej inteligencji i tworzenia zdolności przemysłowych.

W związku z tym chciałbym zadać następujące pytania: po pierwsze, jak środki te wpływają na wdrożenie aktu w sprawie chipów, w szczególności w odniesieniu do trzeciego filaru (monitorowanie i reagowanie kryzysowe) oraz na inicjatywę na rzecz fabryk AI? Jakie środki dostosowawcze rozważa Komisja?

Drugie pytanie, w jaki sposób Komisja planuje złagodzić potencjalnie negatywne skutki dla państw członkowskich, wobec których obowiązują limity wywozowe oraz dla ogólnego rozwoju technologicznego w Europie?

Po trzecie, jakie konkretne kroki podejmuje Komisja w celu dalszego przyspieszenia rozwoju wewnątrzunijnych zdolności produkcyjnych w zakresie chipów AI, tak aby zmniejszyć zależność od dostawców zewnętrznych i wzmocnić odporność gospodarczą Unii Europejskiej? Kompas konkurencyjności zawiera jedynie ograniczone odniesienia do półprzewodników. W związku z tym, czy Komisja rozważa aktualizację aktów w sprawie chipów, aby dalej wspierać i przyspieszać inwestycje w europejski ekosystem półprzewodników?

Ostatnie pytanie, czy Komisja planuje przyspieszyć ustanowienie niedawno zapowiadanego Centrum ds. doskonalenia i badań w dziedzinie sztucznej inteligencji? Jeśli tak, to w jaki sposób i kiedy ma ono zostać ustanowione?

Henna Virkkunen, *Executive Vice-President of the Commission*. – Madam President, Chair of the ITRE Committee, honourable Members, thank you for this very timely question on the US export restrictions on AI chips.

This issue is of great concern for the Commission. The restrictions limit European access to the latest AI chips and also AI models. The EU is strategically positioned to advance and develop safe and secure and also trustworthy AI applications and systems. So it is our legitimate interest to develop such applications to benefit our citizens, society and also the economy at large.

But it's also in the US's economic and security interests that the EU buys advanced AI chips from USA. We are still evaluating the impact of the US's measures. We see potential risks that these measures pose to our single market. There are risks to the free movement of goods – AI chips – and there are risks also to cross-border provision of AI-enabled services. So we will use all diplomatic means to request that the US would treat the EU in a non-discriminatory way.

I believe that lifting the restrictions would benefit both EU and USA. The EU is the best customer of the US for tech exports and we want to buy more US advanced semiconductors. Lifting the restrictions would also serve the Trump administration's goal to reduce US trade deficit with goods with the EU. And furthermore, EU Member States are security allies of the US, not posing any threats. It would be counterproductive from the US to reduce many EU Member States' choice of chips vendors to less secure producers.

So we cannot yet fully predict the impact of the measures of AI factories. Now we are monitoring potential mid- to long-term implications for high-performance computing, AI, and also to cloud computing, especially on AI gigafactories and also data centres that rely on advanced AI chips.

Overall, the restrictions would lead to a two-speed Europe when it comes to AI services and we cannot accept this.

Semiconductors are critical technology for our digital transition, also for our competitiveness and for our strategic vision on AI continent. As set out in the Competitiveness Compass, we are seeking true independent sources of high-end technologies for Europe.

We should not be dependent on non-EU licensing schemes, export bans or restrictions. We are already working very hard towards these goals. With the Chips Act, we have a framework to boost technological capabilities and also European manufacturing. Through the Chips Fund, we are providing financial support with equity and grants to startups and also for SMEs developing chips for AI. And under the Chips Joint Undertaking, we have many thematic calls for research and development projects in semiconductor AI technologies.

In the context of the Joint Economic Forum for Important Projects of Common European Interest, we are also exploring the possibility to support the development of AI chips. The European High Performance Computing Joint Undertaking will also launch the DARE Framework Programme Agreement, which will develop a full, high-performance computing ecosystem based on an open hardware technology for AI chips.

We will also review the Chips Act by September 2026. That will be an opportunity to assess the act and also identify areas for further action. So we are fully committed to fostering excellence on AI research and innovation across the European Union. We have already taken concrete steps. Now we have invested over EUR 100 million to strengthen the networks of excellence on AI and with the 'apply AI' strategy, we will develop world-class AI models and foster the integration of AI technologies into more strategic sectors.

The aim is to unlock the potential of innovation and also to enable also European companies to be global frontrunners. Just today, in Paris, in AI summit, President von der Leyen also launched 'invest AI', an initiative to mobilise EUR 200 billion for investments in AI, including a new European fund of EUR 20 billion for AI gigafactories.

Wouter Beke, *namens de PPE-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, commissaris, de voorbije weken zagen we hoe de Verenigde Staten onder Trump zich steeds verder wagen aan geopolitiek en economische conflicten, waarbij sancties en handelsbeperkingen elkaar in snel tempo opvolgen. Maar de exportbeperkingen op AI-microchips naar China dateren van voor Trump en zijn door de regering-Biden opgelegd aan 17 Europese lidstaten.

Dit maakt één ding voor ons heel duidelijk: wie er ook aan het roer staat aan de andere kant van de Atlantische oceaan, wij als Europese Unie moeten onze eigen koers varen. Dat betekent het versterken van onze strategische autonomie en minder afhankelijk worden van vreemde mogendheden op het gebied van technologie, defensie en grondstoffen. Het betekent dat we ons eigen ecosysteem van microchips grondig moeten versterken, niet alleen met woorden, maar ook met concrete investeringen. En het betekent ten slotte ook dat we assertief moeten zijn en met één stem moeten spreken, met één echte geopolitieke strategie.

Europa mag in deze strijd geen speelbal worden van grootmachten die hun eigen belangen nastreven. Het kan niet zo zijn dat wij slechts reageren op wat Washington of Peking besluiten. Wij moeten een speler zijn, geen speelveld, een schaker, geen pion. Een sterke Europese Unie, economisch, diplomatiek en militair. Dat is de enige weg vooruit. Laten we daar met zijn allen werk van maken!

Matthias Ecke, *im Namen der S&D-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin! Frau Exekutiv-Vizepräsidentin Virkkunen! Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Diese Karte ist eine Karte der Schande. Denn was man hier sieht, ist, dass man uns teilen will als EU. Was soll das sein, ein neuer Eiserner Vorhang?

Es ist inakzeptabel, dass die amerikanische Regierung die EU in zwei unterschiedliche Stufen bei der Exportkontrolle einteilt. Wir sind ein gemeinsamer Binnenmarkt, und wir müssen gemeinsam dagegen vorgehen. Aber es zeigt auch, dass es richtig war, im Bereich der Halbleiter eine strategische Industriepolitik loszutreten und zu beginnen.

Wir haben mit dem *Chips Act* einen Teilerfolg erzielt. Wir haben Ansiedlungserfolge in Dresden mit TSMC, mit Infineon. Wir haben andere Projekte, die sich bisher nicht realisiert haben, wie in Magdeburg. Das ist ein großer Erfolg auch der beteiligten Bundesregierung und Landesregierung. Aber es ist noch nicht genug.

Wir haben jetzt bei DeepSeek gesehen, dass es in diesem Markt eine hohe Volatilität gibt, dass diese Chips dann auch plötzlich weniger wert sind, wenn man sieht, dass sie doch nicht diese Power für *AI Models* benötigen. Deswegen brauchen wir – glaube ich – einen umfassenden Ansatz, einen gesamten integrierten Ansatz von den Rohstoffen über Chips bis zur Software und bis zu *AI Models*. Deswegen brauchen wir so was wie einen *EuroStack*, und ich bin gespannt, Frau Virkkunen, was wir von der Kommission erwarten können. Bisher haben wir einige Entwürfe im Arbeitsprogramm, aber der Gesamtansatz, der fehlt mir noch ein bisschen.

Kris Van Dijck, *namens de ECR-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, commissaris, het heeft ons een pandemie gekost om te beseffen hoe cruciaal de continuïteit van de chiptoevoer is. Met de Europese chipverordening hebben we ingezet op onderzoek en ontwikkeling, iets wat cruciaal is voor een kennisregio en open economie als Vlaanderen, waar ik vandaan kom. Maar na de maatregelen die de Amerikanen hebben genomen, moeten we hun allereerst duidelijk maken dat onze interne markt één en ondeelbaar is, zoals de hunne, en dat wij die van ons als gezamenlijke kracht presenteren.

Laten we daarom de Handels- en Technologieraad, die we in 2021 samen hebben opgericht, benutten als forum om ons trans-Atlantisch partnerschap te versterken en gezamenlijk de AI-normen te bepalen.

Anderzijds is dit voor ons opnieuw een wake-upcall om te blijven investeren in technologisch leiderschap. Dit betekent het versterken van de kapitaalmarkt en het opnemen van een onmisbare rol in de waardeketen. Voorbeelden als Imec in Vlaanderen en ASML in Nederland bewijzen dat we dat kunnen.

Bart Groothuis, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Madam President, dear Commissioner, the United States of America is blocking Europe from buying its most advanced chips for artificial intelligence. Well, at least some countries can still buy the chips, but not those countries who plan to actually do something with it, like building European AI factories or high-performance computing centres. It's a clear attempt by our ally to put European AI companies two generations behind, and to make Europe dependent on AI technology.

There is therefore no doubt, dear colleagues, about what the response from Europe should be: move fast and build things. Investing 200 billion in AI, dear Commissioner, what is it worth if we don't have the chips? Dear Commissioner, we ask you for an EU Chips Act 2.0, with, at its core, the design of advanced AI chips in Europe. Design and co-produce advanced AI chips here. The previous Chips Act was done in six months. We can do it again. Move fast, build things, let's go.

András László, *on behalf of the P/E Group*. – Madam President, free trade is the policy of leading economic powers. They sometimes even resort to dumping, selling with a loss to stifle rising competition. Challengers use protectionism to prevent leading competitors from undercutting prices and to protect the viability of their own industry.

The chip war between the US and China showed what happens when you choose the wrong strategy. Joe Biden chose to repeat this mistake in the last days of his presidency, this time punishing many of America's allies.

It is not our job to solve America's problems. I want a competitive European economy – for that, we need a robust digital sector, something that we don't have today. We want to build the future of the European economy on leading tech and innovation supplied by other economies. In fact, our exposure in the digital sector is borderline suicidal and unworthy of our great continent. We need to create a European domestic demand for home-grown digital businesses and less regulation. There is No European prosperity without our own digital sector.

Virginijus Sinkevičius, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, dear colleagues, the EU cannot afford to fall behind in AI development. Imagine a world where AI-powered medical diagnostics can detect diseases years before symptoms appear, potentially saving millions of lives. And this is not science fiction, it's actually happening now. Yet with the recent US restriction on AI chip export, we risk losing access to the very tools needed to make this breakthrough a reality across Europe.

So we must act decisively. First of all, we need to mitigate impacts on Member States facing export caps, ensuring solidarity across the EU – and here I count especially on the Polish Presidency, because Poland, just like Lithuania, found itself on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Secondly, we have to accelerate domestic AI chip production. The recently announced EUR 150 billion investment in European AI over the next five years is a step in the right direction. Finally, we must also create a unified EU export control regime to prevent third country actors from dividing us and deliberately targeting our single market.

Dario Tamburrano, *a nome del gruppo The Left*. – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, Commissione, credo sia ormai evidente a tutti che l'Europa non può dipendere completamente da terzi per i propri asset strategici.

Oggi paghiamo le conseguenze di tanti errori che ci hanno reso estremamente fragili, sia a causa del deterioramento dei rapporti con alcuni dei BRICS, sia oggi per la recente postura geopolitica aggressiva degli Stati Uniti, partner commerciale che si era ritenuto affidabile, ma chiaramente a torto.

C'è quindi bisogno di un cambio di rotta rapido sia per lo sviluppo della nostra autonomia strategica, sia nelle relazioni multilaterali da recuperare con il resto del mondo, che non possiamo continuare a guardare con un atteggiamento ancora da primi della classe e dividendolo in buoni e cattivi.

Dobbiamo agire e decidere nell'interesse esclusivo e a lungo termine della resilienza dell'Unione europea con nuove politiche economiche, industriali e commerciali, non solamente per i *chip*, ma in tutti i settori strategici come acciaio, *cloud*, motori di ricerca e tutte le tecnologie per la transizione energetica e digitale. La politica deve indirizzare la finanza e l'industria, e non il contrario, anche con il pesante intervento della mano pubblica.

Eszter Lakos (PPE). – Tisztelt Elnök Asszony! Az amerikai AI-chip exportkorlátozások alapjaiban veszélyeztethetik az egységes európai piac működését és az EU technológiai szuverenitását. Az új szabályozás ugyanis nem egységes piacként kezeli az Európai Uniót. Franciaország, Belgium, Spanyolország korlátlan hozzáférést kap az amerikai chipekhez, addig a többi tagállam Lengyelország, Portugália, Görögország csak évi ötvenezer darabot importálhat ezekből a létfontosságú komponensekből.

Ez a megkülönböztetés különösen súlyosan érinti Kelet-Közép-Európát, benne hazámat, Magyarországot, ahol a digitális átállás és a mesterséges intelligencia adaptációja már most is jelentős lemaradást mutat. Az Eurostat 2024-es adatai szerint a régiókban különösen alacsony az AI-technológiákat alkalmazó vállalkozásoknak az aránya, ami a korlátozások miatt tovább romolhat, illetve még az innovációs szakadékot is mélyítheti.

Különösen aggasztó, hogy miközben a magyar kormány elsősorban ideológiai alapon közelít az amerikai kapcsolatokhoz, figyelmen kívül hagyja a valós gazdasági kihívásokat. Ez a megközelítés veszélyes. Az új korlátozások további aggályokat gördítenek a magyar vállalkozások technológiai fejlődése elé, ami egy olyan időszakban történik, amikor gazdaságunk amúgy is komoly kihívásokkal küzd.

A helyzet rámutat arra, hogy a különutas politika zsákutca a globális technológiai versenyben. Ha meg akarjuk védeni a gazdasági érdekeinket ebben a fragmentálódó világrendben, akkor az európai partnereinkkel közösen kell fellépünk. Az EU-nak egységesen kell tárgyalnia az Egyesült Államokkal a korlátozások feloldásáról, miközben saját chipgyártási kapacitásaikat is fejlesztenünk kell, hogy csökkentsük külső függőségünket.

(A felszólaló hajlandó válaszolni egy kékkártyás kérdésre)

András László (PFE), kékkártyás kérdés. – Képviselő Asszony! Ön az imént a kormányt kárhoztatta és az amerikai-magyar kapcsolatokat, miközben a megosztását az európai uniós tagállamoknak még az előző amerikai kormányzat, Joe Biden kormányzata okozta. Ők hozták ezt az intézkedést még január 20-a előtt. Mit gondol erről?

Eszter Lakos (PPE), kékkártyás válasz. – Ezt az intézkedést valóban a Biden-kormányzat hozta, ugyanakkor, amit én referáltam, az Magyarországnak a különutas politikája. Ugyanis privilegizált kapcsolatokat remél a magyar kormány, a Trump adminisztrációtól, és például egy lehetséges tarifa bevezetése Magyarországot ugyanúgy érintené, mint az egész Európai Uniót. Tekintettel arra, hogy egy vámunióknak vagyunk a részesei, és ezzel Ön is nagyon jól tisztában van.

Lina Gálvez (S&D). – Señora presidenta, señora comisaria, hoy por hoy hay dos cosas claras. La primera, que la inteligencia artificial es una tecnología disruptiva y que acabará aplicándose a todos los sectores económicos, a todos los procesos productivos, administrativos, médicos, a la generación del conocimiento. Y la segunda es que se está diseñando un nuevo orden mundial, en el que actores clave ya no respetan las reglas del multilateralismo o del Derecho internacional.

En este contexto, Europa necesita conseguir su soberanía tecnológica y, para eso, tenemos que actuar con unidad y con ambición —dándole la prioridad que, sin duda, merece—, defendiendo nuestro modelo más democrático y más humano de desarrollo de la inteligencia artificial, y no el estándar norteamericano de la ley del más fuerte que esta mañana defendía el vicepresidente Vance en París.

Por eso, pedimos a la Comisión que actúe rápidamente y apoye el impulso de la producción de chips de inteligencia artificial en Europa en todas sus regiones, aprovechando todo el conocimiento que ya existe. Porque si no cogemos este tren, desde luego nos vamos a quedar en tierra.

Barbara Bonte (Pfe). – Voorzitter, commissaris, Europa is op het gebied van artificiële intelligentie vrijwel volledig afhankelijk van buitenlandse technologie, wat ons natuurlijk erg kwetsbaar maakt voor verstoringen in de toeleveringsketen. Maar waarom zijn we zo sterk afhankelijk geworden? Een belangrijke reden is dat bedrijven in de Verenigde Staten en in Azië veel sneller nieuwe fabrieken kunnen opzetten, terwijl in Europa de bouw van chipfabrieken wordt vertraagd door overregulering en bureaucratie.

De Europese Commissie heeft vandaag aangekondigd 200 miljard EUR te investeren in artificiële intelligentie. Dat is natuurlijk veel geld, maar als we geen einde maken aan de verstikkende bureaucratie en overregulering, zal het zelfs met zoveel geld nooit lukken.

Laat deze laatste verstrenging van de exportbeperkingen van de VS een alarmbel voor ons zijn. Wij moeten in Europa zelf AI-chips kunnen produceren, vooral in een wereld die de komende jaren gedomineerd zal worden door artificiële intelligentie. Strategische onafhankelijkheid in AI-chips en halfgeleiders is daarom een absolute noodzaak.

PRZEWODNICTWO: EWA KOPACZ

Wiceprzewodnicząca

Francesco Torselli (ECR). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, «Gli americani avranno bisogno del telefono, noi no. Noi abbiamo fattorini in abbondanza»: questo era Sir William Preece, ingegnere capo delle poste britanniche nel 1876.

Commissario, colleghi, dopo 150 anni non credo che qualcuno voglia candidarsi ad essere il nuovo William Preece. Qualcuno vuol passare alla storia dicendo che gli americani e i cinesi avranno bisogno dei microchip AI mentre noi no, perché noi abbiamo CD e DVD a volontà?

I microchip AI stanno diventando il motore invisibile della nostra quotidianità. Non ci possiamo permettere che l'Europa dipenda strategicamente dagli USA o dalla Cina. O investiamo nella produzione o, come ho sentito dire oggi qua, nella co-produzione di semiconduttori in Europa, aprendo all'opportunità di competere a livello globale rafforzando la nostra resilienza economica, oppure siamo condannati alla sudditanza digitale, con tutto quello che ciò comporta in termini di dati sensibili e di futuro per le nostre imprese produttrici di componentistica elettronica.

Michał Kobosko (Renew). – Pani Przewodnicząca! To bardzo ważny temat. Dołączam do wszystkich przede mną, którzy krytykowali decyzję USA o nałożenie ograniczeń wywozowych na zaawansowane czipy sztucznej inteligencji. Sztuczna inteligencja, innowacje technologiczne muszą stać się motorem wzrostu naszej konkurencyjności. Widzimy też, że nowa polityka handlowa Stanów Zjednoczonych nie pozostawia nam żadnych złudzeń.

Dlatego oczekuję od przedstawicieli Komisji Europejskiej twardego zabiegania o europejskie interesy gospodarcze w relacjach z Waszyngtonem. Europejska suwerenność technologiczna, w tym rozwój sztucznej inteligencji, muszą mieć najwyższy priorytet. W tym kontekście cieszą zapowiedzi Pani Komisarz, Pani Przewodniczącej von der Leyen i Pana Prezydenta Francji na trwającym szczycie w Paryżu.

Z drugiej strony musimy skupić się na europejskiej strategii rozwoju półprzewodników. Cieszę się z polskiej strategii opublikowanej w ubiegłym tygodniu przez Ministerstwo Cyfryzacji, opierającej się na siedmiu filarach, takich jak rozbudowa infrastruktury, wsparcie innowacji, współpraca międzynarodowa, inwestycje i finansowanie, kapitał ludzki, rozsądne korzystanie z energii i wody oraz zwiększenie dostępu do surowców krytycznych. To wszystko zdecyduje o naszej przyszłości, nie tylko technologicznej.

Alexandra Geese (Verts/ALE). – Frau Präsidentin! Frau Exekutiv-Vizepräsidentin! Die USA spalten Europa vollkommen willkürlich in zwei Kategorien: Länder, die unbegrenzt Halbleiter für künstliche Intelligenz einführen dürfen, und solche, die es nicht dürfen.

Was dieser Vorfall zeigt, ist doch nur eins: Europa muss zusammenstehen, darf sich nicht spalten lassen und muss gemeinsam eigenständiger werden. Europa hat doch jetzt die Chance, eine komplette digitale Wertschöpfungskette aufzubauen – von Halbleitern über Rechenzentren, über Social-Media-Anwendungen bis zu künstlicher Intelligenz.

Es ist an der Zeit, die Dominanz einiger weniger Großkonzerne zu durchbrechen und den EuroStack aufzusetzen, eine auf offenen Standards basierende digitale Infrastruktur, die unsere Demokratie absichert und unseren Unternehmen große Chancen bietet. Gerade jetzt, wo führende Mitglieder der US-Regierung und CEOs der Techkonzerne Europa offen drohen, müssen wir Rückgrat zeigen.

Wir haben das Talent, wir haben die Forschung, wir haben die Unternehmen. Was wir brauchen, ist eine gute Industriepolitik und vor allem politischen Willen und politischen Mut. Lassen Sie es uns anpacken!

Aura Salla (PPE). – Madam President, the only winner from US export restrictions towards its allies is China. Restricting the supply of AI chips to Europe can stifle innovation we need. Of course, if the restrictions are directly towards only some EU countries, moving chips around the EU is not a problem for us. We Europeans will stick together. Nevertheless, we need short-term and long-term solutions.

Let's also keep in mind that this is a two-way street. The US needs our manufacturing and the EU remains an important trade partner even to Trump. Our transatlantic partnership remains vital to navigating the geopolitics of today. So let's make a deal that works on both sides of the Atlantic. We should retain and strengthen the TTC, invest jointly in R&D, diversify our supply chains and secure better services and a healthier transatlantic tech ecosystem.

However, we should also not be naive and must consider how prepared the EU is for escalating trade conflicts. I am worried about the EU's Chips Act in practice. What we need is a long-term vision for the EU's chip sector and less national fragmentation, excellence-based approach to funding and investment, right infrastructure and skilled workforce, and put effort into green manufacturing and a plan that works in practice for quantum chip production. Because no matter who is sitting in the White House now or in the future, we need to put Europe's security and competitiveness first.

Maria Grapini (S&D). – Doamnă președintă, doamnă comisară, stimați colegi, discutăm, sigur, o problemă foarte importantă: restricțiile la export de cipuri din Statele Unite, dar cred că nu acum am aflat noi de aceste restricții. Au început acum cinci ani, știm bine, și cred că Uniunea Europeană trebuia să fie activă, să-și dezvolte producția de cipuri în Uniunea Europeană, pentru că știm bine că tehnologiile avansate, doamnă comisară, se bazează pe cipuri. Noi nu avem. Depindem de importuri și cred că este punctul slab.

Pe mine mă interesează, doamnă comisară, dacă în programul pe care îl veți prezenta mâine, programul Comisiei, ați cuprins măsuri concrete pentru dezvoltarea de capacități și de stimulare a capacităților de producție, pentru că nu putem să avem tehnologii avansate, nu putem să avem competitivitate, nu putem să avem rezistență în piața globală și degeaba ne supărăm pe orice administrație ar veni din Statele Unite sau din Asia, dacă nu ne luăm noi soarta în mâini să producem aici.

De aceea, asta este întrebarea mea. Sper că mâine aflăm mai multe despre cum se va dezvolta producția de cipuri în Europa.

Paulius Saudargas (PPE). – Madam President, dear Commissioner, colleagues, by granting some of the EU Member States greater access while restricting others, the US fragments our unified approach to AI development and places certain European countries at a competitive disadvantage, despite all being part of the same economic and regulatory framework.

Treating EU Member States differently in AI chip access contradicts the spirit of transatlantic cooperation and weakens Europe's ability to develop a strong, independent AI sector. The EU relies on American-made AI chips, but we cannot allow this dependency to be used as a tool to divide us. This division is especially sensitive in the current geopolitical context, where unity and resilience are critical.

The EU and US have something in common: the same enemies and threats. Both Russia and China are major potential threats for regional and global stability as well as peace. Let us unite our efforts. We should target China in alliance with the EU, rather than open several front lines with transatlantic allies. If Washington truly views Europe as a trusted partner, it should work with us to strengthen transatlantic AI cooperation, not create artificial barriers within our own borders, and together confront our common threats.

Elisabeth Grossmann (S&D). – Frau Präsidentin! Frau Exekutiv-Vizepräsidentin! Werte Damen und Herren! Im Juli 2023 hat das Europäische Parlament eine entscheidende Gesetzgebung verabschiedet, das europäische Chip-Gesetz, um die heimische Chip-Industrie zu stärken und die strategische Autonomie Europas zu fördern, noch gar nicht ahnend, wie aktuell dieses Vorhaben sein wird.

Um unsere Abhängigkeit von Drittstaaten zu verringern und gerade angesichts der aktuellen geopolitischen Herausforderungen, insbesondere der US-Exportrestriktionen, die den Binnenmarkt spalten, stellt sich ganz besonders die Frage: Wie weit ist die Umsetzung dieser Gesetzgebung tatsächlich vorangeschritten? Sie haben es gesagt, Frau Kommissarin, Sie werden sich dieses Gesetzeswerk bis 2026 ansehen und es eventuell auch neu gestalten.

Aber hier geht es darum: Was ist bisher geschehen? Weil es ist mehr als fünf vor zwölf. Es ist dringender Handlungsbedarf gegeben. Es geht nicht nur um die Wettbewerbsfähigkeit, es geht um die Versorgungssicherheit ...

(Die Präsidentin entzieht der Rednerin das Wort.)

Mirosława Nykiel (PPE). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Pani Komisarz! Stany Zjednoczone bez żadnego uzasadnienia i bez podania kryteriów podzieliły Europę, kraje, które odbierają chipy do sztucznej inteligencji, na tych, które mają limit nieograniczony, jak Włochy, Francja i Niemcy, i 16 krajów, w tym Polska, gdzie ten limit jest ograniczony do 50 tysięcy z możliwością podwojenia. Z jakiego powodu? Jakie były kryteria i z czego to wynikało? Nie będziemy mieć odpowiedzi na te pytania. A to może w znaczący sposób zahamować rozwój AI w Europie i zwiększyć też nierówności między poszczególnymi krajami.

Jedno jest jednak pewne. Jako Europa musimy stanąć na własne nogi. Pani Komisarz, szybciej i więcej zainwestować i stać się globalnym graczem. Polska daje dobry przykład. Wczoraj na konferencji zapowiedział premier Donald Tusk inwestycje, duże, setek milionów złotych, w super centra komputerowe w Poznaniu, w Krakowie, gdzie prowadzone są badania nad sztuczną inteligencją. Mamy Instytut Badawczy Idea z wybitnymi ekspertami w tym zakresie. Zapraszam do korzystania z naszych doświadczeń.

Kluczowa będzie dobra współpraca na poziomie unijnym. Tylko w ten sposób możemy zapewnić odporność gospodarczą Europy i odbudować jej konkurencyjność. Pani komisarz, czy tak się stanie?

Brando Benifei (S&D). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la decisione degli Stati Uniti di imporre restrizioni all'esportazione di *chip* superpotenti per l'intelligenza artificiale è una sfida diretta alla resilienza economica e alla sovranità tecnologica dell'Europa.

Classificando gli Stati membri in categorie diverse, viene minata la politica commerciale comune e si danneggiano i rapporti transatlantici. L'Unione europea deve agire con determinazione per difendere il mercato unico e investire in tecnologie strategiche.

Sono appena tornato dal summit dell'IA a Parigi, come la Vicepresidente Virkkunen qui presente, e la Commissione ha, proprio in questo momento, promesso 200 miliardi di EUR con l'iniziativa InvestAI. Ma nella bussola della competitività i semiconduttori sono solo appena citati. È una contraddizione che va sanata, perché questo conflitto non riguarda solo la competitività, ma la nostra autonomia strategica.

Gli Stati Uniti hanno investito 52 miliardi di dollari nel loro *Chips Act*. Serve un rilancio, in modo che la capacità produttiva di semiconduttori avanzati in Europa sia rafforzata, e dobbiamo anche rilanciare la cooperazione transatlantica col *Trade and Technology Council*. Servono azioni concrete per garantire innovazione, sicurezza e leadership tecnologica, e servono adesso.

Paulo Cunha (PPE). – Senhora Presidente, Senhora Comissária, as restrições impostas pelos Estados Unidos da América mostram como a competição tecnológica é usada como instrumento de poder, uma arma geopolítica. Estes ataques à nossa soberania tecnológica não podem ser ignorados. A dependência externa em semicondutores é uma ameaça clara aos setores estratégicos europeus. O ecossistema setor automóvel é um exemplo claro. Em Portugal, emprega mais de 100 000 pessoas e representa cerca de 20 % das exportações. Mas, sem semicondutores, a transição para veículos elétricos e autónomos está em risco. O mesmo aplica-se às energias renováveis. Em Portugal, onde já produzimos 71 % da nossa energia a partir de fontes renováveis, os semicondutores são essenciais para as redes inteligentes, para o armazenamento e gestão eficiente de energia. Como podemos acelerar a descarbonização sem esta base? Caros Colegas, esta adversidade pode ser a nossa força. O caso DeepSeek chinês, com todas as reservas que devemos ter, mostra como as restrições podem funcionar como catalisadores para inovação disruptiva e independência tecnológica. Vamos aproveitar o que temos e agir. Como destaca Draghi, devemos fortalecer a produção interna e investir em capacidades tecnológicas próprias. Os recursos e o conhecimento existem. Assim, pergunto à Comissão Europeia, vamos continuar a tolerar que outros escolham o destino das nossas indústrias? Se queremos ser líderes, temos de ser mais engenhosos e menos ingénuos.

Oliver Schenk (PPE). – Frau Präsidentin! Frau Exekutiv-Vizepräsidentin! Meine Damen und Herren! Unter Sanktionen leidet derjenige, der verwundbar ist. Hier tritt unsere europäische Schwäche in der Chip-Industrie leider zutage. Wir müssen daher die Anstrengungen für eine Stärkung der europäischen Mikroelektronik beherzt vorantreiben.

Das Chip-Gesetz war ein erster guter Schritt, aber es ist in seiner jetzigen Form bei Weitem nicht ausreichend und in seiner bürokratischen Anmutung nicht in dem Maße stimulierend, wie es sich manch einer von uns erhofft hat. Denn zur Wahrheit gehört: Wir sind von 8 % auf 6 % der Weltproduktion zurückgefallen. Was heißt das für uns?

Die Produktion von Halbleitern gehört zu den herausforderndsten Aufgaben, die es technologisch gibt. Sie entstehen nicht in einer *Fab*, sondern in komplexen Netzwerken und Clustern. Grenoble, Catania und Dresden mit *Silicon Saxony* sind dafür europäische Leuchttürme. Es überrascht nicht, dass genau an diesen Standorten jetzt wieder investiert wird und nicht auf der grünen Wiese. Wenn wir es ernst meinen mit unserem Anspruch, in der Chip-Produktion eine führende Rolle zu spielen, müssen wir deshalb Regional- und Clusterpolitik zusammendenken.

Das Chip-Gesetz muss in Zukunft auch die Möglichkeit eröffnen, in Zulieferer und Infrastruktur zu investieren, um so die Möglichkeit auf starke, weltweit wettbewerbsfähige Halbleitercluster bei uns in Europa zu eröffnen. Europa muss sich so aus der technologischen Abhängigkeit von den USA und anderen Chip-Regionen befreien und seine eigene Produktion massiv stärken. Ohne Chip-Industrie gibt es keine Autos, Maschinen, Medizinprodukte, Verteidigung und vieles mehr.

Deshalb dürfen wir nicht länger warten, sondern müssen zügig mit einer Revision des Chip-Gesetzes beginnen und gemeinsam mit den Mitgliedstaaten massiv in die Zukunft investieren.

Zgłoszenia z sali

Kamila Gasiuk-Pihowicz (PPE). – Pani Komisarz! Ograniczenia w eksporcie chipów z USA są próbą podważenia integralności europejskiego rynku cyfrowego. Są próbą podważenia jedności Europy. I nie może być naszej zgody na ograniczenie dostępu do procesorów dla ponad połowy państw członkowskich Unii Europejskiej.

Sztuczna inteligencja dzisiaj jest nie tylko silnikiem rakiety dla gospodarek, dla rozwoju gospodarek. Dzisiaj to mikroprocesory, a nie tylko myślicie decydują o zwycięstwie na polu bitwy. Partnerstwo transatlantyckie nie polega jedynie na kupowaniu uzbrojenia. Partnerstwo to jest także wspólne rozwijanie technologii krytycznych, takich właśnie jak sztuczna inteligencja.

Jak widać absolwenci polskich uczelni są dla naszego sojusznika dobrzy, gdy sztuczną inteligencję rozwijają w Stanach, tak jak szef naukowców w Open AI Dr Jakub Pachocki, absolwent Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Jednak jeżeli chcieliby AI rozwijać w Polsce, to nie będą mieli chipów zabezpieczających potrzebne moce obliczeniowe. Trudno to nazwać inaczej niż drenażem mózgów.

Jak Komisja Europejska zamierza zareagować na niebezpieczny precedens dzielenia Unii? Jakie kroki zamierza podjąć, żeby nowa administracja w Stanach zniósła niesprawiedliwe i niebezpieczne restrykcje?

Marc Botenga (The Left). – Madame la Présidente, écoutez, je constate qu’aujourd’hui les États-Unis se comportent de plus en plus en caïds, en harceleurs au niveau international, tout d’abord parce qu’ils viennent dire à l’Europe qu’on ne doit plus inviter de chercheurs chinois, qu’on ne doit plus faire des affaires avec la Chine.

Puis, au moment où nous avons ce retard technologique, ils nous disent: «Écoutez, nos semi-conducteurs, ceux dont vous aurez besoin pour votre défense, pour les voitures, etc., eh bien vous ne les aurez plus.» Ainsi, ils nous rendent complètement dépendants d’eux, évidemment, et ils sapent notre industrie, ils sapent notre économie. Qu’est-ce donc comme allié? Ce n’est pas un allié, cela, c’est un caïd.

Alors pourquoi l’Europe n’arrive-t-elle pas à réagir? Pourtant, DeepSeek, l’équivalent de ChatGPT développé en Chine, nous donne un espoir. Pourquoi? Parce que les Chinois l’ont fait avec moins de moyens, mais avec une vision différente.

Plutôt que de donner des masses de sous aux grands monopoles, aux grandes multinationales, ils ont développé cela de manière collaborative. En Europe aussi, nous pouvons le faire: il faut, d’une part, rapidement une infrastructure publique, digitale, numérique et, d’autre part, une approche coopérative source ouverte. Madame la Commissaire, changez de point de vue, s’il vous plaît!

Kateřina Konečná (NI). – Paní předsedající, paní komisařko, Spojené státy před téměř měsícem oznámily restrikce na vývoz pokročilých AI čipů do většiny členských států, včetně například České republiky, Slovenska, Řecka či Lucemburska. Deseti dalších členských států se tyto restrikce netýkají, tedy byly členské státy EU rozděleny do dvou kategorií, a to navzdory existenci vámi vzývaného jednotného trhu Evropské unie, v jehož rámci by si měly být členské státy rovný. I přesto však dodnes nepřišla ze strany Komise žádná rázná odpověď a vy jste nám dneska řekla, že vám to dělá starosti, že vyhodnocujete dopady a že je to porušení jednotného trhu.

Paní komisařko, vy jste přišli s Kompasem evropské konkurenceschopnosti, kde píšete o tom, že chcete v Řecku a Lucembursku umístit velké továrny na AI, ale ty bez čipu neuděláte. A místo toho, abychom si tady jasně řekli, že prostě továrnu na čipy Evropa potřebuje a udělá pro to úplně všechno, tak tady někteří kolegové zase hledají hrozby. Prosím, vzpamatujme se, my nejsme suverénní, a jestli se chceme stát suverénní, nebude to tím, že budeme pořád hledat vnitřního nepřitele.

Seán Kelly (PPE). – *A Uachtarán, I think we’ve learned some very harsh lessons in recent times – overdependency on third countries for vital supplies. Russia, in the case of energy, which thankfully we have dealt with quite effectively, and now, unfortunately, the US, our traditional friend and ally in relation to AI chips.*

But I think because they’re our traditional friend and ally Commissioner Virkkunen is absolutely right – we must use all diplomatic means to bring them to reality, number one with their best customer in relation to AI, and number two, there is a grave danger that affected countries could turn to China, thus strengthening China’s position in AI and undermining US goals. Anybody with a head can see that does not make sense.

Finally, I want to say it’s fantastic that we now have InvestAI in the European Union – EUR 200 billion to give us self-sufficiency and develop our own. So well done to Ursula von der Leyen and the Commission.

Lukas Sieper (NI). – Madam President, dear people of Europe, the United States AI export restrictions aren’t just a trade issue – they are a direct threat to Europe’s technological sovereignty. We cannot afford to be dependent on decisions made in Washington. Our AI future must be built here in Europe, on European terms. And right now, our development is scattered, fragmented, slowed down by a lack of coordination.

We need a European AI hub, a central framework for cooperation, funding and research. The AI Action Summit in Paris was a great start. But a start is not enough. We need alternative suppliers, stronger industrial policies and, above all, independence. The US cannot dictate our strategy. Even when their ideas are good, they must be sold as European ideas. Europe must lead, not follow. And it is time to act now, to build the future.

Dear colleagues, this speech was written by AI just seconds before my speaking time. I hope you take this as an example of the importance of the matter.

(Koniec zgłoszeń z sali)

Henna Virkkunen, *Executive Vice-President of the Commission*. – Madam President, honourable Members, I think it was very good to listen to this discussion and see how united the Members of Parliament were on this issue because I think it is very important that we are united and we are defending our European competitiveness together here. We should now convey the same message to the USA, regardless of Member State, because it is very important that we are all defending our single market, but also we have to find new approaches to cooperate in a constructive way with our strategic allies like we have seen.

Many of you were underlining the importance of building up our own capacities when it comes to chips and I fully agree with you. You know that we have also defined semiconductors as one of our critical areas where we have to also do better in the future. We have set a target that in 2030, we should produce 20 % of semiconductors in the European Union, and I have to say that we are not there yet, so more actions are needed.

We have the European Chips Act and in the first year it was already very successful, I would say, because it was mobilising investments of more than EUR 80 billion to our semiconductors. It is a framework to boost technological capabilities and European manufacturing. We also have the Chips Fund for start-ups and SMEs, and for research we also have the Chips Joint Undertaking, but more actions are needed in this area.

I said that we are preparing a review of the Chips Act by September 2026, but of course it does not mean that here, in the meantime, we are doing nothing because we have currently already the Chips Act, which it's not very old legislation and we are all the time working with it because more actions are needed to really boost investments and innovations in this area. Because I see, as many of you also mentioned, that when we want to be competitive in the future, and especially when we want to invest in AI and quantum computing semiconductors, it's very much a precondition for everything else.

So that is very much the area where we really need urgent actions and we are all the time taking them. But thank you very much for all your support, because I see also that this is an important priority when it comes to our technologies and competitiveness.

Przewodnicząca. – Zamykam debatę.

17. Beskyttelse af det internationale retssystem og dets institutioner, navnlig Den Internationale Straffedomstol og Den Internationale Domstol (forhandling)

Przewodnicząca. – Kolejnym punktem porządku dziennego jest debata nad oświadczeniem Rady i Komisji w sprawie ochrony międzynarodowego wymiaru sprawiedliwości i jego instytucji, zwłaszcza Międzynarodowego Trybunału Karnego i Międzynarodowego Trybunału Sprawiedliwości (2025/2555(RSP)).

Adam Szlápka, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Madam President, honourable Members, Commissioner, international law forms the bedrock of the rules-based international order and allows for cooperative relations between states and people. To this end, the EU attaches paramount importance to the protection of the system of international justice and its institutions, notably the International Criminal Court and the International Court of Justice. Yet both international courts are faced with challenges to their authority and with outright threats.

The Council fully recognises the importance of these international courts, and remains committed to working with them in combating impunity, in ensuring accountability, and in maintaining international peace and security.

As the world's first and only permanent international criminal court, the ICC plays an essential role in delivering justice to the victims of some of the world's most horrific crimes. It is highly regrettable that the Court continues to face threats, intimidation and pressure, and the threats against the Court, its staff and those involved in the work of the ICC is unacceptable.

The Council remains committed to working together with all state parties and other partners around the world to supporting the Court and to preserving and respecting the Court's independence and the integrity of the Rome Statute.

The Council also reiterates its strong support for the International Court of Justice, the principal judicial organ of the United Nations and one of the main pillars of the international justice system. Supporting the principles of international law and of the UN Charter is among the core objectives of EU foreign policy.

The Council commends the International Court of Justice's steadfast commitment to delivering justice and expresses its unwavering support for its indispensable role in upholding international peace, security and the rule of law at the international level. However, this can be effective only if parties to such disputes abide by the court's rulings and if all states concerned comply with the judgements and orders issued by the Court.

Michael McGrath, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, Minister, honourable Members of the European Parliament, this is a timely debate, as multilateral cooperation is essential to addressing global challenges effectively, ensuring security and justice. Mass atrocities cannot be addressed in isolation. The defence of the rule of law depends on our collective action. Our shared values, translated into fundamental rights and solid rules of international law represent the only reliable compass to guide our action at all times. Only a solid and functioning system of international justice, which ensures accountability for the violation of international rules, provides guarantees for the rules-based international order that we all consider fundamental.

But today, that system is being challenged. On 6 February, US President Donald Trump signed an executive order to authorise sanctions against the International Criminal Court. On 10 February, the United States published the annex to the executive order, which lists ICC prosecutor Khan to be affected by these sanctions. This decision represents a serious challenge to the work of the ICC, with the risk of affecting ongoing investigations and proceedings, impacting years of efforts to ensure accountability around the world.

And it is sadly the case that in the world today, violations of human rights and international humanitarian law increase by the hour. So too does the number of victims of atrocity crimes, defying the most elementary considerations of humanity. All these victims deserve justice and reparation. Only a reliable system of international justice can provide that. Among the many international justice institutions and mechanisms that the EU supports, the International Criminal Court and the International Court of Justice play a crucial role.

First, on the International Criminal Court, the EU and its Member States have always been a staunch supporter of the ICC and the principles of the Rome Statute. All Member States have ratified the Rome Statute and, such is its importance, ratification is one of the criteria for accession to the European Union. The ICC guarantees accountability for international crimes. It gives a voice to victims all over the world. It is an essential instrument for the purpose of preventing and curbing core international crimes, ultimately promoting freedom, security, justice and peace. The court must be able to pursue the fight against global impunity free from interferences. Its independence must be steadfastly defended at all times. In the face of the US sanctions, the Union is aware of the urgency of providing support to the court, both financially and also diplomatically. And we will continue to use the tools at our disposal to protect the ICC. All feasible tracks of action are being explored to support the court and allowing it to continue its crucial work.

Second, the International Court of Justice: as the principal judicial organ of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice plays a leading role in ensuring respect for international law. Through its judgments, advisory opinions and orders, the court contributes significantly to the rules-based international order and also to the maintenance of international peace. The EU steadfastly supports the work of the ICJ in international fora, and consistently recalls that the decisions of the ICJ are binding on the parties and must be complied with. We will remain unwavering in our support for these two core institutions of international justice, multilateralism and the rule of law. Ultimately, in protecting these institutions, we protect our future. I now look forward to the contributions of the honourable Members.

Alice Teodorescu Måwe, för PPE gruppen. – Fru talman! Föreställ er att en internationell domstol likt ICC hade utfärdat en arresteringsorder efter den elfte september mot både Bush och bin Ladin. Precis så absurt är det att ICC genom sin arresteringsorder i praktiken likställer Hamas monstruösa attack med Israels försvar. Det är provocerande och fel i sak.

ICC tillkom för att säkerställa att det finns en juridisk instans som kan pröva folkrättsbrott, även när den ansvariga staten inte kan eller vill pröva anklagelserna. Men Israel, som är en demokrati och välfungerande rättsstat, har förvägrats denna möjlighet. Därtill har Israel inte undertecknat Romstadgan, varför domstolen saknar jurisdiktion, vilket inte förändras av att domstolen erkänt Palestina.

Blotta misstanken om att politiska överväganden ligger bakom beslutet skadar domstolens legitimitet och oberoende i en tid när domstolen behövs, och i en tid när diktatorer runt om i världen utsätter människor för krigsbrott.

Därtill väcker agerandet en rad frågor. För det första, varför har domstolen inte agerat mot länder som Syrien, Iran eller Kina vars folkrättsbrott det råder enighet kring? För det andra, vill vi verkligen skapa ett prejudikat där västerländska demokratier inte ska tillåtas att försvara sig mot aktörer som vill utrota dem om dessa, som en del av sin strategi, använder civila som sköldar? För det tredje, inser de som stödjer domstolens beslut, tillsammans med Iran och Hamas, att de gör det lättare för exempelvis Putin att avfärda de rättmätiga anklagelser som riktas mot honom?

Säg då hellre som det är: ni vill förvägra Israel rätten att försvara sig för att ni anser att Israel ej bör existera.

Francisco Assis, em nome do Grupo S&D. – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Comissário e Senhor Ministro, as sanções ordenadas pelo presidente Trump contra juízes e funcionários do Tribunal Penal Internacional podem significar, na prática, o fim deste tribunal, que foi criado para aplicar o Estatuto de Roma e para julgar os crimes mais atrozes de que os seres humanos são capazes. O fim do Tribunal Penal Internacional representaria um inaceitável retrocesso civilizacional e seria uma benesse para os genocidas deste mundo. E seria ainda um golpe inaceitável para os milhões de vítimas que vislumbram no TPI a única hipótese de justiça e de reparação. Ora, não há nenhuma instância para além da União Europeia capaz de sair em socorro do TPI e de manter à tona o sistema de justiça internacional. A União Europeia dispõe de uma única ferramenta para isso: o estatuto de bloqueio, que permite contornar os efeitos extraterritoriais de leis aprovadas por países terceiros. Aqui chegados, acionar o estatuto de bloqueio, tornou-se um imperativo categórico. A União Europeia tem uma escolha a fazer entre a justiça e a impunidade, e não pode adiar essa escolha por mais tempo. O que está em causa é nada mais nada menos do que a sobrevivência do sistema internacional de justiça penal.

András László, a P/E képviselőcsoport nevében. – Tisztelt Elnök Asszony! A Nemzetközi Büntetőbíróság néhány hónappal ezelőtt egyenlőségjelet tett a Hamasz terrorista csoport vezetői és az október 7-i támadásokat elszennvedő Izrael vezetői közé.

Ez az erkölcsi relativizmus méltatlan nemcsak a Nemzetközi Büntetőbíróság esetében, hanem bármilyen bíróság esetében. A magyar kormány továbbra is szívesen látja az izraeli vezetőket Magyarországon. Az USA a bíróság tagjainak szankcionálását jelentette be, és Trump elnök fogadta Netanjahu miniszterelnököt Washingtonban.

Ha kiemelt szövetségeseink szerint a Nemzetközi Büntetőbíróság súlyosan átpolitizálódott, akkor talán itt az ideje, hogy mi az Európai Unió részéről is átértékeljük a viszonyunkat a bírósággal.

Małgorzata Gosiewska, w imieniu grupy ECR. – Pani Przewodnicząca! Międzynarodowy Trybunał Karny oraz Międzynarodowy Trybunał Sprawiedliwości stanowią fundament globalnego systemu prawnego. W teorii jako społeczność międzynarodowa mamy narzędzia, aby zapobiegać przemocy i skutecznie karać przestępców. Tymczasem tu, w Europie, Rosja dopuszcza się zbrodni na ukraińskim narodzie, a reżim Łukaszenki prześladowuje walczących o wolność Białorusinów.

Jako autorka raportu o rosyjskich zbrodniach popełnionych na wschodzie Ukrainy, złożonego w Hadze, zajmuję się też problemami Europy Wschodniej. Od lat też bezskutecznie domagam się sprawiedliwego osądzenia przestępców oraz zadbania o los ich ofiar. Niestety zbrodniarze pozostają bezkarni, gdyż możliwość oddziaływania MTS i MTK jest słaba i nieskuteczna, w dużej mierze przez upolitycznienie obu instytucji i presję ze strony agresorów. Konieczna jest poprawa sprawności i niezależności działania oraz usprawnienie mechanizmów egzekwowania orzeczeń. Ochrona międzynarodowego wymiaru sprawiedliwości stanowi klucz do zapewnienia sprawiedliwości, ale wymaga globalnej współpracy, odpolitycznienia, zaangażowania i konsekwencji.

Raquel García Hermida-Van Der Walle, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Madam President, dear Commissioner, thank you for being here tonight dear Council Presidency. The International Criminal Court exists to hold those guilty of the most abject crimes accountable. We have this court because we believe that nobody is above the law: not you, not me, not those who commit genocide and crimes against humanity, no army which commits war crimes – no one, no matter how powerful.

Donald Trump, the man the far right here so admires, clearly thinks otherwise. And Trump is not only targeting prosecutors, but potentially everybody in the Netherlands – where the court sits – who help them with building cases, arrests, detentions; civil servants who have dedicated their careers, their lives, to upholding peace and security. And incredibly, some EU Member States such as Italy, Hungary and the Czech Republic condone Trump's measures.

So I look to the Council Presidency here today, and I would like really two clear 'yes' or 'no' answers. One: will you directly reprimand the Member States who undermine international law? And two: will your Presidency seek to strongly, unconditionally and unanimously support the ICC in the next Foreign Affairs Council conclusions?

Mounir Satouri, *au nom du groupe Verts/ALE*. – Madame la Présidente, jamais, jamais depuis la Seconde Guerre mondiale, nous n'avons eu besoin d'autant de justice internationale. Et pourtant, avec une brutalité terrible, Trump vient de saper, d'attaquer et peut-être même d'en finir avec la Cour pénale internationale. Et que fait l'Europe? Elle déplore, elle regrette, elle condamne. Mais ce ne sont que des paroles. Quand est-ce qu'on va passer à l'acte?

Nous disposons d'un outil qui nous permet de préserver la Cour pénale internationale. La Cour pénale internationale est l'héritière directe du tribunal de Nuremberg. C'est cela qu'elle représente. Quand est-ce que la Commission va enfin décider d'activer la loi de blocage pour la protéger? Quand est-ce qu'on va passer à l'acte?

Ne pas le faire serait une faillite morale et une remise en cause de notre souveraineté. Parce qu'en décidant de signer le traité de Rome, nous avons fait de la Cour pénale internationale notre cour. Donald Trump attaque une cour qui est la nôtre. Quand est-ce qu'on va prendre la mesure de la situation et agir?

Mimmo Lucano, *a nome del gruppo The Left*. – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, il diritto internazionale sta morendo sotto i nostri occhi, anche attraverso i nostri silenzi complici.

Muore colpito dalle sanzioni di Donald Trump alla Corte penale internazionale, che rischiano di comprometterne seriamente il funzionamento. Ma muore anche perché la nostra difesa è stata debole, intermittente, a seconda delle convenienze del momento. Muore mentre si compie il genocidio di Gaza e muore per garantire l'impunità dei potenti. Muore con l'Unione europea che ignora la Corte di giustizia internazionale e continua a commerciare con gli insediamenti illegali israeliani.

E con il diritto internazionale rischiano di morire anche la nostra dignità e quel senso di giustizia che dovremmo invece restituire alle vittime di reati terribili, come quelli commessi da Al Masri, le cui mani sono sporche di sangue, di torture e di violenze commesse nei lager della Libia. Al Masri, dopo essere stato arrestato dalla polizia italiana su mandato della Corte penale internazionale, è stato rilasciato e riportato con tutti gli onori e con un volo di Stato in Libia, dove potrà continuare a mietere vittime. Cavilli per il governo italiano, che in realtà ha tutta la responsabilità politica di questa vergogna, che passa sopra violenze inumane e vite di cui ci siamo dimenticati. Responsabilità che appartengono a tutti noi, che stiamo ancora sostenendo, anche con fondi europei, accordi inumani come quello tra Italia e Libia, e che pensiamo anzi di replicare.

La storia non ci farà sconti per queste vergogne.

Hana Jalloul Muro (S&D). – Señora presidenta, señor comisario, jamás pensamos que traeríamos a este Parlamento el cuestionamiento de un tribunal independiente como es la Corte Penal Internacional, cuya imparcialidad garantiza nuestra seguridad y previene la comisión de actos de genocidio, violaciones o cualquier acto atroz contra los derechos humanos.

Más que nunca, necesitamos una Unión Europea que sea capaz de ser garante de la arquitectura de un sistema legal internacional del que nos dotamos los Estados firmantes del Estatuto de Roma para no ser vulnerables ante el abuso. Instancias como el Fondo Fiduciario en Beneficio de las Víctimas, por ejemplo, apoyan e implementan programas para hacerse cargo de los daños derivados de genocidio, crímenes contra la humanidad, de agresión, repara a las víctimas y sus familias, trabaja contra milicias yihadistas y contribuye a una paz larga y sostenible, promoviendo la justicia restaurativa y la reconciliación.

Debemos ser coherentes con nuestros valores y principios, aquellos que son los fundacionales de la Unión, en cuyo acervo hemos desarrollado nuestras políticas. No podemos tener dobles estándares: mientras que hemos aplaudido las órdenes de arresto a líderes africanos en países como Sudán o el norte de Uganda, o incluso Milosevic o Putin en Rusia, nos llevamos las manos a la cabeza en algunos Estados si es contra Netanyahu.

Debemos proteger a la Corte Penal Internacional contra las sanciones de Trump, cuidar nuestros valores, respetar las sentencias que emite la Corte y, sobre todo, lo que representa; cualquier día, si no, el sistema se volverá en nuestra contra.

Alessandro Ciriani (ECR). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, stasera discutiamo sulla indipendenza o sulla decadenza di istituzioni internazionali come la Corte penale internazionale o la Corte internazionale di giustizia? Discutiamo su come tutelare la giustizia o il suo uso politico slegato dalla realtà e dalla ragion di Stato?

Che indipendenza c'è quando una Corte usa la parola «genocidio» riferendosi a Netanyahu o indaga l'Italia per aver tutelato la sicurezza nazionale? A chi, con sprezzo del ridicolo, parla di Meloni ricattata, sfugge che i vicini di casa non ce li scegliamo, e che su questioni strategiche come energia, terrorismo e immigrazione non abbiamo sempre a che fare con delicati diplomatici o mature democrazie, ma con governi la cui legittimità si basa su parametri lontanissimi dai nostri, piaccia o meno.

A chi sfugge che arrestare un leader di governo – si chiami Netanyahu, Putin o il capo della polizia libica e, perché no, Kim Jong Un o Lukashenko e molti altri – non è un'azione giuridica neutra, ma un atto potenzialmente incendiario, che mette sicuramente in posizione di conflitto chi lo attua e chi lo subisce, con conseguenze che evidentemente ignora chi si approccia ideologicamente e strumentalmente a questioni tanto delicate.

Ecco perché dobbiamo dire con chiarezza che questo dibattito non nasce per difendere la giustizia internazionale, ma per colpire governi non ideologicamente allineati. Ancora una volta le sinistre dimostrano di voler strumentalizzare le istituzioni per fini politici, trasformando una questione giuridica in un'arma contro un esecutivo democraticamente eletto.

Prendiamo il caso Al Masri: il governo italiano ha agito nel pieno rispetto delle regole. La Corte penale non ha inviato atti validi, impedendo alla Corte d'appello di Roma di procedere con l'arresto. Nonostante ciò, l'Italia ha comunque garantito la sicurezza, con la sua espulsione. Ma per la sinistra la verità non conta, l'unico obiettivo è attaccare il governo italiano.

Non permetteremo che il nostro paese diventi il bersaglio di giochi di potere internazionali. Non resteremo in silenzio mentre si tenta di screditare il governo italiano con accuse costruite ad arte. Difenderemo la sovranità dell'Italia e la credibilità delle sue istituzioni, respingendo ogni tentativo di manipolazione politica, che vuole trasformare la Corte penale in uno strumento di parte.

(L'oratore accetta di rispondere a una domanda «cartellino blu»)

Raquel García Hermida-Van Der Walle (Renew), blue-card question. – Mr Ciriani, I hear you talking here about lack of independence of the ICC, according to you, and defending your government for not condemning Trump's sanctions. But just to put this in perspective, what we're talking about here: the court has sentenced three Congolese warlords for recruiting children in their army and brutalities against civilians; they issued an arrest warrant against Muammar Gaddafi before he died; and it has issued an arrest warrant against two Taliban leaders for crimes against humanity. Your government is actively undermining this court. How can you defend this?

Alessandro Ciriani (ECR), risposta a una domanda «cartellino blu». – No, non si mina minimamente la Corte. Basta pensare alla fattispecie, al caso, e cioè che le sanzioni sono state erogate per la questione Netanyahu e Israele. Noi non riteniamo di porre sullo stesso piano l'unica democrazia del Medio Oriente con un manipolo di tagliagole che voi difendete.

Catarina Vieira (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, colleagues, without universal enforcement, international law is just a huge pile of paper. Independent institutions such as the ICC and the ICJ are vital to uphold a system that we established to prevent war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. But then one day Donald Trump wakes up and decides he doesn't like the ICC targeting Netanyahu for what's happening in Gaza. And because of that, he is entitled to undermine the work of the ICC, to target not just a court and its staff, but also people and institutions that support it, and that it's OK to bring the work of international justice to a halt. Well tell that to those faced with sexual violence in Sudan. Tell that to the child soldiers recruited in the Central African Republic. Tell that to the victims of war crimes in Ukraine.

These sanctions are nothing less than an open invitation to dictators, authoritarians and warlords around the world to conduct large-scale human rights violations with impunity. All eyes are on the EU now. We must act immediately by activating the blocking statute to protect the ICC against these sanctions, and take responsibility as one of the few remaining guardians of international law.

Gaetano Pedulla' (The Left). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, grazie al Consiglio e alla Commissione per le parole chiare e nette a difesa della Corte penale internazionale.

Ma oggi non c'è solo Trump, con i suoi deliri contro i palestinesi, c'è anche Giorgia Meloni, che ha preso di mira la CPI. È un attacco per distrarre l'attenzione dal ricatto che lei e il suo governo stanno subendo.

Sapete tutti quello che è successo. Giorgia Meloni ha liberato consapevolmente un uomo accusato di crimini di guerra e contro l'umanità. La premier italiana si vanta di essere madre e cristiana, ma adesso ci deve spiegare come una madre e una cristiana può aver liberato un uomo accusato di aver stuprato bambini.

Consegnare Al Masri alla giustizia non era solo un atto dovuto, ma un atto morale. Lo dico a Ciriani, che ci dice che la Corte penale attacca l'Italia. È l'Italia che non ha arrestato un criminale. Un atto morale, dunque, perché gli stupratori di bambini non si liberano ma si mandano in carcere a scontare la pena.

Ho una domanda da fare, ce lo stiamo chiedendo tutti: chi ricatta Giorgia Meloni? Quali patti segreti ha firmato in Libia con il sangue di gente innocente? Cosa ci nasconde? Da chi prende ordini? Lo ripeto: chi ricatta Giorgia Meloni?

Brando Benifei (S&D). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, le sanzioni imposte da Trump contro la Corte penale internazionale sono una grave minaccia all'ordine mondiale, mentre la stessa Corte porta avanti la sua missione di contrastare l'impunità senza guardare in faccia nessuno, da Putin a leader africani, da Hamas a Netanyahu.

Mi vergogno della mancanza della firma italiana alla lettera a difesa della Corte redatta da 79 paesi, compresi tutti i paesi fondatori dell'Unione. Vergogna Meloni! Vergogna Salvini! Vergogna Tajani!

L'Unione europea deve agire immediatamente attivando il regolamento 2271/96 per proteggere la Corte e i suoi funzionari. Vanno bloccati gli effetti extraterritoriali delle sanzioni statunitensi, consentendo alla Corte di continuare la sua missione.

Ed è giusto che la Corte faccia piena chiarezza sul caso Al Masri, un'altra umiliazione inferta all'Italia da Giorgia Meloni, liberando un criminale internazionale nonostante il mandato d'arresto della stessa Corte.

Questo è il momento per l'Europa di scegliere da che parte stare: con la giustizia o con l'impunità.

Jaume Asens Llodrà (Verts/ALE). – Señora presidenta, si la justicia internacional fuera más fuerte, no solo Israel estaría sentada en el banquillo de acusados por crímenes de lesa humanidad y de genocidio por lo que ha sucedido en Palestina, sino también los Estados Unidos y Europa, por lo que los abogados penalistas llamamos «cooperación necesaria», por la ayuda militar, económica y política.

Pero vamos en la dirección contraria, hacia la ley de la selva, al principio de la fuerza por encima de la fuerza de la ley: se está desmoronando el orden internacional surgido del horror de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, y Trump, incluso, quiere perseguir con sanciones ilegales a los propios jueces que no se pliegan a su voluntad. Normal, es un convicto con múltiples juicios pendientes. ¿Saben cómo se llama eso? Autoritarismo.

Y ante ese desafío, Europa, sí, señor comisario, debe proteger la independencia de los jueces, pero no solo con palabras, con hechos: debe aplicar el estatuto de bloqueo para contrarrestar las sanciones y sobre todo debe dejar de incumplir las resoluciones judiciales en relación a Palestina, las medidas cautelares acordadas; debe dejar de ser el súbdito de Estados Unidos para ser un bastión del Derecho internacional y de los derechos humanos.

(El orador acepta responder a una pregunta formulada con arreglo al procedimiento de la «tarjeta azul»)

João Oliveira (The Left), *Pergunta segundo o procedimento «cartão azul»*. – Senhor Deputado Jaume Asens, falou no desrespeito por parte de Israel em relação às medidas determinadas pelo Tribunal Internacional de Justiça para que parasse o genocídio do povo palestino em Gaza. Falou também das declarações de Donald Trump que são a revelação do que significa uma ordem internacional baseada em regras, que é um mundo a funcionar de acordo com as regras que impõe quem tem a força para impor essas regras. A pergunta que lhe faço é: qual deve ser a posição da União Europeia perante o desrespeito pelo direito internacional e pela justiça internacional? É possível viver no pântano moral da inação perante o desrespeito pelo direito internacional e pelas decisões que resultam do direito internacional?

Jaume Asens Llodrà (Verts/ALE), *respuesta de «tarjeta azul»*. – Sí, estoy totalmente de acuerdo con usted: Europa efectivamente debe —como he dicho antes— dejar de ser un súbdito, una colonia de los Estados Unidos, y defender la justicia internacional.

La justicia internacional tiene muchas deficiencias porque nació con un sesgo ya occidental, por eso nunca ha tenido problemas en perseguir los crímenes que se han cometido en el sur contra los enemigos de Occidente, pero ahora, por primera vez en la historia, se atreve con Occidente, se atreve con Israel, pero lo hace de forma timorata, de forma tímida.

Nosotros debemos exigir más y por eso yo estoy planteando, como abogado penalista que soy, que aquí hay una responsabilidad penal, no solo de los Estados Unidos, no solo de Donald Trump, sino también de Europa, también de los comisarios que gobiernan este continente.

Rima Hassan (The Left). – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, saper le droit international est un pari perdant pour toute la communauté internationale.

Les récentes déclarations de Trump, applaudies par ses alliés de l'internationale fasciste, ont le mérite de dévoiler au grand jour leur hypocrisie. Les États-Unis n'ont jamais été un véritable allié pour la défense de la justice internationale. De tout temps, ils ont utilisé comme prétexte les droits humains et la démocratie à des fins interventionnistes et impérialistes. Demandez aux Chiliens, aux Irakiens, aux Afghans ou encore aux Palestiniens ce qu'ils pensent de la grande démocratie étatsunienne.

Un crime est un crime, quel qu'en soit son auteur. Aujourd'hui, nous en sommes réduits à devoir défendre au sein des institutions européennes ce principe pourtant basique, mais quotidiennement nié. Personne n'est dupe de l'objectif macabre au cœur de l'alliance entre Trump et le régime génocidaire israélien: détruire les juridictions internationales pour poursuivre en toute impunité leur projet de nettoyage ethnique des Palestiniens. Tout ceci s'inscrit dans un contexte d'offensive globale contre les droits de l'homme et les acteurs qui les défendent. Trump est allé jusqu'à évoquer hier la possibilité que l'Ukraine devienne un jour russe.

L'Union européenne est aujourd'hui face à son destin et ses responsabilités. Tous les citoyens européens en seront témoins. Soit nous défendons coûte que coûte le droit international, soit nous participons directement à sa destruction. Il n'y aura pas de retour possible en arrière.

Przewodnicząca. – Przypominam Pani, że Panią również obowiązuje Regulamin Parlamentu Europejskiego – art. 10 pkt 3. W związku z tym na przyszłość wszelkiego rodzaju transparenty, napisy, tak jak obecnie na Pani koszulce, są niedopuszczalne.

Chloé Ridet (S&D). – Madame la Présidente, les sanctions de Donald Trump contre la Cour pénale internationale, héritière du tribunal de Nuremberg, sont une atteinte sans précédent contre la justice internationale. C'est aussi un nouveau test pour l'Europe. Allons-nous laisser cette dérive fascisante priver de justice les victimes de génocides, de crimes contre l'humanité et de crimes de guerre? Les juges de la CPI sont sanctionnés comme des criminels alors qu'ils ne font qu'appliquer le droit. Ils sont souvent l'unique espoir de peuples martyrisés et de victimes déchirées, dont manifestement Trump n'a que faire.

Nous savons que Donald Trump a des problèmes avec la justice, mais nous ne le laisserons pas tout saccager. L'Europe doit réagir clairement et fermement. Elle doit protéger la Cour et ses juges en activant le règlement de blocage pour contrer l'effet des sanctions américaines. Cela ne devrait même pas faire débat. Sinon, que dirons-nous aux mères ukrainiennes dont les enfants ont été déportés en Russie, si la Cour ne peut pas poursuivre ses actions contre Vladimir Poutine? Que dirons-nous aux femmes afghanes, emmurées vivantes, qui espèrent obtenir justice après que la Cour a émis un mandat d'arrêt contre les talibans? Que dirons-nous aux civils palestiniens bombardés, affamés, qui attendent justice?

Monsieur Trump, vous et vos partisans vous gargarisez de faire souffler un vent de liberté sur le monde. La seule liberté que vous faites souffler, c'est celle des criminels. Et ici nous serons toujours aux côtés des victimes et des survivants...

(La Présidente retire la parole à l'oratrice)

Benedetta Scuderi (Verts/ALE). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, stiamo assistendo a un attacco al diritto internazionale e alla democrazia. Il nuovo «asse nero», composto da Trump, Musk, Netanyahu e Meloni, sta smantellando lo Stato di diritto.

L'attacco mosso contro la Corte penale internazionale è un primo passo di un piano metodico per legittimare la violenza, l'abuso di potere e il genocidio in Palestina. Perché agli oligarchi di estrema destra le regole sono sempre state strette, vanno distrutte progressivamente per consolidare il loro potere.

Provo rabbia perché il mio paese, l'Italia, non ha avuto il coraggio di opporsi alle sconsiderate azioni del Presidente Trump. Altro che sovranisti! Sono genuflessi allo strapotere degli Stati Uniti, che con arroganza difendono criminali ricercati dalla Corte penale internazionale. Provo disgusto sapendo che chi in campagna elettorale prometteva ordine, legalità e pene severe per gli scafisti, ha liberato e riportato a casa Al Masri, come ha fatto Giorgia Meloni, che è uno stupratore e torturatore di adulti e bambini, in barba ad un mandato internazionale di arresto.

L'Europa può scegliere di rimanere in silenzio oppure essere complice. Abbiamo imparato dalla storia a opporci ai regimi autoritari, resistendo, combattendo e costruendo insieme la democrazia.

Alessandro Zan (S&D). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, signor Commissario McGrath, chi attacca la Corte penale attacca il diritto internazionale e si rende complice dei peggiori crimini contro l'umanità, negando giustizia alle vittime.

Bene la difesa della Presidente Ursula von der Leyen contro i vergognosi attacchi di Trump, ma è necessaria una presa di posizione forte rispetto a quello che sta accadendo dentro l'Unione europea, e in particolar modo in Italia sul caso Al Masri, un torturatore e un trafficante libico, che è stato prima fermato, dopo un mandato di cattura della Corte penale internazionale, e poi rilasciato per una precisa volontà politica del governo Meloni, che l'ha riportato in Libia con un volo di Stato.

Allora Giorgia Meloni e il suo governo tradiscono lo Statuto di Roma e calpestano il rispetto dei diritti umani. Sappiamo che la Corte sta indagando su quanto avvenuto. Rispondiamo noi agli attacchi dei nuovi fascisti d'oltreoceano, anche sostenendo e legittimando le indagini in corso, perché è in gioco la credibilità e la legittimazione delle istituzioni europee.

Dunque chiedo alla Commissione di sostenere la legalità internazionale attraverso lo statuto di blocco, ma anche di prendere i provvedimenti necessari contro il governo Meloni. Ne va dell'autorevolezza di questo Parlamento e della Commissione.

Ana Miranda Paz (Verts/ALE). – Senhora Presidente, o presidente Trump aumentou ainda mais as suas ameaças contra quem apoia e defende o trabalho e a jurisdição do Tribunal Penal Internacional. Isto é inaceitável. O TPI é o primeiro e único tribunal internacional permanente e independente com autoridade para processar indivíduos por genocídio, crimes contra a humanidade e crimes de guerra. O tribunal deve ser respeitado. A UE, Senhor Comissário deve apoiar unanimemente o tribunal, respeitar o que decida e defender sempre os direitos humanos e o direito internacional. Em 31 de janeiro, participei, juntamente com eurodeputados deste Parlamento e representantes de nove países, na iniciativa do Grupo da Haia para defender a legalidade do sistema internacional e o trabalho do TPI. Não pode haver dois pesos e duas medidas, porque Netanyahu e todos aqueles responsáveis pelo genocídio devem ser responsabilizados pelos seus crimes cometidos.

Commissioner, this is the inaugural joint statement of The Hague Group and, if you agree, I want to give you the document, please.

Zgłoszenia z sali

Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). – Señora presidenta, señor comisario, a la humanidad y a su historia les ha costado muchas guerras, mucha sangre y mucho dolor acumulado poner en pie una arquitectura de justicia internacional de la que forma parte no solo la Corte Internacional de Justicia del sistema de las Naciones Unidas, sino también la Corte Penal Internacional, que bebe de las lecciones de los tribunales de Núremberg, de Tokio, de Ruanda y de Yugoslavia y que previene la impunidad de crímenes de guerra y de lesa humanidad.

Y, por tanto, la Unión Europea, que hace del Derecho internacional una fuente de su propio Derecho y cuyos Estados miembros son signatarios del tratado de la Corte Penal Internacional, tiene la obligación de defenderla frente a las amenazas y frente a las sanciones de Trump, que pretende encubrir los crímenes de guerra perpetrados en Gaza contra la población civil por el Gobierno de Netanyahu, al igual que pretende que los crímenes de guerra perpetrados en Ucrania queden impunes.

Por tanto, no basta solamente con decir que somos parte de la Corte Penal Internacional, hace falta que el Consejo envíe un mensaje claro de defensa de la lucha contra la impunidad y de la Corte Penal Internacional.

Billy Kelleher (Renew). – Madam President, the International Criminal Court and the International Court of Justice and international law are not optional extras, and unfortunately, in this Chamber and in the Council and in the Commission, we have for a period of time been turning a blind eye to the fact that we obviously regularly ignore the will of the international courts.

Not only do we not support their workings: we don't even support their findings. In several areas in international law we have consistently ignored their findings. And if we talk about the rule of law in this Chamber, if we talk about the rule of law in terms of the Council and the Commission, well, we're obligated to stand by the principles on which those courts were founded and support international law.

Reference has been made to Prime Minister Netanyahu. He has been cited. And yet we had countries that are willing to allow Prime Minister Netanyahu to fly into their country, publicly said, flouting the very principle of obligating Member States here to comply with and support international law. And it's not just President Prime Minister Netanyahu, it is many others as well. That is simply unacceptable, and the Council has an obligation to uphold and defend the integrity of international law.

Tineke Strik (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, Commissioner, Council, I have just returned from a visit to Palestine where, in Gaza, 60 000 people were killed, where, in the West Bank, people are outlawed, exposed to violence from the Israeli army and the colonists and where humiliation, deprivation of freedom and treatment as second-class citizens is their daily experience.

They fail any protection and are let down by the international community, except for by the ICJ and the ICC. The attacks on these bodies simply aim to discredit international law and to pave the way for the Wild West, where citizens are defenceless against the perpetrators. So far, the ICJ and ICC have stood strong and shown courage. But the best way for the EU to support them is to finally comply with their rulings and arrest warrants consistently, and to stop with double standards.

João Oliveira (The Left). – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Comissário McGrath, não há justiça internacional sem o cumprimento do direito internacional e da Carta das Nações Unidas. E não há respeito pela justiça internacional quando as medidas provisórias determinadas pelo Tribunal Internacional de Justiça para que Israel pusesse fim ao genocídio em Gaza foram simplesmente ignoradas. Quando Donald Trump anuncia ao mundo a intenção de ocupar a Faixa de Gaza e expulsar o povo palestino, isso não revela apenas o sentimento de impunidade de quem decide deliberadamente desrespeitar o direito internacional e a justiça internacional. Essas declarações de Trump são a mais clara revelação do que significa a ordem internacional baseada em regras. Essa ordem internacional baseada em regras significa um mundo que funciona de acordo não com o direito internacional, mas de acordo com as regras impostas pela força de quem detiver essa força para as impor. A constituição do Grupo de Haia por nove países, que decidiram agir pelo cumprimento do direito internacional, é um exemplo a seguir, para que não se fique no pântano moral da inação perante a barbárie e a desumanidade. Esse devia ser também o caminho que devia seguir a União Europeia.

Lukas Sieper (NI). – Madam President, dear people of Europe, it was the horrors of the Second World War that led to the implementation of the system of international justice as we know it today. The face of tyranny and the killing of people in a scope that was never seen before was needed to bring the international society together.

Today, I think we stand at a turning point where tyranny once again shows its ugly face, and where we still have a chance, where we still can defend the international order and we should do everything. Because, once again, the title of this debate is quite wrong. It is not the international system of justice, it is our system of justice that we need to defend, that we need to fight for, and that we need to follow through in every ruling, in every aspect. Because when the rest of the world is looking the other way, we as Europe have to take charge on protecting this system.

Vytienis Povilas Andriukaitis (S&D). – Madam President, Commissioner, Council, it is clear that ever since the ICC issued an arrest warrant against PM Netanyahu and a former Israel defence minister, Trump issued an executive order to impose sanctions against ICC staff and their family members. Autocrat Putin in Moscow is very happy with this Trump decision and maybe Salvini and Meloni also.

The threat of imminent sanctions is already affecting the work of the ICC. The EU is in a position to at least partially shield the ICC through immediate activation of the EU blocking statute. And of course those attacks against the independence of the ICC and ICJ as a key international justice institution are unacceptable and we need to use all our diplomatic tools, also globally, to act in defending independence. The Rome Statute must remain in real protection of justice, peace and security.

(Koniec zgłoszeń z sali)

Michael McGrath, Member of the Commission. – Madam President, I thank all of the honourable Members for their valuable contributions to the debate here this evening. I heard the strong majority of Members present who spoke express their support and indeed their recognition of the vital role played by the International Criminal Court and the International Court of Justice in ensuring accountability for international crimes and also in ensuring respect for international law. At a time when we are witnessing an increasing incidence of violations of human rights, of international humanitarian law, the truth is that we all need to work together to support the pursuit of accountability, justice and the rule of law.

I took the opportunity recently to visit the ICC in The Hague to first and foremost show my support and solidarity for the work that they do, but also to listen to those that I met at the ICC. And it was clear that there was a palpable sense of concern and anxiety about the impact of what then they expected to come in terms of an executive order, which has since transpired.

We in the European Union absolutely recognise the urgency of providing support for the court, both financially and, as I said earlier on, diplomatically, and we will continue to use the tools at our disposal to protect the ICC. I again reiterate that all feasible tracks of action are being explored by the Commission to support the court, to allow it to continue with its crucial work. It is vital that that work continues uninterrupted, because we must win the fight against global impunity.

The debate this evening also shows the importance and complexity of ensuring the protection of international law and the international justice system. We need to make sure that our core values are not threatened by attempts to undermine the key principles of our rules-based international order on which our international relations, our security, and ultimately our future lie.

In terms of multiple ongoing conflicts, alongside an alarming trend to disregard international law, it is essential to remain committed to the rules-based international order, steadfastly upholding the United Nations and the principles enshrined in the UN Charter. Therefore the EU will do its utmost to protect the vital institutions of international justice that it has contributed to creating, and indeed supporting and sustaining over the years.

Adam Szlápka, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Madam President, honourable Members, Commissioner, thank you very much for this debate and very important discussion. We fully subscribe to the principles and objectives of the Union and reiterate the Council's support for a rules-based international order, with international courts at its centre, to ensure justice and accountability. Our support for the international courts is a measure of the Council's commitment to promote international justice, to uphold international law and ensure accountability. The Presidency will spare no effort or resources in order to achieve this objective in the months to come.

Raquel García Hermida-Van Der Walle (Renew). – Madam President, I would like to make a point of order based on Rule 178(12). I understand this might require a bit of leniency on your side, because we're not discussing a report, and I do appreciate that the Minister is here the whole day – and it's been a very long day, so thank you so much for your statement.

However, it is good practice in this House that the Council and the Commission do really react to the questions posed by the Members of this House, and I am sorry to say that I did not get a clear answer on my question. So I would really like a 'yes' or 'no' answer from the Council Presidency as to will you reprimand the Member States who undermine international law, and will you seek strong, unanimous and unconditional support for the ICC in the next Foreign Affairs Council conclusions?

Przewodnicząca. – Szanowna Pani Poseł! Artykuł 178 pkt 2 Regulaminu, na który Pani się powołała, brzmi „Żaden poseł nie może zabrać głosu, jeśli nie udzielił mu go Przewodniczący. Jeśli mówca odbiega od tematu, Przewodniczący dyscyplinuje mówcę”.

Ja radzę zapoznać się z Regulaminem i zacytować numer i przepis w Regulaminie, który pozwala Pani występować w jakimkolwiek trybie na tej sali. Pani zabrała głos nieregulaminowo. Sądziłam, że coś wyjątkowego się wydarzyło. Artykuł 178 jest zupełnie inny w Regulaminie.

Zamykam debatę.

18. Stemmeforklaringer

Przewodnicząca. – Kolejnym punktem porządku dziennego są wyjaśnienia dotyczące stanowiska zajętego w głosowaniu.

Nie mamy żadnych zgłoszeń w tym punkcie.

19. Dagsorden for næste møde

Przewodnicząca. – Następne posiedzenie odbędzie się jutro, w środę 12 lutego 2025 r. o godzinie 9.00. Porządek obrad został opublikowany i jest dostępny na stronie internetowej Parlamentu Europejskiego.

20. Godkendelse af protokollen fra dette møde

Przewodnicząca. – Protokół z dzisiejszego posiedzenia zostanie przedłożony Parlamentowi do zatwierdzenia jutro po głosowaniu.

Zamykam posiedzenie. Dobrej nocy Państwu życzę.

21. Hævelse af mødet

(Posiedzenie zostało zamknięte o godz. 20.52)

Tegnforklaring

*	Høringsprocedure
***	Godkendelsesprocedure
***I	Almindelig lovgivningsprocedure (førstebehandling)
***II	Almindelig lovgivningsprocedure (andenbehandling)
***III	Almindelig lovgivningsprocedure (tredjebehandling)

(Proceduren afhænger af det retsgrundlag, der er valgt i udkastet til retsakt)

Forkortelser af udvalgenes navne

AFET	Udenrigsudvalget
SEDE	Udvalget for Sikkerhed og Forsvar
DEVE	Udviklingsudvalget
INTA	Udvalget om International Handel
BUDG	Budgetudvalget
CONT	Budgetkontroludvalget
ECON	Økonomi- og Valutaudvalget
EMPL	Udvalget om Beskæftigelse og Sociale Anliggender
ENVI	Udvalget om Miljø, Folkesundhed og Fødevaresikkerhed
SANT	Udvalget om Folkesundhed
ITRE	Udvalget om Industri, Forskning og Energi
IMCO	Udvalget om det Indre Marked og Forbrugerbeskyttelse
TRAN	Transport- og Turismeudvalget
REGI	Regionaludviklingsudvalget
AGRI	Udvalget om Landbrug og Udvikling af Landdistrikter
PECH	Fiskeriudvalget
CULT	Kultur- og Uddannelsesudvalget
JURI	Retsudvalget
LIBE	Udvalget om Borgernes Rettigheder og Retlige og Indre Anliggender
AFCO	Udvalget om Konstitutionelle Anliggender
FEMM	Udvalget om Kvinders Rettigheder og Ligestilling
PETI	Udvalget for Andragender
DROI	Underudvalget for Menneskerettigheder
FISC	Underudvalget om Skatteanliggender

Forkortelser for de politiske grupper

PPE	Det Europæiske Folkepartis Gruppe (Kristelige demokrater)
S&D	Gruppen for det Progressive Forbund af Socialdemokrater i Europa-Parlamentet
PfE	Gruppen Patrioter for Europa
ECR	Gruppen De Europæiske Konservative og Reformister
Renew	Gruppen Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	Gruppen De Grønne/Den Europæiske Fri Alliance
The Left	Venstrefløjsgruppen i Europa-Parlamentet — GUE/NGL
ESN	Gruppen Europa af Suveræne Nationer
NI	Løsgængere