C/2024/3991

2.7.2024

ESACTA LITERAL DE LOS DEBATES DE 14 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2019

(C/2024/3991)

PARLAMENTO EUROPEO

PERÍODO DE SESIONES 2019-2020

Sesiones de 13 y 14 de noviembre de 2019

BRUSELAS

Sumario

Página

1. Apertura de la sesión 3

2. Situación de los migrantes en Bosnia, en particular en Bihać (debate) 3

3. Situación en los puntos críticos de las islas griegas, en particular el caso de Moria (debate) 15

4. Reanudación de la sesión 30

5. Turno de votaciones 31

5.1. Suplicatorio de suspensión de la inmunidad de José Manuel Fernandes (A9-0023/2019 - Ibán García Del Blanco) (votación) 31

5.2. Ventas a distancia de bienes y ciertas entregas nacionales de bienes (A9-0019/2019 - Ondřej Kovařík) (votación) 31

5.3. Movilización del Fondo Europeo de Adaptación a la Globalización – EGF/2019/001 BE/Carrefour – Bélgica (A9-0021/2019 - José Manuel Fernandes) (votación) 31

5.4. Oposición con arreglo al artículo 112 del Reglamento interno: algodón modificado genéticamente LLCotton25 (ACS-GHØØ1-3) (B9-0170/2019) (votación) 31

5.5. Oposición con arreglo al artículo 112 del Reglamento interno: soja modificada genéticamente MON 89788 (MON-89788-1) (B9-0169/2019) (votación) 31

5.6. Oposición con arreglo al artículo 112 del Reglamento interno: maíz modificado genéticamente MON 89034 × 1507 × NK603 × DAS-40278-9 y subcombinaciones MON 89034 × NK603 × DAS-40278-9, 1507 × NK603 × DAS-40278-9 y NK603 × DAS-40278-9 (B9-0171/2019) (votación) 31

5.7. Oposición con arreglo al artículo 112 del Reglamento interno: maíz modificado genéticamente Bt11 × MIR162 × MIR604 × 1507 × 5307 × GA21 y maíces modificados genéticamente que combinan dos, tres, cuatro o cinco de los eventos Bt11, MIR162, MIR604, 1507, 5307 y GA21 (B9-0172/2019) (votación) 32

Sumario Página

5.8. Criminalización de la educación sexual en Polonia (B9-0166/2019, B9-0167/2019, B9-0168/2019) (votación) . . . 32

6. Explicaciones de voto . . . 32

6.1. Criminalización de la educación sexual en Polonia (B9-0166/2019, B9-0167/2019, B9-0168/2019) . . . 32

7. Correcciones e intenciones de voto: véase el Acta . . . 34

8. Presentación de documentos: véase el Acta . . . 34

9. Decisiones relativas a determinados documentos : véase el Acta . . . 34

10. Aprobación de las Actas del presente período parcial de sesiones y transmisión de los textos aprobados : véase el Acta . . . 34

11. Calendario de las próximas sesiones: véase el Acta . . . 34

12. Cierre de la sesión . . . 34

13. Interrupción del período de sesiones . . . 35

ESACTA LITERAL DE LOS DEBATES DE 14 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 2019

IN THE CHAIR: MARCEL KOLAJA

Vice-President

1. Apertura de la sesión

(The sitting opened at 9.00)

2. Situación de los migrantes en Bosnia, en particular en Bihać (debate)

President. – The first item on the agenda is the Council and Commission statements on the situation of migrants in Bosnia, in particular in Bihać (2019/2900(RSP)).

Before I open the debate, I would like to inform you that in order to request catch-the-eye and blue cards, it will be possible to use both the standards registration and the new system allowing Members to register electronically. Therefore, I invite you to always bring your voting card. Should you wish to register for catch-the-eye, I invite you to do so starting from the point when we finish with the speeches on behalf of the political groups, without waiting for the end of the debate. The blue cards will be allowed only after the speeches on behalf of the political groups are finished.

Tytti Tuppurainen, *President-in-Office of the Council.* – Mr President, allow me to start by saying that although serious, the migratory situation in the Western Balkans has been improving over the last two years, especially in 2019. The number of arrivals in all European migratory routes for the first three quarters of 2019 was 19% lower than last year, which is a positive signal.

The numbers show that the EU is doing its utmost to improve the general situation and alleviate the migratory and humanitarian pressure that countries in the Western Balkans are facing. However, Bosnia and Herzegovina has become a major route into the EU. As all of us are aware, the crisis that Bosnia and Herzegovina is currently undergoing is most severe in the north-west of the country, in the Una-Sana Canton with Bihać as its centre.

The EU continues to monitor the situation on the ground and will do everything it can to improve the overall humanitarian situation. It is crucial that the national and local authorities do their part of the work – reach an agreement and provide refugees and migrants with proper accommodation.

We are committed to helping Bosnia and Herzegovina deal with this situation and delivering assistance to the most vulnerable. As the most pressing matter, the Bosnia and Herzegovina authorities must relocate, without delay, migrants and refugees from the unsuitable site of Vucjak. At meetings with representatives of the city and cantonal authorities the EU continues to urge the immediate closure of this temporary camp.

We are also concerned that existing reception capacities in Bosnia and Herzegovina remain largely insufficient. The country's official refugee camps are full. Unfortunately, in spite of the EU's readiness to provide the necessary financial support, the government has not allocated new sites nor proposed suitable locations for the needed additional reception facilities.

There is a strong need to ensure effective functioning of the existing temporary reception centres and we take note of the authorities' commitment in this respect.

The Council defends the dignity and safety of all persons, especially the most vulnerable ones. These persons need to be protected. The Presidency would also like to express its appreciation for the work of all the humanitarian partners whose activities must be facilitated and supported.

The EU expresses its readiness to continue providing additional support to the affected communities on the ground while searching at the same time for a more permanent solution. The overarching goal of our efforts is to support Bosnia and Herzegovina in managing mixed migration flows in light of the increasing number of asylum seekers, refugees and migrants arriving in the country in the past two years.

When it comes to the current crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina, we must work hard to ensure that the country's authorities, at all levels of government, work together and manage the migration situation in an effective manner. Asylum seekers, refugees and migrants now living in deplorable and difficult conditions must be allocated adequate premises in line with EU requirements. There is no time to wait.

A swift coordination and reaction is what is expected from all of us. We need to consolidate our efforts to resolve the most pressing problems. A permanent solution needs to strengthen Bosnia and Herzegovina's capacity to identify and register third country nationals crossing the border.

The final goal should also include the fight against trafficking in human beings, migrant smuggling and other types of cross-border crime, which is ever present in mixed migration flows.

Dimitris Avramopoulos, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, let me start by welcoming today's debate about the situation of refugees and migrants in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It could not have come at a more timely moment. As you know, the Commission is fully informed and closely following developments, including the extremely poor conditions at the Vučjak site and in Bihać, which nobody should have to endure.

What happens in the region of the Western Balkans affects all of us, and affects the rest of Europe too. This is why the European Union has always stood by the side of our Western Balkans partners as well as by the side of the refugees and the migrants in those countries.

The debate is even more timely, because the annual EU-Western Balkans Home Affairs Ministerial Forum takes place next week, which will give me an opportunity to discuss the issue with my counterparts.

Allow me first to give you the general picture, the wider picture. Since 2018 around 50 000 people have crossed through Bosnia and Herzegovina on their way towards Western Europe. Around 8 000 people remain, mostly in the north-west corner, the Una-Sana canton, where the local authorities are bearing the brunt of migration management.

The Commission responded immediately to the needs of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since the year 2018, we have mobilised over EUR 36 million to address the immediate needs of refugees and migrants and to strengthen the migration management capacities of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This includes the EUR 2 million humanitarian assistance that we made available last month.

Due to the very limited capacity of the official facilities, five temporary reception centres were set up with EU funds in 2018, providing accommodation for up to 4 000 people, 30% of which are families with children and 10% are unaccompanied minors. This prevented a humanitarian crisis last winter.

Now, since accommodation capacities remain insufficient, we have repeatedly urged Bosnia and Herzegovina to identify suitable additional sites for temporary reception centres. Last August, we allocated EUR 10 million to support the refurbishment and management of new centres. We have also mobilised a senior expert on migration management to assist the authorities in their internal coordination.

Yet despite the significant resources allocated, and the intense political dialogue, we are still waiting for Bosnia and Herzegovina, for their authorities, to agree on the location of new reception centres and to increase the capacities of existing centres. Moreover, the forced disembarkation from trains and buses, and the limiting of migrants' access to services have contributed to the deterioration in the humanitarian situation.

We are therefore discussing with key partners how to help the authorities to best address the most urgent needs of migrants and refugees, especially the most vulnerable groups. At the same time, we have raised with the authorities the risk of a humanitarian crisis in the coming winter.

And now let me come back to the situation in Bihać. We cannot accept the continued transfers of migrants and refugees to the entirely unsuitable location of Vučjak, where the health and lives of people are being put at serious risk by the lack of access to water, sanitation, shelter and protection. Similar concerns have been expressed by the United Nations agencies. The site is a former landfill close to minefields. It does not fulfil the minimal requirements for decent reception conditions, therefore No EU financial support can or will be provided for it. I want to be very clear on that.

We have asked the local authorities to dismantle the site without further delay and to move the persons currently accommodated there to adequate facilities. We take note, as a first positive step, of the decision taken this week by the government of the federation entity to approve the use of two military barracks as temporary reception centres in a place called Blažuj near Sarajevo, and Ljubace near Tuzla.

We now expect such a decision to be implemented swiftly, in order to relieve the pressure on the Una-Sana Canton, and the transfer of the persons currently in Vučjak. Let me also add, let me also say, that we remain concerned about alleged cases of violent pushback and mistreatment of migrants at the Croatian border with Bosnia and Herzegovina. We take such reports from civil society and international organisations very seriously. Any form of violence against refugees and migrants is unacceptable.

We are in close contact with the Croatian authorities. We have committed to investigate the allegations of mistreatment of migrants and refugees at its external borders and to keeping the Commission informed. In this context, at the request of the Commission, a monitoring mechanism has been established aimed at ensuring that the border control activities by Croatian Border Guard officers remain fully compliant with EU law, international obligations and with the respect for fundamental rights and the rights resulting from the EU asylum rules.

I recently visited Zagreb again in the context of our evaluation of Croatia's readiness to join Schengen. Their commitment was again reiterated on this occasion.

Despite all the support that we have provided, the heavy pressure and the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina remains deeply concerning, especially in light of the upcoming winter. We all want to avoid a worsening of the situation and a new humanitarian crisis. We are doing all we can to help Bosnia and Herzegovina to address this situation. The dignity and safety of all affected persons needs to be ensured and protected. We will continue engaging with the country's authorities as well as with civil society and international organisations on the ground on this very pressing issue.

I know that this House shares the same concerns and I'm looking forward to hearing your views today.

Karlo Ressler, *u ime kluba PPE.* – Poštovani predsjedavajući, improvizirani kamp Vučjak, samo 6 kilometara od hrvatske granice, na mjestu nekadašnjeg odlagališta otpada, izravno je doprinio značajnom pogoršanju humanitarne situacije. Usprkos svim naporima, životni uvjeti migranata u Bosni i Hercegovini su i dalje potpuno neprihvatljivi, a pojačana su i nezakonita migracijska kretanja na jedinom kopnenom migracijskom pravcu prema Europskoj uniji. To nažalost osjećaju migranti, ali isto tako i građani bihaćkog i cijelog pograničnog područja.

Uzrok takvog stanja su nekontrolirani i nezakoniti ulasci u Bosnu i Hercegovinu zbog nedostatka kapaciteta, što otvoreno priznaju i čelnici bosanskohercegovačke granične policije, ali nažalost i ponekad nedostatak volje. Zato danas Hrvatska podnosi jedan od najvećih tereta migracijskog pritiska u cijeloj Europskoj uniji. U posljednje vrijeme suočavamo se i s pokušajima političkog pritiska zbog predane zaštite europske granice.

Općenitih, neutemeljenih ili neprovjerljivih navoda o navodnom nehumanom postupanju prema migrantima vrlo vjerojatno će biti i u današnjoj raspravi. Međutim, ne smijemo popustiti ciljanim pritiscima jer imamo dužnost prema svim europskim građanima štititi najdužu kopnenu granicu Europske unije. Jasno, i dalje uz poštovanje svih prava i dostojanstva migranata te pomoći spašavanje u po život opasnim situacijama u koje ih dovode trgovci ljudima, a čemu svjedočimo i proteklih dana u potresnim primjerima.

Dietmar Köster, *im Namen der S&D-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Mittlerweile flüchten wieder mehr Menschen nach Bosnien und Herzegowina mit dem Ziel, die EU zu erreichen.

Rund 7 500 Menschen sitzen in der Region rund um Bihać fest. Ungefähr 1 000 sind gezwungen, auf der Müllhalde Vučjak zu vegetieren. Wenn sie versuchen, die Grenze nach Kroatien zu überschreiten, um ihren Asylantrag zu stellen, werden sie von der kroatischen Polizei misshandelt und gewaltsam zurückgewiesen.

Hier kommt eine mangelnde Solidarität und Empathie mit flüchtenden Menschen zum Ausdruck, die insgesamt Ausdruck einer tiefen Krise der Humanität der Europäischen Union ist. Damit zerstört die EU ihr eigenes Wertefundament. Deshalb fordere ich: Wie angekündigt muss das Lager in Vučjak sofort aufgelöst werden, und die Menschen müssen nach internationalem Standard untergebracht werden. Kroatien muss diese Verstöße gegen EU- und internationales Recht in Form von Push-backs endlich stoppen. Deshalb muss die EU endlich Kroatien dazu verpflichten, dass die dortige Polizei ihre Gewalt beendet.

Die Flüchtenden müssen ihren Asylantrag stellen dürfen. Kroatien kann nur dann Mitglied des Schengen-Raums werden, wenn diese Push-backs, die widerrechtlich sind, gestoppt werden. Wir brauchen eine europäische Lösung und müssen uns auf einen Verteilungsmechanismus für Flüchtlinge insgesamt verständigen. Flüchtende und Migranten sind keine Bedrohung. Sogenannte Grenzsicherung genießt keinen Vorrang vor den Menschenrechten. Es ist unsere verdammte Pflicht, Flüchtenden ein Leben in Würde zu ermöglichen!

Tineke Strik, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Mr President, the humanitarian situation at the Bosnian-Croatian border is beyond imagination and human dignity. In the overcrowded Vucjak camp, people face a lack of water, electricity, toilets and adequate food, but they are not allowed to go elsewhere in Bosnia, and let me remind you that one out of five is a child and winter is yet to come. Their problem is the result of the vigorous and violent systematic pushbacks at the border with Croatia. As the Croatian Government denies migrants their right to access to an asylum procedure, they get stuck on Bosnian territory. I thank the Commissioner for his comments on the pushbacks, but if we take our European rules and values seriously, he should do more to force Croatia to comply with our asylum standards instead of promoting their accession to Schengen. What is the Finnish Presidency's view on these pushback allegations and their relation to Schengen?

At the same time, migrants in Bosnia need our immediate support. It is good that we reject the Vucjak camp, but we must also give immediate support to organise professional and decent reception conditions and a solid asylum system. What can the Commissioner and the Finnish Presidency do to organise resettlement for the most vulnerable ones, among them, two European Member States?

Dominique Bilde, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Monsieur le Président, ne nous trompons pas de combat en tirant à boulets rouges sur les forces de l'ordre croates, soucieuses d'endiguer l'afflux de migrants vers l'Union européenne. À l'évidence, ceux qui, comme la Croatie ou la République serbe de Bosnie, ont eu le courage d'opter résolument pour une politique de fermeté ont réussi à juguler, un tant soit peu, la déferlante migratoire.

Qu'aujourd'hui, le maire de Bihać renâcle à l'accueil d'un flux ininterrompu de pseudo-réfugiés – dont 85 % sont en réalité des migrants économiques, comme le reconnaissait en 2018 le coordinateur de l'Organisation internationale pour la migration de Sarajevo – démontre, s'il en était encore besoin, à quel point les capacités d'accueil sont largement dépassées, partout en Europe. Nous pouvons nous insurger contre sa décision de ne plus assurer d'aide matérielle aux nouveaux arrivants mais force est de constater que la Bosnie-Herzégovine n'a rien d'autre à partager avec eux que sa propre infortune. Le FMI n'a-t-il pas encore récemment dégradé la prévision de croissance du pays, qui reste l'un des plus pauvres d'Europe? Du reste, la crise migratoire n'est que la partie immergée de l'iceberg, des difficultés de «cet État

failli, ce concept raté», selon l'expression bien trouvée de Milorad Dodik.

Ruža Tomašić, *u ime kluba ECR*. – Poštovani predsjedavajući, Bosna i Hercegovina suočava se s velikim migrantskim pritiskom koji se sve više prelijeva na Hrvatsku.

U pograničnim područjima situacija postaje neodrživa, a prijeti nam i snažna humanitarna kriza. U Hrvatskoj na migrantskoj ruti raste stopa kriminaliteta, a lokalno stanovništvo boji se za svoju sigurnost i imovinu. Bosna i Hercegovina sa svojim političkim i financijskim ograničenjima nema kapaciteta samostalno odraditi posao na svom teritoriju, a države preko kojih migranti pristižu u BIH nisu od prevelike pomoći jer slabo zaustavljaju ilegalne migrante. Jugoistočna Europa funkcionira po principu spojenih posuda i zato je jedino pravo rješenje trajno zaustavljanje masovnog preljeva ilegalnih migranata.

Europa mora reagirati kao cjelina. Pretvaranje srednje i zapadne Europe u utvrdu, dok se istovremeno jugoistok kontinenta prepušta kaosu, moglo bi se u budućnosti pokazati pogubnim.

Cornelia Ernst, *im Namen der GUE/NGL-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, meine Damen und Herren! Wir sprechen zu Recht von Seenotrettung, wir müssen aber genauso über Landnotrettung sprechen, über Flüchtlinge, die an den Außengrenzen, an den Landgrenzen der EU ums Überleben kämpfen. Bosnien ist Spielball dieser EU-Politik. Es ist ein Dominoeffekt, der dort eingetreten ist, weil Mitgliedstaaten ihre Grenzen für Flüchtlinge geschlossen haben. Dieser Dominoeffekt führt dazu, dass Tausende Flüchtlinge im viertärmsten Land Europas festsitzen. Die EU tut nichts, aber auch gar nichts gegen die Hunderte von Push-backs, sie tut nichts dagegen, dass Hunde auf Flüchtlinge gehetzt werden, unbegleitete Kinder Menschenhändlern überlassen werden, brutale Polizeigewalt und Folter an diesen Grenzen auf der Tagesordnung stehen.

Um so richtig es ist, die Bosnier aufzufordern, die Lage Geflüchteter zu verbessern, so richtig ist es auch zu sagen: Die Hauptursache liegt nicht in Bosnien, sondern hier in der EU und bei den Mitgliedstaaten. Wir verlangen deshalb eine sofortige Beendigung jedweder Push-backs. Familienzusammenführung, der Schutz unbegleiteter Kinder, wie es die internationalen Konventionen gebieten – das muss sein! Angesichts des nahenden Winters fordern wir Kommission und Mitgliedstaaten auf, Flüchtlinge aus Bosnien aus humanitären Gründen in die EU einreisen zu lassen, um hier die Asylanträge in dieser Zeit bearbeiten zu lassen. Machen Sie, Kommission und Rat, endlich den Weg frei für ein faires und menschenwürdiges EU-Asylsystem! Der Ball liegt nicht in Bihać, der Ball liegt in der EU.

Naomi Long, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Mr President, without urgent and immediate action, thousands of people in Bosnia could die this winter. The Bosnian authorities must immediately close the camp at Vucjak and provide safe, clean and habitable accommodation for those who are currently languishing there.

International aid NGOs – from Médicine sans Frontières, to Red Cross and Red Crescent – have been clear from the outset about the unsuitable nature of this camp without clean water and sanitation, without proper medical care, and located in areas still landmined from the conflict. Those warnings must be heeded urgently.

But this is not just a Bosnian problem; it is a European Union problem, and it can only be resolved by joint action and cooperation across the Union. Earlier this year, the Commission declared Europe's migrant crisis over, but that is not the experience of people in Vucjak. They are living out their own personal migrant crises every day. I may be from a group of islands in the far northwest reaches of the EU, at the opposite end of Europe, but as much as some at home may wish it were, this cannot be a case of 'out of sight, out of mind'. The UK and Ireland, along with every other EU nation, have a role in ending the cruel and callous treatment of migrants. We are living through the consequences of our own pandering to the far right on issues of immigration, asylum and international development aid. We saw that pandering in our own Parliament here a few weeks ago, when people disgracefully voted down a motion on search and rescue in the Mediterranean. Whether it's in a lorry in England, a capsized boat in the Mediterranean, or a former landfill in rural Bosnia, how many more people will die before we get our act together?

Every EU Member State must facilitate a safe pathway for migrants and humane treatment for them while their applications to remain are considered. The proof is overwhelming and horrifying. Closing our borders does not work. It costs lives. Now is the time to ensure that compassion is at the heart of our migration policy and to hold those who fall short to account.

Ivan Vilibor Sinčić (NI). – Poštovani predsjedavajući, moram reći da dolazim iz grada Karlovca koji je pedesetak kilometara od Unsko-sanskog kantona.

Postavlja se pitanje zašto ovdje danas govorimo baš o krizi na tom području. Vrlo jednostavno, zašto je kamp baš tu? Zato što migranti znaju da je to mjesto gdje mogu proći. Obišao sam te krajeve, obišao sam dolinu Une, obišao sam Liku, karlovački kraj, obišao sam Gorski kotar i policajci koji čuvaju te prijelaze, koji čuvaju te mostove, koji čuvaju te ceste svi su mi redom rekli: „Nas je premalo, koliko je to stotina kilometara granice. Mi je ne možemo kontrolirati", suprotno onome što govori Ministar i Premijer. Ljudi koji žive na tom području, recimo u Begovom Razdolju, tamo je stradao veći broj planinarskih domova, turizam je splasnuo, biciklizam, a to je izrazito siromašan kraj, slabo naseljen kraj, i to im je zadnja „zelena grana" od koje žive.

Treba reći da jedino trajno rješenje za ovaj problem, a procjenjuje se recimo da će stanovništvo samo Afrike porasti sa sadašnjih 1,3 milijarde na 2,5 milijarde, je da se uspostave normalni uvjeti za život u svim zemljama Afrike i Azije. Što to znači? Prvo, mir. Prestanite bombardirati Siriju, Libiju, podrivati druge suverene zemlje. Drugo, to znači kraj eksploatacije. Dug je popis korporacija koje eksploatiraju zemlje Afrike za razne mineralne resurse, a u tom novom programu, novoj politici prednjačiti trebaju upravo one zemlje koje su stoljećima bile kolonijalne sile na tom području. Ako se to ne napravi, ovaj problem, ova humanitarna kriza neće imati kraja.

Paulo Rangel (PPE). – Senhor Presidente, Presidência finlandesa, Senhor Comissário, como relator do Parlamento Europeu para a Bósnia-Herzegovina eu julgo que temos aqui uma responsabilidade especial. A situação em Bihać e na Bósnia é dramática. Não vale a pena estarmos aqui, como estamos sempre, ou que se culpa a Croácia nas fronteiras, ou que se culpa a Sérvia do outro lado, ou as autoridades bósnias que estão a falhar. A situação é dramática e por isso a responsabilidade da União Europeia é ter um plano de emergência já no terreno neste inverno.

Eu tenho a certeza, até porque tenho essa informação, que as autoridades bósnias estão disponíveis não apenas para receber a ajuda financeira, como aqui se disse, que não é o problema, o problema não é financeiro. Nós precisamos de criar uma equipa a partir da Frontex, que não é com o ou dois especialistas, é uma equipa numerosa para enfrentar a situação, designadamente em Bihać mas também noutros campos, e para ajudar as autoridades bósnias a resolverem a situação.

E se nós formos capazes de pôr esta força no terreno, que as autoridades bósnias aceitarão de bom grado, se nós o fizermos de forma inteligente, eu tenho a certeza que, em primeiro lugar, nós estancamos o problema humanitário e teremos muito maior capacidade de fazer a triagem entre migrantes económicos e refugiados e dar um encaminhamento àqueles que puderem vir a entrar na União Europeia.

Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). – Señor presidente, presidencia finlandesa, comisario Avramopoulos, sabemos que al menos ciento cincuenta personas procedentes de Oriente Medio y Asia intentan cada noche desesperadamente cruzar la frontera entre Bosnia y Herzegovina y Croacia, por Bihać, y se hacinan por decisión policial en el campamento de Vucjak, donde la situación de salud pública y emergencia humanitaria es realmente dramática. No hay Pleno del Parlamento Europeo en el que no pongamos de manifiesto la falta de solidaridad y voluntad política de cumplimiento del Derecho europeo en lo relativo a programas de reubicación entre Estados miembros de la Unión Europea y de reasentamiento, cuando se trata de un Estado fronterizo, como es el caso de Bosnia, que no es miembro de la Unión Europea. Pero ¿qué puede esperar Bosnia de la estatura moral de la Unión Europea, si dentro de unos minutos estaremos discutiendo la dramática situación en Lesbos, absolutamente insostenible, en su país, comisario Avramopoulos, abandonado a su suerte durante demasiado tiempo por la insolidaridad de la Unión Europea y por la absoluta falta de estatura moral a la hora de cumplir los mandatos vinculantes del Derecho europeo? Hay programas de reasentamiento. Este Parlamento los ha adoptado como parte del sistema europeo de asilo; este sistema, embrionario, como pueda ser, está en pie y es vinculante para los Estados miembros. Es lo que cabe esperar para hacer frente a esta emergencia humanitaria que, lamentablemente, ni es la única ni será la última en ser debatida en este Pleno del Parlamento Europeo.

Romeo Franz (Verts/ALE). – Herr Präsident! Bosnien und Herzegowina liegt im Herzen Europas zwischen Griechenland und Kroatien und befindet sich gerade jetzt aufgrund der schlechten Flüchtlingspolitik der EU in einer verheerenden Situation. Illegale Push-backs von Kroatien sind die Regel und verschärfen die Lage der Geflüchteten, aber auch die der bosnischen Menschen. Die Unterbringung der Menschen ist mittlerweile schon unmenschlich zu nennen. Obwohl die Bürgerinnen und Bürger Bosniens sehr engagiert waren, schlägt durch diese illegalen Push-backs die Stimmung um, denn man ist damit schlichtweg überfordert.

Wir müssen unseren Nachbarländern helfen und dürfen sie nicht alleine lassen. Wir können nicht akzeptieren, dass Flüchtende im Mittelmeer ertrinken, aber auch nicht akzeptieren, dass drei Flugstunden von hier Menschen im bosnisch-kroatischen Grenzgebiet jämmerlich erfrieren.

Ich fordere Kroatien auf, illegale Push-backs zu unterbinden. Die bosnischen Behörden müssen ihre Bemühungen verstärken. Die EU ist aufgefordert, vor Ort alles Menschenmögliche zur operativen Unterstützung zu leisten, was denkbar ist.

(Der Redner ist damit einverstanden, eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte" gemäß Artikel 171 Absatz 8 der Geschäftsordnung zu beantworten.)

Tomislav Sokol (PPE), *pitanje koje je podizanjem plave kartice postavio.* – Poštovani predsjedavajući, spomenuli ste ilegalne *pushbackove*, pa molim vas da nam ovdje podnesete dokaze za vaše tvrdnje. Koliko znam, ni jedna nadležna institucija nije utvrdila da se postupa protivno europskim propisima, protivno međunarodnom pravu. Dapače, Republika Hrvatska poštuje sve svoje obveze koje proizlaze iz europskog prava, što bih posebno naglasio. Tako da molim da podastrete dokaze za vaše tvrdnje, a koje nisu nekakve prijave kojekakvih NGO-a koji imaju vrlo jasnu političku agendu.

Romeo Franz (Verts/ALE), *Antwort auf eine Frage nach dem Verfahren der „blauen Karte".* – Wir haben genug Beweise. Ich kann Ihnen das in diesem Bericht zeigen, den ich hier habe, den gebe ich Ihnen gern zu lesen. Dann können Sie sehen, wann und wie viele illegale Push-backs stattgefunden haben.

Elena Lizzi (ID). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, l'Unione europea deve occuparsi anche delle ricadute sui cittadini degli Stati membri che vivono lungo la rotta balcanica.

Il Friuli Venezia Giulia, regione autonoma italiana, al confine con Slovenia ed Austria, guarda con grande preoccupazione alla situazione dei migranti in Bosnia. Gli arrivi dei migranti in Friuli Venezia Giulia crescono. Sono oltre 5 500 gli ingressi dall'inizio del 2019 a fine settembre. Secondo i dati delle prefetture regionali i richiedenti asilo presenti sul territorio a fine settembre ammontano a oltre 2 900, mentre erano 5 000 all'inizio del 2018.

Il calo del 40 % è dovuto alla politica di Matteo Salvini, che ha permesso di gestire una situazione potenzialmente esplosiva. C'è la preoccupazione, oggi, di ritornare ai numeri dei migranti registrati nel 2018 e l'incertezza è alimentata anche dalla politica migratoria del governo giallorosso.

Bisognerà inoltre tenere conto dell'impatto sul flusso migratorio dell'ingresso della Croazia nello spazio Schengen. Facciamo in modo che la rotta balcanica non diventi un grande Bihać.

Malin Björk (GUE/NGL). – Herr talman! Vi har, precis som kollegorna har sagt här, fruktansvärda rapporter om brott mot mänskliga rättigheter, mot internationell lag, mot EU-lag. Människor som lever under helt omöjliga förhållanden, vilket liknar det vi kanske kommer höra om Grekland men där i något mindre antal.

Situationen i Bosnien är inte bara ett bosniskt problem eller ett bosniskt ansvar. Det är en direkt konsekvens av EU:s politik: EU:s misslyckade flyktingpolitik där vi inte fördelar ansvaret och EU:s gränspolitik. Jag skäms faktiskt när jag hör högern. Som svar på en humanitär katastrof, så vill de skicka in fler poliser. Det är högerns svar på allting. Nej, när vi står inför en humanitär katastrof så ska vi bemöta det med humanitära aktioner.

Den här situationen är också en direkt konsekvens av att vi har illegala pushbacks. Vi har dem framför allt från Kroatien men också till viss del från Slovenien. Det blir så här när det enda mätaren på framgång för EU:s politik är ett minskat antal som anländer till Europa. I stället ska vi mäta vår framgång inom migrationspolitiken genom hur många EU kan ge skydd åt. Det är det som ska vara vår framgångsmätare.

I think the issue here is that we should not give Schengen membership to Croatia in a situation where they're not living up to the EU acquis. That is very concrete action I want to ask the Commission and the Council what they count on doing on that.

(The speaker agreed to take a blue-card question under Rule 171(8))

Karlo Ressler (PPE), *blue-card question.* – These allegations are completely false and unconfirmed. Because of that I firmly believe that this kind of political pressure is actually trying to change the policy of the Croatian Government, which is effectively protecting the European borders. I can understand both points of view but we have to distinguish correctly between political pressure and completely undocumented and false allegations.

Malin Björk (GUE/NGL), *blue-card answer.* – As my colleague from the Green Group has already shown, there are reports – not only from NGOs, but also from UNHCR and the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights. This Chamber and the Council and the Commission must take the consequences. There should be no membership of Croatia in Schengen until you live up to the EU acquis. We must say no to pushback, wherever it happens, in Croatia or elsewhere. Pushback is an illegal act and the European Union has to protect humanitarian law, not its borders – that cannot be the end game.

Milan Zver (PPE). – Gospod predsednik, točko, ki je danes na dnevnem redu: Migrantska situacija v Bihaću, bi morali obravnavati že zdavnaj, pa morda teh težav sploh ne bi bilo. Tako pa se vedno znova in znova ukvarjamo s posledicami problema.

Upravljanje Evropske unije z migracijami zgleda tako, kot da rep maha s psom, ne pa obratno. Zato balkanska pot realno obstaja in tudi drugi problemi, povezani z nezakonitimi migracijami. Problem migracij se mora reševati predvsem na izvoru, ker tega ne počnemo, so meje izjemno propustne, tudi v Sloveniji, kjer se iz meseca v mesec povečuje število prehodov meje s strani nezakonitih migrantov in v organizaciji tihotapcev, ki jo vsa mašinerija, ki jo premore EU, ne more premagati. Varnostna situacija na slovenski južni meji se je popolnoma spremenila in ljudi je strah.

V Evropski uniji smo si zadali jasne cilje glede vračanja nezakonitih migrantov nazaj v varne države oziroma v države izvora. Meni se zdi neodgovorno, da teh ciljev niti približno ne izpolnjujemo. Ravno zato ker nezakonitih migrantov ne vračamo, zmanjkuje prostora za resnične begunce, torej tiste, ki so dejansko v življenjski nevarnosti.

Potrebno je pripraviti jasno politiko, kratkoročne in dolgoročne ukrepe, tudi kar se Bihaća tiče. Predvsem pa je treba nezakonitim migrantom in tihotapcem dati jasen signal, da v Uniji nezakonite migracije niso zaželene niti dovoljene.

Pietro Bartolo (S&D). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, quello che sta accadendo in Bosnia ed Erzegovina, a un passo dai nostri confini, in un paese che ad oggi ha ricevuto 38 milioni di euro per la gestione dell'immigrazione, è assolutamente inaccettabile.

A Bihać i migranti in transito sono vittime di violenze, discriminazioni e abusi, nessuno dei campi è in buone condizioni, ma il campo di Vučjak è semplicemente disumano. Stiamo parlando di un campo creato dalle autorità cittadine in mezzo alla foresta, dove prima c'era una discarica, non c'è luce né acqua corrente, le condizioni igienico-sanitarie sono pessime e le persone sono in costante rischio per la vicinanza ai campi minati e alle riserve di gas metano.

Non possiamo semplicemente ignorare questa situazione. La Commissione europea sta monitorando l'uso dei fondi concessi alla Bosnia? Farete pressioni sulle autorità bosniache per chiedere la chiusura del campo di Vučjak? Campo che non dovrebbe neanche esistere. E cosa intendete fare in risposta ai respingimenti della Croazia verso la Bosnia, che non fanno altro che peggiorare la situazione di Bihać?

Io comprendo gli sforzi che sta facendo la Commissione, ma sicuramente la Commissione può fare di più e deve fare di più. D'altronde, ricordo a qualcuno che stiamo parlando di esseri umani, donne, uomini, bambini e abbiamo il dovere di intervenire urgentemente, anche in vista dell'inverno che sarà sicuramente molto duro.

(L'oratore accetta di rispondere a una domanda «cartellino blu», articolo 171, paragrafo 8, del regolamento)

Tomislav Sokol (PPE), *pitanje koje je podizanjem plave kartice postavio.* – Poštovani predsjedavajući, želio bih Vas pitati zašto širite lažne informacije. Nikakvih potvrđenih, konačnih dokaza o nelegalnom postupanju od strane Hrvatske nema, niti jednog jedinog dokaza. Postoje kojekakve lažne prijave raznih zainteresiranih skupina koje kroz to guraju svoje političke interese, ali to su sve dezinformacije, to je *fake news*.

Hrvatska postupa sukladno europskim propisima, čuva europsku vanjsku granicu, najdulju vanjsku granicu Europske unije, postupa u skladu s međunarodnim pravom pa bih molio da se priče o *pushbackovima* ne ponavljaju ovdje u Europskom parlamentu jer jednostavno nisu istinite.

Pietro Bartolo (S&D), *Risposta a una domanda «cartellino blu».* – Rispondo anche in meno di trenta secondi.

Come è stato detto dai colleghi, abbiamo delle prove sicuramente inconfutabili che provengono dalle varie associazioni che si trovano presenti in quella zona. Quindi, io credo di non dire il falso, ma sicuramente capisco anche gli sforzi che sta facendo la Bosnia, ma capisco pure che ci sono delle violazioni palesi dei diritti umani in quella regione.

Željana Zovko (PPE). – Mr President, I will speak in English to be better understood here. Along more 1 000 kilometres, Croatia is protecting the longest external border of the European Union, mostly with Bosnia and Herzegovina. In its resolution of February 2019 this Parliament noted with concern the increasing number of migrants arriving in Bosnia and Herzegovina via their eastern neighbours, and the lack of coordination between different levels of government in responding to this situation. We called for better border management with Bosnia and Herzegovina and to strengthen the specialised human trafficking investigation units to effectively combat smugglers.

Unfortunately, according to the latest statement given by the authorities in charge of implementing these measures, Bosnia and Herzegovina is failing to protect its borders and its citizens. Even the chief of border police in Bosnia and Herzegovina openly stated that they cannot control the borders, and appealed for help.

Apart from this, Bosnia and Herzegovina politicians have not followed the recommendations of this House, of the High Representative and of the Commissioner for enlargement. For more than a year they have not formed a council of ministers that would provide the European Union with an appropriate interlocutor. Once again, we call upon the political leaders in Bosnia and Herzegovina to finally form a council of ministers so we can work hand in hand to resolve this terrible crisis. Thank you very much, and finally you should understand what is going on in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Bettina Vollath (S&D). – Herr Präsident! Im September — in Vučjak – musste ich mitten in Europa die Folgen dessen sehen, was europäische Regierungen als die Schließung der Balkanroute verkauft haben.

Nichts ist geschlossen, sondern diese Politik hat das Elend für Flüchtlinge gemeinsam mit den Gewinnen der Schlepper größer gemacht. Menschen warten unversorgt in Dreck und Kälte darauf, dass Europa ihnen hilft. Die Verantwortung liegt nicht bei den bosnischen Behörden allein, sondern ist das Resultat der verfehlten europäischen Asylpolitik und der illegalen Push-backs der kroatischen Polizei.

Noch ist sinnloses Sterben zu verhindern. Ich bitte Sie daher, geschätzte Vertreterinnen von Rat und Kommission, das Reden abzuschließen und zu handeln. Es braucht menschenwürdige Unterkünfte, sofortigen Stopp der illegalen Push-backs Kroatiens und legale Wege für Asylanträge. *Promoting the European Way of Life* heißt, die Beitrittsperspektive für den Westbalkan genauso an Rechtsstaatlichkeit und Wahrung der Menschenrechte zu binden, wie das auch vom EU-Mitglied Kroatien eingefordert werden muss.

Pierfrancesco Majorino (S&D). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, io credo che dobbiamo smetterla di non vedere.

Siamo infatti di fronte a una vera e propria emergenza umanitaria. Nel campo di Vučjak, a poca distanza dal confine tra Bosnia e Croazia, vivono oggi centinaia di profughi. Anzi, dobbiamo essere onesti e dire che «sopravvivono» centinaia di profughi, spesso in assenza di cibo, acqua, servizi igienici, tutele sanitarie e sicurezza. Siamo di fronte a condizioni terrificanti che si verificano in un'area del nostro continente.

E questa è anche una delle conseguenze delle scelte sciagurate di troppi Stati, e anche degli Stati europei e della comunità internazionale in materia di immigrazione perché preferiamo non condividere una strategia comune. Preferiamo coltivare il demone della paura verso il migrante.

Il risultato è sotto i nostri occhi e dobbiamo agire subito lì, mettendo fine all'emergenza umanitaria e riproponendo il tema strategico di una politica comune in materia di immigrazione.

Fabienne Keller (Renew). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Ministre, chère Tytti Tuppurainen, Monsieur le Commissaire Dimitris Avramopoulos, les conditions de vie des migrants en Bosnie – comme l'ont rappelé de nombreux collègues – sont extrêmement préoccupantes: des hommes, des femmes et des enfants vivent dans des camps sans eau courante ni électricité. À Bihać, comme cela a été dit, il s'agit d'une ancienne décharge. À cela s'ajoute la surpopulation. Cela n'est pas digne de nos valeurs.

Nous devons ainsi aboutir ensemble, et sans tarder, Madame la Ministre, Monsieur le Commissaire, à des avancées pour le paquet «asile», aujourd'hui bloqué. Il est en effet important, comme l'a dit Juan López Aguilar, notre président de la commission LIBE, de garantir que chaque pays respecte ses obligations en matière d'accueil des réfugiés, selon la Convention de Genève. Et il est, de la même manière, essentiel de fixer des règles claires pour accélérer le traitement des demandes d'asile et harmoniser les conditions d'accès dans l'Union.

Nous devons aussi assumer un devoir de responsabilité, avec une solidarité entre les pays de l'Union pour assurer, notamment, un soutien aux pays de première entrée comme aux pays tiers européens – comme la Bosnie – qui font face à la pression migratoire.

Catch-the-eye procedure

Franc Bogovič (PPE). – Gospod predsednik, Bosna in Hercegovina ima velike težave z velikim številom beguncev, ki jih ne obvlada. Bosna in Hercegovina je gospodarsko šibka in se ukvarja z velikimi notranjepolitičnimi spori.

Hrvaška ima najzahtevnejšo mejo v Evropski uniji, več kot tisoč kilometrov meje in jo tudi zelo težko varuje. Od Bihaća, Velike Kladuše je Slovenija oddaljena samo en dan hoje migrantov, zato je ta pritisk, ki se preko hrvaško-bosanske meje prenese na slovensko mejo zelo velik.

V letošnjih devetih mesecih je slovenska policija ujela 11.786 migrantov, 70 procentov več kot lani. Zadnje tri mesece več kot 2000 migrantov mesečno primejo slovenski policisti. Dva dni hoje so ti migranti že v Avstriji.

Zato je nujno, da takoj prekinemo tihotapske poti, ki so gonilo tega migrantskega toku, s Frontexom pa pomagamo Bosni tako pri vzpostavljanju situacije na področju ravnanja z migranti, kakor tudi na političnem področju, ki je v Bosni zelo problematično.

Tudor Ciuhodaru (S&D). – Domnule președinte, Bihac și Vucjak sunt două puncte de foc pe harta europeană în această iarnă, două bombe cu efect întârziat ce pot exploda oricând, mai ales când vorbim despre partea umanitară și cea medicală.

50 000 de refugiați, 8 000 de oameni rămași acolo, dintre care o treime copii, sunt o mare problemă pentru această țară, pentru autoritățile de la Sarajevo care au resurse limitate și sunt convins că în acest moment ar trebui să ne gândim la trei lucruri esențiale. În primul rând, monitorizarea transfrontalieră trebuie să fie îmbunătățită, în al doilea rând, fondurile alocate de către noi toți ar trebui să fie mult mai mari pentru a îmbunătăți condițiile de trai ale acestor oameni. Și dacă vorbim despre resursa umană, nu cred că este important să trimitem poliția, Frontex-ul, peste ei, ci acel corp medical european, onorat Consiliu, onorată Comisie, ar trebui să-și facă treaba. Eu sunt medic, medic de urgență în Iași, România, Spitalul Clinic de Urgență, și mă ofer voluntar să mergem acolo să-i ajutăm pe aceiași oameni.

Iar dacă vorbim despre dublul standard, în timp ce o țară care încalcă legislația este permisă spre aderarea la Schengen, România, țara mea, care îndeplinește toate condițiile, așteaptă la ușile Uniunii Europene. Așa că, onorată Comisie, onorat Consiliu, îndeplinim toate condițiile, vă solicit din nou să intrăm în Schengen.

Joachim Stanisław Brudziński (ECR). – Panie Przewodniczący! Nie dalej jak kilka tygodni temu w Strasburgu dyskutowaliśmy na temat bardzo błędnej, moim zdaniem i zdaniem wielu, decyzji Francji, Holandii oddalającej szanse na wejście do Unii Europejskiej dwóch przedstawicieli państw Bałkanów Zachodnich: Albanii i Macedonii Północnej. To, o czym dyskutujemy w dniu dzisiejszym, jest najlepszym dowodem, że jeżeli Bałkany Zachodnie zostaną pozostawione samym sobie, to ten kryzys będzie narastał. Ja ze zdumieniem słucham tutaj głosów przedstawicieli lewej strony sali, którzy atakują Chorwację za to, że chroni granicę zewnętrzną Unii Europejskiej. Tej Unii Europejskiej, która wskutek nieodpowiedzialnej decyzji przedstawicieli rządów niektórych państw spowodowała kryzys migracji. Następnym punktem będzie dyskusja na temat hotspotów w Grecji na wyspie Lesbos. Przecież ten problem będzie trwał tak długo, jak długo będzie trwała ta naiwna w retoryce dyskusja zachęcająca *de facto* nielegalnych migrantów do tego, aby tutaj przyjeżdżali. A że sytuacja w Bośni i Hercegowinie jest tragiczna? Najlepszym dowodem, że wspomniany tutaj burmistrz Bihacia podjął decyzję, że samorząd w ogóle wycofuje się z jakiejkolwiek pomocy humanitarnej wobec tych nieszczęśników.

Julie Ward (S&D). – Mr President, I've heard directly from NGOs working on the ground with refugees and migrants in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There is no organisation, infrastructure or adequate support, and desperate people, including many children, are living in appalling conditions, sleeping on the ground in abandoned places or wherever they can find a place to lie down. Almost everyone has scabies and there are no available treatments. Several people have died of blood poisoning because various infections were not treated; many drown in the river trying to reach Croatia; others are beaten, tortured and robbed by Croatian police and sent back to Bosnia. They've been strangled, tortured with electricity, and burnt with hot metal rods by Croatian police also.

Right-wing politicians portray these desperate people as violent addicts, criminals, rapists and thieves, carriers of diseases – the language that is used when talking about refugees is hate speech.

Meanwhile, the work of many volunteers has been forbidden or criminalised. Bosnia and Herzegovina became an unlikely gatekeeper of the European Union and Croatia forgot its responsibility as a Member State to uphold human rights.

Tomislav Sokol (PPE). – Poštovani predsjedavajući, migrantska kriza trenutno je jedan od najvećih problema Europske unije. Takozvana balkanska ruta koja prelazi preko Bosne i Hercegovine i Hrvatske i koja ima najdulju vanjsku granicu Europske unije od svih država članica doista je nešto o čemu treba razgovarati. Na žalost ova rasprava nije bila pretjerano ozbiljna, s druge strane, s ljeve strane dvorane čuli smo mnogo dezinformacija, laži, *fake newsa*, optužbi bez ikakvog pokrića, a koje su utemeljene samo na kojekakvim neprovjerenim izvješćima raznoraznih udruga koje ne predstavljaju nikoga, koje nisu nadležna tijela i koje nemaju apsolutno nikakav legitimitet.

Nema nikakvih dokaza da Hrvatska krši europsko pravo i nema nikakvih dokaza da Hrvatska krši međunarodnopravne standarde. Dapače, Hrvatska je upravo ta koja ispunjava svoje obveze, što je dio procesa ulaska u Schengen, za koji je Hrvatska dobila zeleno svjetlo od Europske komisije za ispunjavanje tehničkih uvjeta i upravo Hrvatska štiti vanjsku granicu Europske unije od ilegalnih migracija. Humanitaran pristup da, zaštita ljudskih prava da, ali isto tako stop nelegalnim migracijama – štitimo europsku granicu, štitimo europsko pravo.

Domènec Ruiz Devesa (S&D). – Señor presidente, yo me quiero sumar a lo manifestado ya sobre esta cuestión por los compañeros de mi grupo político, pero también de otros grupos —GUE/NGL, Renew y Verts/ALE—, y me ha llamado la atención que el portavoz del Grupo popular —que ha hablado en primer lugar— hablara, en esta cuestión, de «protección» de las fronteras, porque creo que es un mal uso del lenguaje hablar de «proteger» una frontera cuando se está hablando de procesar las peticiones de asilo de personas que se encuentran en una situación humanitaria desesperada.

En este caso, se habla, en todo caso, de una «gestión» de la frontera, pero no de «protección» de la frontera, porque no se está invadiendo ningún país: las fronteras se protegen en caso de agresión militar. Y, por desgracia, este lenguaje, que predomina incluso en miembros del Grupo popular de esta Cámara, tiene también su origen en el lenguaje que emana a veces del Consejo y de la Comisión.

Señor comisario, cuando ustedes hablan de «presión migratoria excesiva», están utilizando un lenguaje militar; o cuando el Consejo habla de «reparto de la carga» —de «*burden-sharing*»—, está también hablando en términos negativos de seres humanos.

Por favor, cambien el lenguaje y acabaremos con los discursos del miedo y del odio.

President. – I have noticed a request for a blue card question, however, we are running long with this debate so I will decline that request. I'm sorry, that concludes the catch-the-eye procedure.

(Addressing to Cornelia Ernst (off micro))

No, that concludes the catch-the-eye. I declined the blue card request because the debate is running too long and you already spoke. You are not on the catch-the-eye list. I'm sorry. We are moving on.

(End of catch-the-eye procedure)

Dimitris Avramopoulos, *Member of the Commission.* – Mr President, let me start by expressing my thanks for your contribution to this very timely debate. As I said during my introductory remarks, I will raise the issue next Tuesday in the EU-Western Balkans Home Affairs Ministerial Forum that will take place in Skopje.

The Commission and the European Parliament share the same concerns about the migration situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in particular around the town of Bihać. We expect that Bosnia and Herzegovina will take urgent measures to avoid further deterioration of the migration and humanitarian situation. Thank you for joining our efforts in calling for the immediate closure of the unsuitable location in Vučjak and the provision of adequate accommodation across the country for refugees and migrants. This is required to prevent a major humanitarian crisis in the coming winter. We expect state-level entities, cantonal and local authorities to cooperate and coordinate their actions and to make the best use of the technical and financial assistance that the European Union has been providing. We expect law enforcement agencies at all levels to support the humanitarian response and to cease counterproductive actions that endanger the life and health of refugees and migrants.

There should be no physical violence against migrants and refugees. Border guards and police should carry out their duties in full respect of fundamental rights. We will continue to engage with Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to support the authorities to prevent, as I stressed before, a humanitarian crisis from unfolding in the country in the coming winter.

IN THE CHAIR: KATARINA BARLEY

Vice-President

Tytti Tuppurainen, *President-in-Office of the Council.* – Madam President, let me thank you for the discussion we have had today. We are fully aware of the complex and difficult situation regarding migrants in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and we are committed to working hard with all the stakeholders involved to find a solution to the current crisis.

Throughout the whole process we must not forget the human aspect of the current situation. Just yesterday we discussed in this very Chamber the protection of children's rights. It is important to find a solution quickly and to act with resolve in order to protect people. We are all aware that great challenges lie ahead of us, but we are counting on your support in finding a workable answer to the current problems.

The Finnish Presidency is fully committed, within the next MFF context, to allocate a sufficient amount of funds for migration management and to respond to both the internal and external aspects of migration.

Nevertheless, the financial aid from the EU is just a tool. It is crucial, indeed, that the national and local authorities do their part of work efficiently. Without any delay they should provide refugees and migrants with the help and assistance needed: proper accommodation is a minimum.

Without any doubt, it is of the utmost importance that every Member State, all of us, follows the rule of law, and full respect for fundamental rights at the border between two countries must be ensured.

Ms Strik asked us, the Finnish Presidency, what we are doing. We as the Presidency underline the importance of full compliance with international law – in practice and at our external borders.

The EU must continue to actively and closely monitor the situation on the ground, and take seriously all allegations of mistreatment of migrants. We must see this as a reminder that the ongoing work on the reform of the common European asylum systems needs to continue. Situations like this one should not be allowed to be repeated.

President. – The debate is closed.

Written declarations (Rule 171)

Balázs Hidvéghi (PPE), *írásban*. – Hibás az az érvelés, miszerint túl vagyunk a bevándorlási válságon. A legfrissebb jelentések szerint mind a Földközi-tengeren, mind a nyugat-balkáni útvonalon ismét fokozódik a migrációs nyomás, így továbbra is a válság folytatására kell számítanunk. A tengeren nemzetközileg szervezett, politikai eszközökkel támogatott embercsempészet zajlik, tisztázatlan hátterű civil szervezetek Európába taxiztatják a bevándorlókat. A Nyugat-Balkánon kritikus a helyzet, több tízezer illegális bevándorló várakozik, hogy minél előbb az Európai Unió területére lépjenek.

A Bosznia észak-nyugati részén fekvő Bihácsban is több ezer bevándorló táborozik, a város központját szinte teljesen a birtokukba vették, erőszakos cselekményeket követnek el, a helyzet tarthatatlan. Példamutató módon Magyarország bebizonyította, hogy kerítésépítéssel meg lehet védeni a határokat. Ha van politikai akarat, az illegális bevándorlást meg lehet állítani, akár fizikai határvédelmi rendszer felállításával is. A bevándorlási válság leküzdéséhez viszont meg kell változtatni Európa migrációs politikáját. Olyan uniós menekültügyi és határigazgatási koncepciót kell kidolgozni, amely a külső határok védelmének megszilárdítására és a harmadik országokkal való együttműködésre fekteti a hangsúlyt. A migráció ösztönzése helyett végre a migráció megállítására kell koncentrálni.

3. Situación en los puntos críticos de las islas griegas, en particular el caso de Moria (debate)

Die Präsidentin. – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über die Erklärungen des Rates und der Kommission zur Lage in den Hotspots auf den griechischen Inseln, insbesondere im Lager Moria (2019/2898(RSP)).

Tytti Tuppurainen, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Madam President, the situation in the hotspots on the Greek islands is extremely difficult. According to this week's Integrated Situational Awareness Analysis report, over 47 000 migrants have arrived by sea to the Greek islands this year.

This means there has been a 69% increase in arrivals by sea. Almost 36 000 persons are present on the islands, inside and many also outside official camp areas designed for a maximum of around 8 000. This is the first time we have reached such a high number since the implementation of the EU-Turkey Statement.

Conditions are unacceptable. Migrants and asylum-seekers are facing a dire situation, with significant shortages of basic shelter and unsanitary, unhygienic conditions. At-risk groups such as people with disabilities are often unable to access basic services such as water, sanitation and hygiene facilities. Unaccompanied minors are accommodated in facilities which are not adapted to their needs. There are long lines for poor-quality food, mismanagement and lack of information which all contribute to a chaotic and volatile atmosphere.

Since the end of August there have been three deaths in and around the Moria camp. In September there were more than 1 000 unaccompanied minors in Moria. Most of them are living in unsuitable conditions with adults.

Madam President, honourable Members, urgent action is needed, and there are things that can be done quite speedily such as decongesting the islands, which is also the priority of the Greek Government. I understand that there are plans to transfer over 5 000 asylum-seekers already authorised to continue their asylum procedure on the mainland. To fast-track these plans would be helpful.

We also take note of government measures to speed up and tighten asylum procedures and manage flows to Greece by improving border surveillance. More observation posts are being put up at the land borders, surveillance of the Evros river is being stepped up, while at the sea borders the capacity of the harbour police will be boosted by providing additional vessels and personnel. Many more employees are being recruited to the Asylum Service. In this way, the ability to handle cases will be tripled.

These and other measures are part of the new ambitious asylum legislation that the Greek Parliament adopted on 31 October. It will be of utmost importance to implement, as fast as possible, the new provisions, including the asylum and return procedures.

On asylum, there is reportedly a backlog of 68 000 cases. With the new rules in place, asylum requests would be handled within 60 days. This is a very welcome development, provided that all required legal safeguards under EU law are also in place.

The return rate so far has been critically low for far too long. Returns are instrumental in keeping the numbers down on the islands. The plan of the Greek Government includes a target of returning 10 000 migrants by the end of 2020. This is ambitious, but it can be done with the appropriate procedures in place and assistance from international organisations for migration, Frontex, and EU Member States.

These measures go hand in hand with the legislative amendments on asylum and are all designed in order to reduce the overcrowding of the camps.

Effective returns also require the cooperation of Turkey. It is vital that both parties apply in good faith all the provisions and operating procedures agreed as a result of the statement.

It is difficult to predict if arrivals will continue in line with their current trends. Depending on the situation in Turkey (the extended deadline to arrange for legal papers expired on 31 October) and the situation along the Turkish-Syrian and Turkey-Iranian borders, the current pressure may be maintained for some more weeks.

Regardless of the way the situation develops in Turkey and the region, the urgent steps described above must be taken immediately to reduce overcrowding and ensure dignified conditions for all people in the camps.

I am certain that the Commission in its statement will elaborate on the assistance and advice it provides to the Greek Government on this issue.

Dimitris Avramopoulos, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, dear colleagues, as you all know, Greece has been exposed to migratory pressure for many years now.

While there is no comparison with the intensity of the situation five years ago – definitely, we are not where we were at that time – we all recognise the huge challenge that Greece is facing and that Greece is constantly exposed to migratory pressures, which at periods becomes difficult to bear.

At the beginning of the year 2019 there were more than 35 000 migrants present on the 'hot spot' islands. 17 000 migrants were present on Lesbos alone. It has been, and it remains, a priority of this Commission to help the entire country in addressing these challenges.

Urgent action is needed to alleviate the pressure on the islands and to improve the conditions for migrants and refugees. We need to do everything we can to support national authorities and we do it.

As regards now the financial support, the Commission has made available to Greece EUR 2.2 billion since 2015 — the largest financial support ever provided to a Member State for migration. We have also been providing technical and operational support with colleagues from the Commission being deployed on the ground and being in regular contact with the Greek authorities.

We have been doing that during the last five years – supporting the previous government and the current government in Greece. They are doing whatever they can in order to address this issue.

However, and as you know, the role of the national authorities in handling the situation on the ground remains of paramount importance. I want to be very clear on that. The Commission can only provide support. It cannot replace the Greek authorities.

The Commission at all levels – operational but equally politically, is in permanent contact with the Greek authorities.

At the beginning of October, I visited both Athens and Ankara, together with the Minister of the Interior of Germany, Mr Seehofer, to discuss the situation with the government in both countries and find ways to address the challenges – also in the context of the EU-Turkey statement.

In addition, just a few weeks ago, a technical mission at the highest level, with my Director-General, Ms Paraskevi Michou, also went to Greece to discuss ways to further support Greece in developing effective solutions to the challenges on the ground.

In fact, many of the existing problems have become worse with an increase of arrivals to the islands over the last six months.

The de-congestion of the islands and the need to increase the reception capacity on the islands and on the mainland remain a key priority.

More efficient asylum procedures would greatly contribute to improving the processing of the asylum requests. This would also help in speeding-up the return of those who have no right to stay. Moreover, ensuring the provision of adequate health care and, in particular, intensifying the preparations for winter accommodation remain paramount and very urgent.

Seeing those images of vulnerable people stranded in the cold in the past has been a collective shame for Europe. We simply cannot have another winter like that and we have been given all the assurances from the Greek government that they have taken care of it.

As you know, the Greek parliament has adopted a new law on asylum and reception on 31 October with the objective of making procedures more efficient without compromising on fundamental rights. It's a very important step forward.

We have been following closely its adoption process. Once it will be formally notified to the Commission, we will assess the law's compliance with the EU legal framework.

Now, let me give you some examples of EU support on the islands. The creation of a new reception and identification centre on the island of Samos, which Greece is currently working to implement with EU funding, is a positive step towards improving the living conditions on the island. It is important to make the new centre operational as soon as possible and no later than January 2020.

The Commission staff on the island of Lesbos has facilitated with the agreement of the authorities the renting of an area where asylum seekers have improved living conditions.

In September 2019, the Commission provided an additional EUR 4.2 million funding to the International Organisation for Migration for the creation of safe zones on all hot-spot islands. The critical situation of unaccompanied minors in Greece continues to be a top priority and I have personally called for a proactive approach to find new places and reach tangible results as well as to facilitate their integration.

In this context, the Commission has recently awarded an emergency assistance project for the creation of safe zones dedicated to unaccompanied minors on the islands of Lesbos, Samos, Leros and Kos.

I know that the Minister of the Interior of Greece has also urged his counterparts to relocate unaccompanied minors. Everybody should be part of this effort. It is not a Greek problem. It is not a neighbourhood problem. It is a European problem.

The Commission supports such bilateral agreements between Member States, including financially. The assistance of Member States, on the basis of solidarity and responsibility, is of utmost importance.

Migration remains an issue of joint responsibility of all Member States and the Union as a whole. Management of migration is testing every day the values and the principles upon which Europe is built.

As I said before, it is a European issue and even an issue of global dimensions. At this moment, today, as we are here in Brussels, more than 400 million people are somewhere in the world seeking a safe haven – migrants or refugees. And the root causes are still there and unfortunately, they will be there for many many years, so we have a huge responsibility to address this issue and lead the whole world in providing support to these people and finding practical solutions.

At the same time returns need to be accelerated – also in the context of the effective implementation of the EU-Turkey statement. The pace, the rhythm, of returns from Greece to Turkey remains critically slow with about 1 900 returns since March 2016, of which some 130 in 2019. The number is very low and we all know that.

This low level of returns is a huge obstacle to any progress. At the same time, also in the area of returns, Greece will not be left alone.

While a lot has to do with improved procedures by the Greek authorities, the European Borders and Coastguard Agency stands ready to provide operational and financial support to Greece for returning people – not only to Turkey under the EU-Turkey statement, but to their country of origin in full respect – I repeat it and I stress it – in full respect of the principle of *non-refoulement* and other safeguards embedded in our EU *acquis* on returns.

We acknowledge the efforts of Greece all these years, in all these interconnected areas. A lot has been achieved but there is still much to be done.

The Commission is committed to continuing working hand-in-hand with the Greek authorities and together with our agencies on the ground, to mobilising all support needed there.

Finally, let me conclude again by recalling that only together in a spirit of trust and unity we can find sustainable solutions for the big issue of migration in Europe.

I welcome last week's declaration by the President-elect when she announced that a draft proposal for a new migration package will be presented by the new Commission in the first/second quarter of next year.

It must indeed be our goal to become a model of how migration can be managed sustainably – with a human approach, but effectively. And believe me, our Commission has put a strong basis for that. Thank you very much for your attention.

Ελισσάβετ Βόζεμπεργκ-Βρυωνίδη, *εξ ονόματος της ομάδας PPE.* – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, το μεταναστευτικό πρόβλημα στην Ελλάδα έχει πάρει εκρηκτικές διαστάσεις ιδιαίτερα στα νησιά, όπου, κατά μέσο όρο τον τελευταίο καιρό, φτάνουν καθημερινά τριακόσιοι, τετρακόσιοι άνθρωποι από τα τουρκικά παράλια. Στη Μόρια, σε δομή φιλοξενίας 2 840 ανθρώπων, υπάρχουν δεκαπέντε χιλιάδες. Ενώ στη Χίο και τη Σάμο, αντίστοιχα, σε θέσεις 1000 και 650 ανθρώπων αντίστοιχα, φιλοξενούνται 4 800 και 6 200 άτομα. Μόνο τον Οκτώβριο ήρθαν με δεκάδες βάρκες 3 500 χιλιάδες άνθρωποι και οι ροές συνεχίζονται. Η νέα κυβέρνηση προχωρεί σε σταδιακή αποσυμφόρηση των νησιών, μεταφέροντας ευάλωτες ομάδες στην ενδοχώρα, ενώ με νέο νόμο επιταχύνει τις διαδικασίες ασύλου, με σεβασμό των δικαιωμάτων μεταναστών και προσφύγων. Παράλληλα οργανώνει τις δύσκολες επιστροφές μεταναστών και ενισχύει τη φύλαξη των εξωτερικών συνόρων. Όμως οι καθημερινές ροές επιδεινώνουν την κατάσταση και η Ελλάδα έχει αφεθεί μόνη της από τα κράτη μέλη να τη διαχειριστεί. Συνάδελφοι, έχετε υποχρέωση να σταθείτε δίπλα στη χώρα μου και να αποδείξετε έμπρακτα ότι μοιράζεστε το πρόβλημα. Δεν είναι δυνατόν να φιλοξενούμε 4 000 ασυνόδευτους ανήλικους και τα κράτη μέλη να αρνούνται να πάρουν ένα μέρος. Το τόνισε μόλις ο κύριος Επίτροπος. Δε ζητούμε χάρη ή προνομιακή μεταχείριση αλλά ίση και δίκαιη διαχείριση και αντιμετώπιση. Η Ελλάδα εκπληρώνει στο ακέραιο τις υποχρεώσεις της. Οφείλουν όλες οι χώρες της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης της αλληλεγγύης και του κράτους δικαίου να πράξουν το ίδιο.

Claude Moraes, *on behalf of the S&D Group*. – Madam President, let me address immediately what the Commissioner said, that this was a collective shame for Europe, but Commissioner, you mentioned Europe, not just Greece and last week we were able to question the new Greek Interior Minister on the sharpest, most difficult problem in Moria today, which is the 4 000 unaccompanied minors and he told us that one Member State – one – had answered positively to his request to take unaccompanied minors.

These are, I remind people in this Chamber, minors, some of whom are trying to commit suicide, minors who are fearful when they go to bed at night. That is the shame on all of us, but one Member State stumped up. The Commission later informed us that three Member States agreed to take in some of the minors.

I could really stop there, because this tells us all we need to know about the solidarity of the Member States. It tells us all we need to know about the blockage of the package on reception conditions and all the other long-term solutions that we needed to have in this area. So when we have the new pact, let's just remember what the long-term problems are in this area.

But let's return to the short-term problems before the winter because the short-term problems are about human beings, not just the children but everyone on Moria, because we've seen what is happening on Moria; we see 17 000 people and only three or four government doctors and we see NGOs telling us it's an emergency. So let's deal with that emergency before the winter but let's be clear, it's a longer-term problem and we need solidarity, real solidarity.

Sophia in 't Veld, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Madam President, I would like to start by saying that I in no way doubt the personal commitment of the minister and the Commissioner. However, we've had this debate before. This is now the fourth winter – the fourth winter – that we have left people, human beings, living in appalling conditions. Not because there are no boats going from the islands to the mainland. They are there for one reason only: it's a result of policy choices, it is deliberate. We have a collective responsibility.

But I would like to point the finger at the Council, because I think it is deeply shameful that the Council for four years now has flatly refused to take its responsibility and adopt the Asylum Package. I think it is remarkable that 28 leaders of EU Member States – so, fairly civilized – cannot agree among them on this, but they can make a deal with Mr Erdoğan, they can make deal with Libyan militias, and now they're even talking about making a deal with Mr Assad! What planet are we living on? And you know what? Asylum and migration policy is supposed to be decided by QMV, qualified majority voting, and the Member States are refusing to do that, whereas we know that there is a majority. Maybe, Madam President, we should reintroduce national vetoes for cohesion funds and other EU funds and let's see what that does to the sense of solidarity of some Member States. We should not be settling political conflicts on the back of helpless people, vulnerable people, stuck on the islands. The first thing that needs to be done is to remove them from there, in their interests but also in the interests of the local people who have been remarkably patient – a lot more patient than some of the people in our own countries who have applied a lot of anti-migration pressure. The people in Greece have been remarkably patient. So I think the Council should finally take its responsibility, adopt the package, remove the people from there and let's have a proper, humane, civilised and efficient common policy.

(Applause)

Erik Marquardt, *im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin! Vielen Dank, Herr Avramopoulos, für den Bericht. Ich freue mich insbesondere, dass Sie aus Samos berichtet haben, darüber, wie die Situation dort ist, weil ich im April versucht habe, mir das anzuschauen, und es mir nicht möglich war, dort Zugang zu bekommen. Es war mir nicht nur nicht möglich, Zugang zu bekommen, sondern am Ende habe ich die Polizeistation im Camp sehen müssen, weil die Campmanagerin mich in die Polizeistation gesteckt hat statt mich im Camp herumzuführen. Das ist jetzt ein kleiner Punkt, aber es zeigt auch ein bisschen, wie wir gerade mit der Situation umgehen und dass wir eigentlich nicht zeigen wollen, wie schlimm sie ist.

Ich habe mir hier einige Notizen gemacht, aber ich kann mich eigentlich den Vorrednerinnen und Vorrednern anschließen. Ich war letzte Woche auf Lesbos. Man weiß nicht mehr, was man sagen soll. Seit vier Jahren diskutieren wir dieses Thema. 70 % der Arbeit wird durch Ehrenamtliche gemacht. Es gibt keine Schulbildung, keine staatliche Schulbildung für Kinder dort in den Camps. Das Camp in Moria hat 3 000 Plätze, und 14 000 Leute sind da. Es gibt unbegleitete minderjährige Geflüchtete, die dort auf den Straßen schlafen müssen. Wenn wir uns dann anschauen, was in den letzten Jahren passiert ist: Die Mitgliedstaaten haben am Anfang gesagt: Okay, 160 000 Leute wollen wir aus Italien und Griechenland umsiedeln. Am Ende hat man 100 000 Plätze zugesagt, und herausgekommen ist, dass knapp 30 000 Leute umgesiedelt wurden. Das ist wirklich so, dass europäische Solidarität eben am Ende so nicht

aussieht. Ich finde auch, dass man sich fragen muss: Wie kann es denn sein, dass in Europa Leute in Sommerzelten überwintern müssen? Das sagt doch nichts über die Größe des Problems auf den griechischen Inseln aus, dass es dort so ist, sondern eigentlich sagt es viel über unsere Größe aus. Ich würde mir eigentlich wünschen, dass wir im nächsten Winter nicht wieder die gleiche Diskussion führen.

Jean-Paul Garraud, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Madame la Présidente, la Grèce connaît une véritable submersion migratoire avec une augmentation récente de 29 % du nombre de migrants par rapport à la même période en 2018. La situation est tellement dramatique que des émeutes ont récemment éclaté dans le camp de réfugiés surpeuplé de Moria, sur l'île grecque de Lesbos, émeutes qui ont fait plusieurs victimes.

Face à cette situation tragique à la fois pour les populations locales et les réfugiés, le gouvernement grec a annoncé sa volonté de renvoyer en Turquie quelque 10 000 migrants d'ici à la fin 2020.

Ce qui se déroule actuellement dans les îles grecques est une nouvelle démonstration de l'échec d'une politique immigrationniste qui, sous couvert d'idées généreuses, précipite des milliers d'êtres humains dans des situations dramatiques.

Accroître les moyens en faveur de ces migrations accentuera encore davantage le nombre déjà considérable de migrants. Au lieu de faire croire à un eldorado à ces malheureux, il est indispensable de rétablir une procédure rigoureuse d'asile, de fermer les frontières tant que la situation n'est pas maîtrisée, et d'agir vers les pays sources d'immigration.

N'oublions pas aussi que notre devoir de solidarité doit surtout concerner nos propres populations qu'il convient de protéger de flux migratoires incontrôlés.

Εμμανουήλ Φράγκος, *εξ ονόματος της ομάδας ECR*. – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, ως Έλληνας και ως νησιώτης, θέλω να δηλώσω απερίφραστα την απογοήτευση και τη θλίψη μου σχετικά με την κατάσταση που επικρατεί στα ελληνικά νησιά σήμερα και τη συμπαράστασή μου στους κατοίκους των νησιών αυτών. Αλλά όχι μόνο στα λόγια. Πρέπει να πράξουμε. Ο ελληνικός λαός μας επέλεξε για να έχουμε μία φωνή στην Ελλάδα και στην Ευρώπη, την Ελληνική Λύση, τον Κυριάκο Βελόπουλο και εμένα, και γι' αυτά θα φωνάξουμε. Η διασπορά των ανθρώπων αυτών στην ενδοχώρα είναι στρατηγικό λάθος γιατί καθιστά στην ουσία ανενεργή τη συμφωνία Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης και Τουρκίας για τις επιστροφές από τα νησιά, μια συμφωνία που ούτως ή άλλως η Τουρκία δεν τηρεί. Πρέπει η Ελλάδα να κηρυχθεί άμεσα σε επείγουσα κατάσταση λόγω αιφνίδιας εισροής υπηκόων τρίτων χωρών, όπως προβλέπει το άρθρο 78 της Συνθήκης για τη λειτουργία της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, και να ληφθούν επειγόντως μέτρα. Να κλείσουν τα σύνορα της Ελλάδας τώρα! Οι κάτοικοι προσπαθούν γενναία να αναπληρώσουν καθημερινά την αδράνεια της Ευρώπης στην αντιμετώπιση του ζητήματος. Δεν πρέπει να συνεχίσουμε να σπαταλάμε τους κοινοτικούς πόρους σε μία συμφωνία με τον Erdoğan, την οποία η Τουρκία δεν εφαρμόζει. Η χώρα μου δεν αντέχει άλλους λαθρομετανάστες. Η Ευρώπη πρέπει να δράσει άμεσα, όχι ως απλός μελετητής των γεγονότων, αλλά ως ενεργό μέλος της Διεθνούς Κοινότητας. Και, επαναλαμβάνω, θλίβομαι να βλέπω τη χώρα μου μέρα με τη μέρα να καταστρέφεται από αυτή την κατάσταση. Πώς το επιτρέπουμε αυτό;

Κωνσταντίνος Αρβανίτης, *εξ ονόματος της ομάδας GUE/NGL*. – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, πρέπει κατ' αρχήν να τονίσουμε τις πολύ σημαντικές προσπάθειες του Επιτρόπου, του κ. Αβραμόπουλου, σε όλη αυτή τη δύσκολη δοκιμασία που έχουν περάσει η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση και η Ελλάδα. Θέλω όμως να τονίσω δύο άλλα πράγματα, γιατί θέλω να το ξέρει και ο ίδιος και το Σώμα, για την άποψη που έχουμε για τη δουλειά που έκανε ο κ. Αβραμόπουλος. Ποιο είναι το θέμα: εδώ έχουμε δύο κόσμους, τον κόσμο της Ακροδεξιάς, ο οποίος έχει τη Δεξιά να φέρνει τα αιτήματα και να μιλάει για Ευρώπη-φρούριο, και τον προοδευτικό κόσμο. Δύο είναι οι κόσμοι. Η προστασία του ευρωπαϊκού τρόπου ζωής αλλάζει σε προώθηση του ευρωπαϊκού τρόπου ζωής. Εμμένετε σε μία λάθος πολιτική. Βλέπετε τους ανθρώπους ως πρόβλημα και δεν βλέπετε το πρόβλημα. Νομίζετε ότι το πρόβλημα είναι ο πρόσφυγας και όχι ο πόλεμος. Δεν βλέπετε τα αίτια, βλέπετε το αποτέλεσμα. Η κατάσταση στη Μόρια, κυρίες και κύριοι, είναι τραγική. Εγώ θα σας πω πάντως γιατί απέτυχε η πολιτική της Δεξιάς, της Δεξιάς του Ευρωπαϊκού Κοινοβουλίου. Η κυβέρνηση της Αριστεράς διαχειρίστηκε 850.000 ανθρώπους στα τέσσερα χρόνια που ήταν στην κυβέρνηση· σε τέσσερις μήνες δεν μπορούν να διαχειριστούν, με αυτή την πολιτική της Δεξιάς, ένα μικρότερο πρόβλημα. Νομίζω ότι πρέπει να αλλάξει απολύτως η πολιτική σας.

Λευτέρης Νικολάου-Αλαβάνος (NI). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, η Ευρωκοινοβουλευτική ομάδα του ΚΚΕ επισκέφτηκε το προηγούμενο διάστημα πολλές από τις δομές που υπάρχουν, και στα νησιά και στην ενδοχώρα, και βεβαίως τη Μόρια στη Μυτιλήνη. Πάνω από 15.000 πρόσφυγες βρίσκονται εκεί, η πλειοψηφία σε σκηνές, με έναν γιατρό και έναν παιδίατρο. Η εκρηκτική αυτή κατάσταση μαζικού εγκλωβισμού που έχει διαμορφωθεί στη Λέσβο, στη Σάμο, στη Χίο και σε άλλα νησιά, στρέφεται κατά των κατοίκων και των προσφύγων και τώρα επεκτείνεται στην ενδοχώρα. Όμως αυτή η κατάσταση είναι αποτέλεσμα ακριβώς της ίδιας αντιλαϊκής πολιτικής, της απαράδεκτης συμφωνίας Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης–Τουρκίας, του κανονισμού του Δουβλίνου που εφάρμοσε και η προηγούμενη κυβέρνηση. Ο δε νόμος της κυβέρνησης της Νέας Δημοκρατίας για το άσυλο ουσιαστικά

περιορίζει την έννοια του «πρόσφυγα» με τιμωρητικές διατάξεις σε βάρος των προσφύγων, ενισχύοντας την καταστολή στα σύνορα, τις απελάσεις, τα κλειστά κέντρα κράτησης, όπως προβλέπεται στις οδηγίες της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης. Εδώ και τώρα πρέπει να εξασφαλιστούν αξιοπρεπείς συνθήκες φιλοξενίας, ιδίως για τον χειμώνα, με ειδική μέριμνα για τους ασυνόδευτους ανηλίκους· πρέπει να παρθούν άμεσα μέτρα για τη μεταφορά τους στις χώρες πραγματικού προορισμού τους. Καμιά νέα Μόρια! Να κλείσουν όλα τα hot spots και ταυτόχρονα να δυναμώσει η κοινή πάλη Ελλήνων, προσφύγων και μεταναστών, εργατών, για έναν κόσμο χωρίς φτώχεια, χωρίς εκμετάλλευση, χωρίς πολέμους και προσφυγιά!

Jeroen Lenaers (PPE). – Madam President, a struggle for survival in hell on earth; thousands of people in dire conditions in Greece; welcome to prison: winter hits one of Greece's worst refugee camps; third migrant dies in a week in harsh Greek camp conditions. Four articles; four different media outlets; four different winters. For four winters we have been discussing here the urgent action needed in Greece. And it's not just about Greece; it is a European challenge, and the lack of solidarity is indeed appalling. Indeed, if a Greek minister sends his 27 colleagues a letter to ask for help and only one of them replies, what does that say about the other 26? What does that say about any of us? How many people need to freeze to death or drown in the Mediterranean before we actually come to a sustainable solution for the future? And I know there are no easy or quick fixes, but complexity can never be an excuse to refuse any kind of progress year after year after year. Decongesting the islands; getting the inflow of migrants under control again; better protection of external borders; humane reception conditions for refugees; efficient asylum procedures where we distinguish between refugees and economic migrants; effective returns; better cooperation with third countries; responsibility-sharing within the EU: we all know what needs to be done. All the pieces of the puzzle are there on the table. It is time to act.

Birgit Sippel (S&D). – Frau Präsidentin! Nicht nur in Moria auf der griechischen Insel Lesbos dulden wir, dass geflüchtete Menschen unter erbärmlichen Bedingungen verbleiben müssen.

Im Stich gelassen werden dabei auch die Mitarbeiter von Hilfsorganisationen, Freiwillige und Anwohner, deren Hilfsbereitschaft angesichts fehlender Unterstützung zunehmend in Überforderung und Ablehnung mündet. Alle europäischen Staaten zeigen mangelnde Solidarität, Zusagen auf Verteilung werden schlicht nicht umgesetzt. Dabei wäre etwa die Verteilung der Asylerstanträge von 2015 auf unserem Kontinent mit 510 Millionen Menschen wirklich keine allzu große Herausforderung gewesen. Denn verteilt auf alle unsere Kommunen hätten diese Zahlen etwa für Städte mit 20 000 Einwohnern gerade einmal die Aufnahme von 51 geflüchteten Menschen bedeutet.

Promoting our European Way of Life – das, was wir seit vier Jahren erleben, sollte nicht *promoted*, sondern endlich effektiv beendet werden.

Malik Azmani (Renew). – Madam President, winter is coming and a lot of colleagues mentioned already that this is the fourth winter since the EU's Turkey Statement and we still have the same debates in this Parliament, but also in the parliaments of the Member States, about the deplorable circumstances for migrants on the Greek islands. The same debates say that the Greek asylum procedures are too slow and too lengthy. Operational and financial support from the EU side is not a problem. We are not naive. Don't we all know why? The question is, do we still accept it? What can we also expect from the new Greek Government? New legislation is a good start, for sure, but it's also about action. How difficult is it, proper shelters for migrants, how difficult?

If Greek asylum procedures functioned properly, returns under the EU's Turkey Statement could take place. That puts less pressure on the situation of the islands, since it would reduce new and irregular arrivals instead of an increase as now. What more can the EU do to have adequate and swift proceedings in Greece?

Damien Carême (Verts/ALE). – Madame la Présidente, il y a 15 jours, je suis allé sur l'île de Samos, en Grèce, pour témoigner de la situation des personnes migrantes. J'ai constaté des conditions de vie inhumaines, indignes. Elles sont 6 100 pour une capacité d'accueil de 650 personnes: dix fois plus! Sur Lesbos, c'est cinq fois plus. Pour beaucoup, l'accès aux sanitaires, aux douches ou à la nourriture est impossible. C'est contraire aux normes du Haut-commissariat aux réfugiés et la construction du nouveau camp de 1 000 places que vous évoquez, Monsieur le Commissaire, ne suffira donc pas.

Ces *hotspots*, comme l'accord avec la Turquie d'Erdoğan ou avec la Libye, sont la honte de l'Europe. Mais la Grèce ne fait que subir les conséquences de cette décision désastreuse de l'Union européenne. La Commission est responsable de la mise en place de ces *hotspots* qu'elle finance, Monsieur le Commissaire, et chaque gouvernement qui refuse l'appel à la solidarité de la Grèce est responsable, Madame la Représentante du Conseil.

Il est urgent d'accélérer les transferts des îles vers le continent pour mettre fin à la surpopulation dans les *hotspots* et de multiplier les relocalisations vers d'autres pays européens. Ce n'est pas à une crise migratoire ou encore moins à un tsunami migratoire, comme le soutient abjectement l'extrême droite, auxquels nous sommes confrontés mais bien à une crise de l'accueil.

Gianantonio Da Re (ID). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, Commissario, negli ultimi due mesi 18 000 persone sono arrivate nelle isole greche, più del doppio di quelle arrivate un anno fa.

La situazione nelle isole greche è ormai al collasso, soprattutto negli hotspot come quello di Moria che, pur avendo una capienza di 3 000 posti, conta oggi 13 000 persone. A causa dell'offensiva turca nel nord-est della Siria, la situazione potrebbe peggiorare con un ulteriore aumento di flusso di profughi siriani.

L'hotspot di Moria ben rappresenta il fallimento della politica migratoria europea. L'apice di tale fallimento è stato raggiunto nel 2016 con l'accordo tra l'Unione europea e la Turchia, siglato per fermare il flusso dei rifugiati dalla costa occidentale di Ankara alla Grecia. L'accordo prevedeva che le isole della Grecia fossero utilizzate come aree di sosta temporanee per i migranti della Turchia che tentavano di raggiungere l'Europa orientale, a condizione, però, che i migranti sarebbero tornati nel territorio di Ankara. Ebbene, a causa del malfunzionamento di tale accordo, oggi continuiamo ad avere 30 000 migranti intrappolati in Grecia.

Oggi la Grecia, come l'Italia, paga l'incapacità dell'Unione europea nel gestire i flussi migratori, anziché lavorare seriamente sui programmi di ricollocazione, sottostando ai ricatti di Erdogan.

Nicola Procaccini (ECR). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, cambia continuamente il titolo dei dibattiti ma la discussione resta sempre la stessa, perché evidentemente non si hanno chiare le ragioni del dibattito.

Innanzitutto nessuno si occupa mai delle cause dell'emigrazione, non se ne parla mai. Secondo, l'ideologia «*no border*», che ritiene che i confini tra i popoli siano delle sovrastrutture, esattamente come nel secolo scorso considerava la proprietà privata una sovrastruttura.

E poi, terzo, l'ipocrisia di affidarsi a un sultano capriccioso e imprevedibile come Erdogan, affidando le redini del futuro dell'Unione europea ad una nazione non europea. E questo la dice lunga sull'ipocrisia di tutti quelli che si definiscono, qui dentro, europeisti.

Miguel Urbán Crespo (GUE/NGL). – Señora presidenta, 14 000 personas en un campamento para 3 000. Tres muertes por las condiciones de hacinamiento en septiembre. Quinientas personas para cada letrina. Esto es lo que define el objetivo de la necropolítica migratoria europea y su utilización como advertencia a las y los migrantes. Esto es lo que vimos cuando visitamos el campo de Moria y, a pesar de eso, seguimos escuchando la misma hipocresía y ninguna solución. Hipocresías como la del ministro griego, declarando que su nueva política estará centrada en la preocupación genuina por los migrantes. Se le olvidó mencionar aquí, en el Parlamento, que el período de detención aumenta con su reforma, que se restringe el acceso a la sanidad pública y que el proceso de petición de asilo va a ser una pesadilla. Cerrar Moria y todos los campos, trabajar en el origen de los problemas, garantizar rutas seguras, dejar de alimentar conflictos bélicos, respetar la legislación humanitaria y no hacer negocio con las fronteras son las únicas salidas posibles. Ningún invierno más con Moria abierto.

(El orador acepta responder a una pregunta formulada con arreglo al procedimiento de la «tarjeta azul» (artículo 171, apartado 8, del Reglamento interno)).

President. – Ms Šojdrová, you are the next but one speaker and we are really running out of time. Is it okay if you replied in your speech? Is that okay?

Michaela Šojdrová (PPE), *blue-card question.* – *(inaudible)* … previous speaker because I don't agree with his speech.

Já opravdu chci zareagovat na to, co řekl předchozí řečník, protože já nemohu souhlasit s tím, že předchozí řecká vláda udělala všechno pro to, aby bylo rychlé azylové řízení, aby v Řecku nebyly nedoprovázené děti na ulicích. Bohužel jsou. Sleduji to více než tři roky, tuto situaci, a oceňuji novou řeckou vládu, které udělala konkrétní opatření. Já o nich budu mluvit. Pane poslanče, víte, kolik nedoprovázených dětí se nachází v Aténách a v dalších místech a co udělala bývalá řecká vláda, aby tyto děti nebyly na těchto ulicích? Odpovězte mi.

Miguel Urbán Crespo (GUE/NGL), *respuesta de «tarjeta azul».* – Mire, yo he estado en Lesbos y en Moria en varias ocasiones. He estado en 2015, he estado en 2017 y he estado en 2019.

¿Sabe cuál es la diferencia? El campo de Moria ya era un campo nefasto; ahora, con el nuevo Gobierno, es mucho peor. Antes había siete mil personas, ahora hay catorce mil. Antes se podía ir a la sanidad pública, ahora no se puede. Tres médicos —¡tres médicos!— para catorce mil personas; quinientas personas por cada letrina.

Eso es lo que está haciendo el Gobierno griego actual. Y eso no es lavarle la cara tampoco al actual Gobierno.

El problema no solo es de Grecia, el problema es europeo. Y no estamos dando resultados, no estamos dando soluciones y la solución no puede ser seguir amparando a Turquía y un acuerdo de la vergüenza.

Ιωάννης Λαγός (NI). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, το πρόβλημα είναι τεράστιο, όχι μόνο στη Μόρια αλλά και σε όλη την Ελλάδα. Είναι τεράστιο το πρόβλημα στην πατρίδα μου και το ερώτημα είναι: πώς είναι δυνατόν να συζητούμε συνέχεια για τους λαθρομετανάστες, για τους οποίους οι Έλληνες δεν έχουν καμία ευθύνη για το ότι έχουν κατακλύσει την πατρίδα μας, και να μη μιλάμε για τα προβλήματα που έχουν δημιουργηθεί στους Έλληνες συμπολίτες μας; Πόσοι από σας ξέρετε ότι σε όλη την Ελλάδα οι Έλληνες έχουν ξεσηκωθεί και προσπαθούν να διώξουν όλους τους λαθρομετανάστες από την πατρίδα μας; Δεν τους δεχόμαστε άλλο πλέον. Έχουν μπει μέσα, ληστεύουν, κάνουν ό,τι θέλουν, προσπαθούν να αλλάξουν τα ήθη και τα έθιμα του τόπου μας. Δεν είναι πλέον αποδεκτοί από την ελληνική κοινωνία και εδώ είναι τεράστια η ευθύνη που έχει η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, γιατί με τις δικές σας οδηγίες οδηγηθήκαμε στο να είναι αυτή τη στιγμή η πατρίδα μου, η Ελλάδα, μια αποθήκη λαθρομεταναστών. Και εφόσον τελικά αποδέχεστε το παιχνίδι και τις απειλές που σας κάνει ο Erdoğan και η Τουρκία, λέγοντας ότι, ανά πάσα ώρα και στιγμή, μπορεί να ανοίξει τα σύνορα για να μπαίνουνε εδώ μέσα οι λαθρομετανάστες και να κάνουν ό,τι θέλουν στην πατρίδα μου, τη στιγμή μάλιστα που εσείς του δίνετε παχυλά κονδύλια για να συνεχίσει να τα κάνει αυτά, μία λύση από την ελληνική κυβέρνηση – εάν υπήρχε εθνική κυβέρνηση, γιατί δυστυχώς δεν υπάρχει – θα ήταν να άνοιγε και η Ελλάδα τα σύνορα και να διοχέτευε όλους τους λαθρομετανάστες σε όλη την υπόλοιπη Ευρώπη, με τους επικίνδυνους τζιχαντιστές και τους εγκληματίες που είναι εκεί. Να δούμε τότε τι θα κάνατε! Και θέλω να τονίσω, για άλλη μία φορά εδώ, ότι είναι απαράδεκτη η πολιτική της ελληνικής κυβέρνησης, η οποία μεταφέρει τους λαθρομετανάστες στην ενδοχώρα, γιατί έτσι χάνουμε και το τελευταίο δικαίωμα που έχουμε για επαναπροώθηση των λαθρομεταναστών. Πρέπει να κλείσουν άμεσα τα σύνορα και να απελαθούν οι λαθρομετανάστες!

Michaela Šojdrová (PPE). – Paní předsedající, situace na řeckých ostrovech se zhoršila. Proč? Protože Turecko chce vracet uprchlíky do Sýrie, kde je stále válka, takže ti lidé se bojí. Turecko přestalo dodržovat dohodu s členskými státy EU, aby zadržovalo a integrovalo uprchlíky, a to přesto, že Evropská unie zaplatila Turecku téměř šest miliard eur na tuto činnost. Je nutné, aby Turecko přijímalo zpět nelegální uprchlíky, kteří nemají nárok na azyl a budou případně z ostrovů umístěni na pevnině. Vyzývám proto v této chvíli Komisi i Radu, aby neprodleně jednaly s Tureckem o pokračování spolupráce v této věci, aby Turecko plnilo dohodu. Myslím, že to je životně důležité nejenom pro Řecko, ale pro celou Evropskou unii a tady souhlasím s kolegy, že to je evropský problém, nejenom turecký.

Pane kolego, já jsem v hotspotu Moria byla před rokem a půl, v dubnu 2018. Tehdy tam bylo šest tisíc uprchlíků a už v té době ta situace tam nebyla vhodná pro děti, pro lidi, kteří jsou nějakým způsobem hendikepovaní. Byl to přelidněný hotspot, čili čtrnáct tisíc lidí, kterých je tam teď, to si ani nedovedu představit a chápu novou řeckou vládu, že tyto lidi chce přemístit na pevninu, aby tam byly lidské podmínky. O větší aktivitě vlády svědčí také dopis ministra Chryssochoidise, který požádal členské státy, aby přijaly dva a půl tisíce nedoprovázených dětí a věřím, že i Česká republika se připojí a pomůže dětem. Já jsem o to našeho ministra vnitra požádala a občanská společnost v České republice žádá ministra České republiky, aby pomohl nedoprovázeným dětem z Řecka… *(předsedající řečnici odebrala slovo)*

Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). – Señora presidenta, ministra Tuppurainen, comisario Avramopoulos, entre el invierno y el infierno, en los últimos cuatro años no ha habido un solo segundo de tregua para el desafío que los refugiados en Moria, Lesbos, plantean al conjunto de la Unión Europea. Para un campamento de 2 800 plazas, 17 000 se hacinan, miles de ellos menores no acompañados. Pero son un grano de arena en el desierto de la crisis, que no es humanitaria, ni de refugiados, sino política por la ausencia de solidaridad, que es un mandato vinculante —desde hace diez años, desde el Tratado de Lisboa—, clamorosamente incumplido por los Estados miembros, que han dejado abandonada a su suerte a Grecia, como después a Italia y también a la costa española. Es una situación insostenible que lleva a intentar externalizar la cuestión de la atención necesaria a los refugiados a Turquía, a Libia, por no hablar de la pesadilla de tener que negociar de nuevo con Bashar al-Asad en Siria y, por supuesto, del drama que supone que no haya habido una respuesta a la altura del propio Derecho europeo, que es vinculante. Hace falta una respuesta eficaz, una respuesta humana, pero, sobre todo, una respuesta consistente con el Derecho europeo en vigor. Los realojamientos, los reasentamientos son Derecho europeo en vigor y ya va siendo hora de que la Comisión los haga cumplir.

Maite Pagazaurtundúa (Renew). – Señora presidenta, sabemos que la responsabilidad es del Consejo, pero señor Avramopoulos, usted no puede tener la cara dura de decir que estamos hablando de tener un modelo de cómo gestionar asilo y refugio con tacto y humanidad teniendo Moria como una realidad.

Hemos dejado solos a los griegos, hemos dejado sola a Grecia y hemos dejado a miles y miles de personas en un infierno. Usted estuvo en Moria en 2015; no estaría más de dos horas. ¿Ha vuelto?

¿Usted se puede atrever a hablar de un modelo «con tacto y humanidad», cuando hay quince mil personas en Moria pasando frío, sin letrinas, pasando riesgo de violencia?

Hay que cerrar Moria: es una fábrica de estrés postraumático. No podemos dejar a gente allí, meses y meses, pasando frío, pasando hambre, sin darles una solución —la que sea—.

Da igual el modelo que nosotros decidamos, da igual que sea de derechas o de izquierdas. No puede existir Moria, señor Avramopoulos, no vuelva utilizar la palabra… *(la presidenta retira la palabra a la oradora).*

Alice Kuhnke (Verts/ALE). – Fru talman! I Moria på Lesbos lever 13 000 människor i ett läger anpassat för 3 000. Det krävs ingen fantasi för att förstå att misären är enorm. Hälften av dessa människor är barn och en fjärdedel av dem mår så dåligt att de på olika sätt skadar sig själva.

Varför lyssnar inte vi till experter och volontärer, till de som faktiskt är på plats i lägren och gör allt de kan för att minska lidandet? Är vårt högmod så stort att vi tror oss veta bättre än Läkare utan gränser, bättre än EU:s byrå för grundläggande rättigheter och bättre än EU:s asylstödskontor? Vi måste dels få fram en långsiktig plan för EU:s asyl- och migrationspolitik, dels måste vi stänga dessa läger, dessa hotspots.

Kommissionär Avramopoulos, i dag får du ett brev av mig där jag uppmanar dig att stänga Morialägret och se till att barnen kommer till en säker plats.

Teuvo Hakkarainen (ID). – Arvoisa puhemies, kun siirtolainen on saanut jalkansa mantereellemme, häntä on lähes mahdotonta palauttaa. Kreikan saariston tapahtumat osoittavat tämän. Samalla paikallisten asukkaiden elämä häiriintyy vakavasti. Tähän on kuitenkin olemassa ratkaisu, eikä muuta ratkaisua olekaan. Josko EU viimeinkin sulkisi rajansa. Meillä on voimavarat ja tarvittava kalusto valvoa rajojamme ja estää loputon muukalaisvyöry. Matkaanlähtijöille on saatettava tieto, että Euroopan ovet ovat sulkeutuneet. Kun tämä tieto leviää, tulijavirta tyrehtyy itsestään. Euroopan on toimittava ennen kuin olemme tilanteessa, jossa on mahdotonta toimia. Vai uskooko joku, että tulijavirrat loppuvat vastaanottamalla?

(Puhuja suostui vastaamaan sinisen kortin kysymykseen (työjärjestyksen 171 artiklan 8 kohta))

Maria Grapini (S&D), *Întrebare adresată conform procedurii „cartonașului albastru”.* – Vreau să-i adresez colegului următoarea întrebare: crede că trebuie să tratăm toți refugiații la fel? Trebuie să ne jucăm cu viața copiilor, a femeilor, nu ar trebui să vedem cauza, pentru ce vin acești oameni, vin de plăcere? Sau vin de nevoie? Sunt nevoiți să plece și unii mor pe drum sau sunt aruncați în apele mărilor. Cum credeți că trebuie să tratăm viața oamenilor? Să o tratăm în funcție de naționalitate, în funcție de vârstă, în funcție de sex sau să ne gândim la viața oamenilor?

Teuvo Hakkarainen (ID), *vastaus sinisen kortin kysymykseen.* – Vuonna 2015 Suomeen tuli pakolaisvyöry, yli kolmekymmentätuhatta henkeä, ja suurin osa heistä oli miehiä. Sieltä ei tullut naisia eikä lapsia. Tämä ongelma on siinä, että Eurooppaan eivät tule hätääkärsivät ihmiset vaan turvapaikkaturistit ja seikkailijat. He toimivat omien lakiensa mukaan noudattamatta meidän lakejamme.

Joachim Stanisław Brudziński (ECR). – Pani Przewodnicząca! Bardzo dużo emocjonalnych słów pada w tej debacie, bardzo dużo pada słów, które są swoistego rodzaju moralnym szantażem. Ja myślę, że dobrze byłoby, szczególnie polecam to posłom z lewej strony sali, aby zapoznać się ze sprawozdaniem specjalnym Europejskiego Trybunału Obrachunkowego „Azyl, relokacja i powroty emigrantów”: Czas na bardziej stanowcze działanie w celu wyeliminowania rozbieżności między celami a osiąganymi rezultatami. Z tego sprawozdania wynika, że dzisiaj w Grecji i we Włoszech, podobnie jak w całej Unii Europejskiej, liczba wydanych decyzji nakazujących powrót jest znacznie większa niż liczba migrantów, którzy faktycznie powrócili do kraju pochodzenia. Dlaczego? Większość z nich bądź uciekła z obozów, bądź też wykorzystuje te wszystkie instrumenty, które ta naiwna polityka daje im w ręce. Tutaj ja ze zdumieniem jako młody człowiek, który urodził się i dojrzewał w komunizmie, usłyszałem o rzekomym dobrodziejstwie tego totalitarnego systemu. W młodości byłem marynarzem i kiedy chcieliśmy uchronić się przed blindziarzami, wywieszaliśmy tabliczkę, że płyniemy do… *(Przewodnicząca odebrała mówcy głos).*

Maria Walsh (PPE). – Madam President, it was well documented, at this point that a humanitarian crisis in the Greek islands is extremely serious with Moria camp, one of the worst examples sheltering with over 10 000 people when it is designed to host 3 000 people.

Although the unpredicted increase in recent arrivals has seen the Greek authorities greatly step up in their emergency evacuations, the already overcrowded facilities have seen conditions on the island become dire. In July and August of this year, 73 children referred to Doctors Without Borders mental health teams, three young people had attempted suicide and 17 had self-harmed.

We cannot as leaders and as citizens within the 28 member states avoid and neglect our support and obligations towards EU solidarity. Yes, the principle of solidarity involves responsibility sharing; and yes solidarity can at times be unpopular; and yes there are faults in various systems – but colleagues the crisis is now the biggest humanitarian crisis facing the EU today.

We cannot afford to have the perspective that it is purely as a security issue. It has become an issue of fundamental rights. Each Member State must be willing to, and ready to, cooperate working within and whatever scale and context we can. It will make a difference. It will make a difference to Greece, and our colleagues here sitting in the Parliament representing Greece, and of course most importantly it will make a difference to our vulnerable citizens arriving into the European Union. This is a crisis and it needs our support immediately.

(Applause from certain quarters)

Sylvie Guillaume (S&D). – Madame la Présidente, la situation sur les îles grecques est catastrophique, c'est globalement à peu près la seule chose qu'on peut partager collectivement dans cet hémicycle. Mais elle n'est pas nouvelle et elle ne fait que se dégrader, ce que nous dénonçons depuis déjà des années. Et la Commission s'évertue à rappeler qu'elle a versé des millions à la Grèce pour gérer cette crise humanitaire, mais dans un tel contexte, l'argent n'est pas suffisant et je voudrais rappeler deux autres choses.

D'abord, que la fermeture de la frontière nord de la Grèce a pris au piège des dizaines de milliers de personnes, compliquant ainsi probablement la tâche des autorités grecques.

Et ensuite – la Commission le dit elle-même – que les retours depuis les îles vers la Turquie ne fonctionnent pas, si tant est que cette disposition soit acceptable.

Alors, au lieu de remettre la souveraineté européenne aux mains du président Erdoğan, la future Commission devrait travailler de façon plus efficace avec le Conseil pour enfin aboutir à un système équitable de répartition des demandeurs d'asile. Sans ce système, nous pourrons continuer de débattre de la situation dans les îles grecques, mais elle ne changera pas fondamentalement.

Michal Šimečka (Renew). – Madam President, everybody now sees that the situation in the Greek camps is reaching breaking point, and the stories and the pictures that we hear and see from the Moria camp, the starvation, the forced prostitution, the suicide attempts are a stain on the European conscience.

And it's also clear that not just Greece, but all relevant EU institutions and all Member States must help to alleviate this humanitarian human rights crisis. But we also know that it can't be properly solved if European migration policies are dependent on the whims, and held hostage by the whims, of President Erdoğan of Turkey. And the problem is also clear, and has been for some time, and that's the inability of the Council to come to a compromise on reforming our migration and asylum system, and from this European stalemate there is one clear winner, which is President Erdoğan, and there are clear victims, who are the thousands of people stranded and suffering in these islands of Greece.

Tineke Strik (Verts/ALE). – Voorzitter, de situatie op de Griekse eilanden is explosief: 30 000 mensen zitten nu vast in de overbevolkte kampen. De omstandigheden maken alle asielzoekers kwetsbaar en getraumatiseerd, maar kinderen hebben het extra zwaar. Zo'n 650 niet-begeleide minderjarigen verblijven nu zelfs zonder enige hulp, zonder enig onderdak buiten Moria en moeten zich zien te redden. Zij begrijpen de procedures niet en worden blootgesteld aan alle gevaren ten gevolge van de overbevolkte kampen. Mijn rechtstreeks verzoek aan de Commissaris is: wilt u er onmiddellijk voor zorgen dat deze niet-begeleide minderjarigen goed worden opgevangen! Ondertussen lijkt wegkijken en de verantwoordelijkheid afschuiven nog steeds het motto van de andere lidstaten. Wat echt nodig is, is niet een pakket dat de rechten verder inperkt, maar wel meer Europese solidariteit, om te beginnen door herplaatsing van asielzoekers en veel snellere gezinsherenigingsprocedures. Is het Finse voorzitterschap bereid hiertoe actie te ondernemen en dit ook te agenderen op de volgende JBZ-Raad? De Europese Rekenkamer wees gisteren ook op het permanente tekort aan experts uit andere lidstaten op de Griekse eilanden. Is de Commissie bereid juridische ondersteuning en medische zorg rechtstreekser te organiseren?

Jordan Bardella (ID). – Madame la Présidente, cela fait désormais quatre années que ladite crise des migrants n'en finit plus. Chaque jour en mer Égée, ce sont des centaines de migrants qui débarquent sur les côtes grecques, près de 45 000 depuis le début de l'année.

La situation est de plus en plus insoutenable, et cela pour tout le monde. En premier lieu pour la population locale, complètement débordée par cet afflux de migrants et qui doit désormais en assumer les conséquences.

La faute à qui? Aux États-nations égoïstes, qui refuseraient de porter le fardeau migratoire? Non, la faute est à l'Union européenne et à tous les dirigeants qui, dans les actes ou dans les discours, ont encouragé la venue de centaines de milliers de migrants et de clandestins en ouvrant grand nos frontières. La faute aussi à Frontex, censée protéger les frontières extérieures de l'Europe, mais qui se comporte aujourd'hui comme une véritable hôtesse d'accueil pour migrants.

Le modèle en la matière n'est pas en Europe, mais en Australie, dont la politique de renvoi automatique des navires et des clandestins et de traitement des demandes d'asile dans les pays de départ a permis de tarir les flux incessants. Il est temps de mettre en place un *«no way»* européen en mer Égée et de faire revenir l'ordre sur nos frontières.

Traian Băsescu (PPE). – Doamnă președintă, Uniunea Europeană trebuie să iasă din expectativa puțin onorantă de până acum și să acționeze energic și să stopeze migrația ilegală, dar și pentru a pune capăt pierderii miilor de vieți omenești în Marea Mediterană.

Avem mijloacele pentru a face acest lucru și propun Comisiei Europene și Consiliului să realizeze urgent un plan de acțiune în trei dimensiuni.

Primul, identificarea și neutralizarea rețelelor criminale care organizează și transportă migranții din sudul și estul Mediteranei în Europa.

Al doilea punct, implicarea forțelor navale ale statelor membre care să fie angajate în operațiunea de stopare a navelor la limita apelor teritoriale a portului de a îmbarcare.

Și în sfârșit, al treilea punct, o foarte bună selectare a migranților, pentru că unii sunt refugiați de război și-i apără convențiile.

Νίκος Ανδρουλάκης (S&D). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, συνάδελφοι, πριν από λίγο ακούστηκε ο λόγος του μίσους και της απανθρωπιάς. Αυτός ο λόγος καταδικάστηκε στις τελευταίες βουλευτικές εκλογές από τον ελληνικό λαό και πλέον το κόμμα της Χρυσής Αυγής και οι νεοναζιστές στην Ελλάδα είναι στα Τάρταρα της πολιτικής μας ιστορίας. Ας δούμε όμως τι γίνεται με τη δήλωση Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης-Τουρκίας: μόνο φέτος έχουν έρθει πάνω από 60 000 πρόσφυγες και μετανάστες στην Ελλάδα μέσω Τουρκίας. Είναι το 60% των συνολικών αφίξεων στην Ευρώπη. Από αυτούς, οι 30 000 έφτασαν τους τελευταίους τρεις μήνες. Παράλληλα, απ' το 2016 μέχρι σήμερα, μόλις 1 950 έχουν επιστρέψει στην Τουρκία. Σίγουρα η προηγούμενη κυβέρνηση δεν έκανε όσα έπρεπε για να αξιοποιήσει την ευρωπαϊκή χρηματοδότηση και για να βελτιώσει τις συνθήκες διαβίωσης στα κέντρα των νησιών του Αιγαίου. Όμως, χωρίς άμεσο νέο πρόγραμμα ευρωπαϊκής μετεγκατάστασης, χωρίς επιβολή κυρώσεων σε όσους αρνούνται να συμμετάσχουν, και χωρίς αναθεώρηση του κανονισμού του Δουβλίνου στο μέλλον, εάν δεν προχωρήσουμε σύμφωνα με την πρόταση του Ευρωπαϊκού Κοινοβουλίου, η αποτυχία θα κλιμακώνεται. Όποιος από εμάς νομίζει ότι το ζήτημα αυτό μπορεί να αντιμετωπιστεί μόνο με χρήματα και όχι με τις παραπάνω δράσεις απαξιώνει τις αξίες του ανθρωπισμού και της αλληλεγγύης.

Spontane Wortmeldungen

Λουκάς Φούρλας (PPE). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, υπάρχει μια πολύ όμορφη ελληνική λέξη που καταλαβαίνουν σε πάρα πολλές χώρες, είναι η «υποκρισία». Άκουσα πάρα πολλές φορές, περίπου τριακόσιες φορές, από τις 9.00 το πρωί μέχρι τώρα, «θα πρέπει να γίνει», «θα πρέπει να κάνουμε», «θα πρέπει να δράσουμε». Ποιος θα το κάνει ακριβώς δηλαδή; Ποιον περιμένουμε να το κάνει; Την Ελλάδα από μόνη της, που την αφήσαμε να διαχειριστεί ένα πρόβλημα, για το οποίο δηλώνετε εδώ ότι δεν είναι διαχειρίσιμο; Ποιον περιμένουμε ακριβώς; Όταν έρχεται ο Έλληνας υπουργός και λέει ότι 5 000 ασυνόδευτα μωρά είναι στην Ελλάδα και ζητούμε από τις χώρες να δείξουν αλληλεγγύη και ανταποκρίνονται μόνο μία-δύο χώρες, τι συζητούμε εδώ δηλαδή; Επαναλαμβάνω, τη λέξη «υποκρισία» την καταλαβαίνετε όλοι.

Domènec Ruiz Devesa (S&D). – Señora presidenta, no, no me había dado cuenta. Bueno, a propósito de lo que decía el diputado que ha tomado la palabra justo antes de mí, y además de suscribir todo lo dicho por los diputados progresistas en esta Cámara, y también lo que decía el comisario Avramopoulos sobre la necesidad de que el Gobierno y las autoridades griegas estén a la altura, es evidente que, además, Grecia —al igual que Italia, que España— representa, forma parte de la frontera exterior de la Unión Europea y de Schengen. Por tanto, la responsabilidad es de todos, es del conjunto de la Unión Europea y, en concreto, del Consejo.

Señora Tuppurainen, la señora in 't Veld ha dicho antes que existe mayoría en el Consejo para aprobar el paquete de Dublín. ¿Puede usted contestar de manera clara? ¿Es así? ¿Es verdad? ¿Hay una mayoría? Y, si hay una mayoría, ¿por qué no adoptan el paquete de Dublín? La situación de Moria es insostenible. El Consejo también tiene competencias para adoptar una decisión con carácter urgente, como se hizo en el año 2016.

Billy Kelleher (Renew). – Madam President, just to say at the outset, the fact of the matter is we're in this Chamber continually discussing the issue of migration and asylum seekers. The conditions on Lesbos and the Greek islands are absolutely appalling, but it is an absolute failure of the Council in particular because there is no will with the Council to address this particular issue and they've abandoned the refugees and asylum seekers on the Greek islands and on the Italian islands, but what we really have done and what the Council has really done it has abandoned the Greeks and the Italians and the Spanish in dealing with this particular issue. So we have to be very honest with ourselves. We will continually see these human tragedies unfolding across the Mediterranean if the Council does not accept its responsibility to deal with this issue. Let's be very honest, the people that are on Lesbos don't want to stay on Lesbos, they want to come to the European Union in its entirety because of sanctuary and because of opportunity. Yet we sit on our hands. We condemn and we discuss and the Council is moribund until such time as it adheres to its responsibility and addresses this particular issue – and that includes my government as well.

(Applause)

Julie Ward (S&D). – Madam President, the conditions in the hotspots on the Greek islands continue to deteriorate. Last month, protests at the Moria refugee camp left at least one person dead. This was the third fatal incident in the camp in the past three months. Moria was designed to host 3 000, but more than 14 000 people are currently living there. It's dangerous, overcrowded, depressing: a labyrinth that is slowly suffocating its inhabitants; a place where traumatised people are stripped of all dignity.

The hope that many had when they crossed the Mediterranean has been replaced with feelings of desolation. I'm particularly concerned about reports of teenagers who've attempted to commit suicide or are self-harming. These are young people who are missing out on school, whose rights are not being respected.

In light of the 30th anniversary of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, can we hold up our heads and say we are champions for future generations, when child refugees and migrants are living without dignity and hope?

We need a change of heart at EU level in the Council.

Δημήτριος Παπαδημούλης (GUE/NGL). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, η κατάσταση στη Μόρια και στη Σάμο είναι ντροπή για την Ευρώπη. Και ο μεγάλος ένοχος γι' αυτή την κατάσταση είναι το Συμβούλιο, κυρία Tuppurainen. Είναι οι κυβερνήσεις, οι οποίες άφησαν την πατρίδα μου την Ελλάδα, την Ιταλία και την Ισπανία με ελλιπή αλληλεγγύη. Αποφασίσατε στο Συμβούλιο μετεγκατάσταση 160 000 ατόμων από την Ελλάδα και την Ιταλία, την υλοποιήσατε κατά το 20% μόνο και την εγκαταλείψατε. Έχει παρουσιάσει η Επιτροπή και έχει βελτιώσει το Κοινοβούλιο μια μεταρρύθμιση των πολιτικών ασύλου, με εφτά φακέλους, και την έχετε και την κοσκινίζετε επί χρόνια, γιατί δεν θέλετε να αναλάβετε τις ευθύνες σας. Και ακούτε εδώ μέσα κραυγές νεοναζιστών και φασιστών που λένε ότι τα ασυνόδευτα ανήλικα είναι εισβολείς. Αν θέλετε να αποφύγουμε τη ντροπή, πρέπει επιτέλους να αναλάβετε τις ευθύνες σας.

Tudor Ciuhodaru (S&D). – Doamnă președintă, unitate în diversitate, deviza Uniunii Europene trebuie să însemne de fiecare dată două lucruri esențiale: și sănătate și solidaritate.

Constat că sunt multe probleme trenante, multe dintre ele se referă la reproșuri la adresa Consiliului și a Comisiei, și că aceste lucruri, mai ales din punct de vedere medical, nu au fost rezolvate. Eu sunt medic, medic de urgență în Iași, România, Spitalul Clinic de Urgență „Nicolae Oblu" și cred că trebuie să venim cu o soluție comună, de reanalizare a unor astfel de situații.

Nu poți lăsa doar pe umerii unor țări povara acestei sarcini iar pe de altă parte vă solicit astăzi să elaborăm un nou plan de acțiune european de asistență umanitară pentru că da, uitați câte probleme sunt. Suntem 751 de membri ai Parlamentului European, aleși direct, care ar trebui să spunem tare că aceste probleme trebuie rezolvate și nu uitați că cine salvează o viață, salvează întreaga lume.

(End of catch-the-eye procedure)

Dimitris Avramopoulos, *Member of the Commission.* – Madam President, thank you indeed for this very, very important debate. As I said, we will not stop supporting Greece in addressing these challenges. We are committed to continuing working hand in hand with the Greek authorities and together with our agencies on the ground to mobilise all support needed. We know about the situation and most of you were very vocal of that. But I was also very clear during my introductory remarks.

President. – Excuse me Commissioner. Colleagues, would you please be so kind and either take your seats or continue your discussions outside. We can hardly hear the Commissioner, especially the colleagues in the back and in the aisle. Hello? Are you listening? Would you please discuss outside and please be quiet and take your seats. Thank you.

Dimitris Avramopoulos, *Member of the Commission.* – I repeat what I said before, that we need a common and sustainable solution. I would like also to thank you for your support in this regard. This – but also the previous Parliament – has worked very hard. I'm sure that with your continued help, the new Common European Asylum System can become a reality soon.

Today is one of the last occasions for me to speak to you directly and openly in the context of a plenary meeting before my term finishes. Let me, therefore, first of all thank you wholeheartedly for the personal and collective exchanges that we have had, as well as the excellent cooperation over the past five years. It has been an honour and a privilege working together with you in order to work for our citizens and respond to unprecedented challenges for our common house, Europe, to deliver a Europe that is more resilient, more secure, but also more humane and to uphold the values and principles upon which the European Union is built.

This has been a constant battle, and it will be a continuing challenge for the years to come because, as I said before, migration came to stay for many, many years and Europe has to be better prepared. This is what we have been doing together during the last five years – how to address certain fears and concerns of our citizens without becoming isolated, intolerant or exclusionist.

Earlier this week we all commemorated 30 years since the fall of the Berlin Wall, a division that was larger than Europe and ran through its very heart. The fall of the Berlin Wall shows the power of our citizens and the power of our stamina, of not giving up, of believing – both individually but, more importantly, as a community. No single person could have demolished that wall, but a collective spirit did. This spirit should guide us in an unpredictable future. The European Union, our Charter of Fundamental Rights, which is also celebrating its 10 years by the way, our Schengen area of free movement; all of this is about keeping that collective spirit alive.

President. – Excuse me again. I can hardly understand what the Commissioner is saying, I don't know about you. The people who are concerned are not even listening now. Would you please stop talking at that volume, because we can't really hear the Commissioner speak. It is a matter of respect, so take your seats please.

Dimitris Avramopoulos, *Member of the Commission.* – Thank you. Well the past five years have shown that whatever comes our way – migration, climate change, terrorism – can only succeed if we work together in unity and trust.

Dear colleagues, migration and security challenges are testing our vision, our resilience, our commitment to our European principles. And this House is a fundament in that endeavour. This is what I experienced during the last five years. I am proud to have shared this supreme duty with all the democratic political forces in this House. I came here five years ago as a pro-European Greek politician, and I'm going back as an even more convinced and committed active politician of Europe. But above everything as a convinced European citizen. Thank you very much.

(Applause)

President. – Thank you very much Commissioner. Your last words, especially, were worth listening to.

Tytti Tuppurainen, *President-in-Office of the Council.* – Madam President, honourable Members of the Parliament, let me thank you for this valuable and timely discussion.

Winter is indeed coming. There's no doubt about the need to immediately address the many shortcomings we observe in the hotspots in an efficient way. As I have mentioned, I have no doubt that the new Greek Government is intent on improving conditions and amending the loopholes of the system that resulted in people waiting for too long.

(Appeal for silence from the Chair)

Dear MEPs, there are real people – also minors – waiting, living in inadequate facilities. We are discussing that now. And yesterday, dear MEPs, we had in this very plenary a vivid discussion on the rights of children, and many of you referred to the rights of migrant children. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child is the most widely-ratified human rights treaty in our history. All EU Member States are party to it. Thus, dear MEPs, it is our common responsibility – ours as EU citizens, ours as EU institutions, but also ours as EU Member States – to show solidarity to children in migration. The high number of minors in the Greek hotspots remains a matter of deep concern. All minors, no matter how old, no matter what their age: all minors need a vision of a better future, the most positive vision of the future the EU is able to provide.

The winter is coming, and we Finns certainly know what that means. As Mr Azmani, for instance, rightly pointed out, without delay there is a need for proper accommodation available to all refugees and migrants, and that should not be too difficult. This is a minimum and a starting-point for further help and concrete assistance, and I can only urge the Greek authorities and the Commission to speed up all the important work they do so that the people most affected can see an improvement in the difficult situation they are living in.

Dear MEPs, unfortunately, so far there hasn't been sufficient will among the Member States to proceed according to the Commission proposal, yet there is a clear need for a Dublin reform and a more comprehensive approach to manage migration. The Finnish Presidency is pleased that the future Commission is aiming high here. We support that. We are all looking forward to having new legislative proposals by the summer at the latest. We need to take action now. Thank you very much, Madam President, for this very timely discussion.

(Applause)

(The sitting was suspended briefly until voting time)

Written declarations (Rule 171)

Laura Ferrara (NI), *per iscritto*. – Pochi giorni fa, il Ministro greco per la Protezione dei cittadini, parlando della situazione nelle isole greche, ha usato le parole «catastrofe umanitaria» e «disastro sociale». Quelle isole sono diventate il principale ingresso in Europa dei flussi migratori provenienti da oriente. Nonostante l'accordo EU-Turchia e i 6 miliardi pagati per contenerli, dall'inizio dell'anno gli arrivi via mare sono stati quasi 50 000 in Grecia. Da agosto sono aumentati del 120% e sono diventati ingestibili, al punto da rendere impossibile ogni condizione umana di accoglienza. Le notizie da Moria, da Lesbo, come da Samos, Chios e altre isole, non lasciano spazio ad interpretazioni. Da troppo tempo in quelle isole d'Europa si calpestano diritti e umanità. Siamo di fronte al fallimento delle politiche europee di immigrazione ed asilo: la Grecia, come lo è stato per l'Italia e altri Paesi in prima linea, è lasciata da sola a fronteggiare un fenomeno che riguarda l'intera Unione europea.

Θεόδωρος Ζαγοράκης (PPE), *γραπτώς*. – Η ασφάλεια του Έλληνα πολίτη είναι η πρώτη και βασική προτεραιότητα. Το μεταναστευτικό είναι πρόβλημα ευρωπαϊκό και ως τέτοιο πρέπει να αντιμετωπιστεί από όλους εδώ στις Βρυξέλλες. Αυτή την ώρα, η Ελλάδα σηκώνει το βάρος. Βάρος το οποίο δεν μπορούμε να σηκώσουμε μόνοι μας. Οι συμπολίτες μας αυτή τη στιγμή ανησυχούν. Ανησυχούν γιατί θεωρούν ότι το πρόβλημα δεν μπορεί να λυθεί σύντομα. Ανησυχούν για την στάση των υπόλοιπων Ευρωπαίων. Δεν είναι δυνατόν να υπάρχει αυτή η ανταπόκριση στο δίκαιο αίτημα της χώρας μου. Δεν γίνεται να δείχνουμε αλληλεγγύη μόνο όταν υπάρχουν οικονομικά συμφέροντα. Οι πολίτες αγανακτούν, διότι πιστεύουν ότι τα χρήματα που δόθηκαν τόσα χρόνια για την αντιμετώπιση του προβλήματος δεν πήγαν στα σωστά χέρια. Αυτή την ανησυχία, οφείλουμε να την καταλάβουμε και να την αντιμετωπίσουμε με πράξεις. Ο Έλληνας πρωθυπουργός και η κυβέρνησή εργάζονται σκληρά για να βρουν λύσεις. Μπορούμε και πρέπει να αντιμετωπίσουμε το πρόβλημα ενωμένοι. Με αλληλεγγύη και καλές συνθήκες διαβίωσης για τους πρόσφυγες που έχουν ανάγκη, με επιστροφές στις χώρες τους για όσους δεν δικαιούνται άσυλο, με έλεγχο σε αυτούς που διαχειρίζονται τα κονδύλια και, επιτέλους, με αποφασιστική φύλαξη των συνόρων μας.

PRESIDÊNCIA: PEDRO SILVA PEREIRA

Vice-Presidente

4. Reanudación de la sesión

(A sessão é reiniciada às 11h36.)

5. Turno de votaciones

Presidente. – Passamos agora à votação.

(Para os resultados e outros pormenores da votação: ver ata)

5.1. Suplicatorio de suspensión de la inmunidad de José Manuel Fernandes (A9-0023/2019 - Ibán García Del Blanco) (votación)

5.2. Ventas a distancia de bienes y ciertas entregas nacionales de bienes (A9-0019/2019 - Ondřej Kovařík) (votación)

5.3. Movilización del Fondo Europeo de Adaptación a la Globalización – EGF/2019/001 BE/Carrefour – Bélgica (A9-0021/2019 - José Manuel Fernandes) (votación)

— *Antes da votação:*

José Manuel Fernandes, *rapporteur.* – Monsieur le Président, pour la première fois, le Conseil veut refuser la mobilisation du Fonds européen d'ajustement à la mondialisation. C'est une honte pour le Conseil! Alors que les règles sont les mêmes et qu'il y a des cas similaires où le Conseil a voté en faveur d'une mobilisation du Fonds.

Le Fonds européen d'ajustement à la mondialisation sert pour les gens qui ont perdu leur emploi. Dans ce cas, on parle de plus de 1 000 citoyens belges, dont 81 % ont plus de 55 ans, qui ont perdu leur emploi. La mobilisation de ce Fonds est aussi demandée pour plus de 300 jeunes qui ne sont ni en formation, ni dans le système d'éducation.

C'est une honte! Le Conseil veut appliquer les règles régissant ce Fonds pour la période 2021-2027, mais ce sont les règles actuelles que le Conseil doit appliquer. Il y a une cacophonie totale au Conseil, une division totale des États membres entre ceux qui votent en faveur, ceux qui votent contre et ceux qui s'abstiennent. Je vous invite tous à faire preuve d'union, comme d'habitude, en ce qui concerne ce fonds et à voter en faveur de sa mobilisation lors du vote final. Au moins, les citoyens peuvent faire confiance au Parlement, qui respecte l'état de droit, les droits des citoyens et les règles.

5.4. Oposición con arreglo al artículo 112 del Reglamento interno: algodón modificado genéticamente LLCotton25 (ACS-GHØØ1-3) (B9-0170/2019) (votación)

5.5. Oposición con arreglo al artículo 112 del Reglamento interno: soja modificada genéticamente MON 89788 (MON-89788-1) (B9-0169/2019) (votación)

5.6. Oposición con arreglo al artículo 112 del Reglamento interno: maíz modificado genéticamente MON 89034 × 1507 × NK603 × DAS-40278-9 y subcombinaciones MON 89034 × NK603 × DAS-40278-9, 1507 × NK603 × DAS-40278-9 y NK603 × DAS-40278-9 (B9-0171/2019) (votación)

5.7. Oposición con arreglo al artículo 112 del Reglamento interno: maíz modificado genéticamente Bt11 × MIR162 × MIR604 × 1507 × 5307 × GA21 y maíces modificados genéticamente que combinan dos, tres, cuatro o cinco de los eventos Bt11, MIR162, MIR604, 1507, 5307 y GA21 (B9-0172/2019) (votación)

5.8. Criminalización de la educación sexual en Polonia (B9-0166/2019, B9-0167/2019, B9-0168/2019) (votación)

Presidente. – O período de votação está encerrado.

6. Explicaciones de voto

6.1. Criminalización de la educación sexual en Polonia (B9-0166/2019, B9-0167/2019, B9-0168/2019)

Declarações de voto orais

Annika Bruna (ID). – Monsieur le Président, cette résolution, votée avec la complicité de la droite, consiste à intimider une nation souveraine qui a fait des choix, en termes de politique migratoire ou sociétale, divergeant de la doxa libérale européiste. Vous condamnez des décisions de la Pologne qui n'existent pas. La commission a avoué qu'aucune législation actuellement en vigueur ne criminalise l'éducation sexuelle en Pologne.

Sur le fond, cette résolution entend imposer aux citoyens européens l'enseignement de la théorie du genre dès le plus jeune âge. Elle soutient des recommandations de l'OMS qui vont, dans certains États, honteusement, jusqu'à l'éducation à la masturbation, pour les 0-4 ans.

Mais c'est sur le principe que cette résolution et la plus abjecte, en s'opposant aux éventuelles décisions d'un parlement national démocratiquement élu avant même qu'il ne légifère. Rappelons que les traités stipulent que l'Union respecte la responsabilité des États en termes d'éducation. Le Parlement européen n'a donc aucune légitimité pour dire au peuple polonais comment il doit éduquer ses enfants.

Michaela Šojdrová (PPE). – Pane předsedající, obsah vzdělávání je věcí členského státu. A já mám důvěru v demokratický systém i ve zdravý rozum občanů Polska, že nedovolí kriminalizovat učitele, kteří budou citlivě a úměrně věku vzdělávat žáky o tak citlivém tématu, jako je právě sexuální vzdělávání. Ale musí si to rozhodnout sami, musí si to rozhodnout polský parlament.

Já rozumím mým polským kolegům z Občanské platformy a dalším, kteří mají obavu o vývoj v Polsku. Víme o tom, že polská vláda má snahu zasahovat do svobody a nezávislosti médií i soudů. Nezastírejme si to. Ale já přesto důvěřuji polskému parlamentu, že nedovolí kriminalizovat dobrou práci polských učitelů ve prospěch žáků.

Guido Reil (ID). – Herr Präsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Die Frühsexualisierung ist für mich der übelste Auswuchs des in Europa um sich greifenden Ökofaschismus.

Wir reden darüber, dass vierjährige Kinder von Erwachsenen angeleitet werden sollen zu masturbieren. Für mich ist das pervers, und für mich ist das krank. Ich bin stolz darauf, dass das katholische Volk Polen, das familien- und kinderfreundliche Volk Polen sich dagegen auflehnt. Die Erziehung der Kinder gehört in die Hände der Eltern. Die Erziehung der Kinder darf niemals Auftrag des Staates sein.

Wir setzen uns für Freiheit und für Souveränität ein. Wir sind absolut dagegen, den Kindern ihre Zukunft zu stehlen. Frühsexualisierung – ich sage es noch mal ganz klar – ist für mich krank und pervers.

Alexandra Louise Rosenfield Phillips (Verts/ALE). – Mr President, before I became an MEP I lobbied governments across the United Kingdom to implement comprehensive age-appropriate LGBT-inclusive relationship and sex education. Age-appropriate relationship and sex education is essential for the creation of a positive and respectful approach towards relationships, sexuality and sexual relationships, and empowers children and teenagers. It is a crucial and indispensable tool to transform harmful gender norms and fight against gender-based violence, transphobia, homophobia, gender stereotypes, sexism and, crucially, safeguarding.

With this vote we have called on the Polish Parliament to reject this bill and to stamp out the lies and disinformation surrounding the teaching of inclusive relationship and sex education. All children deserve high-quality LGBT-inclusive education so that they can grow up in a tolerant society where no one is afraid to be themselves.

Ангел Джамбазки (ECR). – Г-н Председател, гласувах срещу тази резолюция по две основни причини. На първо място, резолюцията е ярък пример за това какво не трябва да преви Европейският парламент, защото образованието е въпрос на вътрешни работи, на вътрешна организация, на вътрешен национален суверенитет. Не е мястото и не е задачата на Европейския парламент да решава задачи, свързани с образованието във всяка една суверенна държава – членка на Европейския съюз, включително и в Полша. Това е категорична намеса и категорично надхвърляне на Договорите.

На второ място, обаче, гласувах „против“, защото тази пропаганда – наречете я както искате, ЛГБТ и хомосексуална или каквато и да е – няма място в училище. Това е един нов болшевизъм, това е един нов опит на децата да бъдат внушени определени категорично болшевишки идеи.

Категорично отхвърлям всеки подобен опит за намеса във вътрешните работи на всяка суверенна държава членка.

Klára Dobrev (S&D). – Elnök Úr, Kedves Képviselőtársaim! Valamikor régen, a sötét középkorban, az egyházaknak nagyobb volt a hatalma sok királynál is. A felvilágosodás után azt hittük, hogy ezeket a sötét időket már magunk mögött hagyhatjuk. Ehhez képest pedig azt látjuk, hogy a vallási fundamentalizmus nemcsak távoli földrészeken, messzi kontinenseken, hanem itt, Európában, Európa szívében tér vissza.

Vallási fundamentalisták akarnak ismét tiltani, beleszólni legszemélyesebb ügyeinkbe, beleszólni abba, hogy kit és hogyan szerethetünk, hogyan taníthatjuk a gyerekeinket. Magyar képviselőként én rettegve figyelem, ahogy Orbán rendszere exportálja Lengyelországba az illiberalizmust, és van bennem egy félelem, hogy a lengyel vallási fundamentalizmus meg fog jelenni Magyarországon is, és ismét majd papok fogják meghatározni az életünk minden egyes apróbb részletét. Én ezt nem fogom engedni, ez ellen tiltakozni fogok, és ezt fejeztem ki a mai szavazatommal is.

Jackie Jones (S&D). – Mr President, I'm very pleased to support this cross-party motion for a resolution condemning the criminalisation of sexual education in Poland. In the 21st century we need education fit for the modern world, and that includes learning about sexual education. It also includes learning about healthy relationships and what that means. This is part of fulfilling our obligations under the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. We celebrated its 30th anniversary just yesterday, and we are celebrating it again, I'm sure, next week as well. That convention clearly states that children are rights holders, and that includes being able to learn how to respect each other, how to respect our own bodies and their bodies, and equality and dignity. That is what this world is about; that is what the EU stands for, and that's what the United Nations stands for. That's what the S&D Group stands for.

Julie Ward (S&D). – Mr President, age-appropriate sex and relationship education or SRE is vital if all our sons and daughters are going to grow up to be healthy and happy citizens who can contribute to society. I'm proud to have co-authored a successful report in the last mandate on empowering women and girls through education, which included a recommendation regarding SRE. This House supports gender equality, which means advancing the rights of non-binary people. In that respect we must ensure that SRE also extends to LGBTIAQ+ people. Perhaps then I would not have to march in future Polish Prides with police protection, as I did in Plock this summer, where I was on the receiving end of right-wing, fascist violent abuse. Criminalising educators for offering SRE to schools is unacceptable in any EU Member State. Poland needs to enter the 21st century.

Stanislav Polčák (PPE). – Pane předsedající, úvodem chci říci, že jsem tento návrh rezoluce podpořil a také bych chtěl zdůraznit, že nepokládám za rozumné, aby se národní politické střety, národní politické souboje přenášely na evropskou úroveň, protože Evropská unie by se tím mohla zmítat v těchto národních politických bojích, které jsou přirozené.

Ale jsou zásadní témata, kde si myslím, že má smysl, aby se Evropská unie vyslovila a abychom i my přednesli naše stanovisko. Tak tomu bylo podle mého názoru i v tomto případě. Já pokládám sexuální výchovu, která je prováděna vzdělávací institucí, za podstatnou součást formování člověka, samozřejmě musí mít vliv i rodina, to je samozřejmě pochopitelné, ale právo na toto vzdělávání má to dané dítě. A podle mého názoru je důležité toto právo zachovat a neohrozit ho. Já vím, že ten návrh ještě schválen nebyl, že tento návrh není návrhem polské vlády, ale pevně věřím, že slyší jasný signál i z našeho prostředí, že toto téma pokládáme za nutné, aby bylo zachováno jako evropská hodnota, to znamená přístup k plnohodnotnému systému vzdělávání.

Daniel Hannan (ECR). – Mr President, Brussels has no locus here, there's no legal base for our intervention, there is no conceivable way in which we can define sex education in schools as being something that is necessary to the smooth functioning of an internal market in Europe.

There is a wide and legitimate range of opinions in this Chamber. We've heard some fairly eccentric ones, but everyone is entitled to a point of view.

But here's the thing: not one of us in this Chamber is answerable directly to the Polish electorate in the forum that decides education policy. Decisions of this kind, precisely these sensitive national issues, should be determined by the democratic institutions and mechanisms of the Member State.

It's pretty clear what's happened. Yet again, we have a motion intended to embarrass one member party which is in government in one Member State. The idea is that if you don't vote to bully and hector and lecture the Poles, that somehow you're homophobic or you're against equal rights. People are not that stupid. I'd make the point more widely: voters are brighter than a lot of people in this Chamber think they are.

7. Correcciones e intenciones de voto: véase el Acta

8. Presentación de documentos: véase el Acta

9. Decisiones relativas a determinados documentos : véase el Acta

10. Aprobación de las Actas del presente período parcial de sesiones y transmisión de los textos aprobados : véase el Acta

11. Calendario de las próximas sesiones: véase el Acta

12. Cierre de la sesión

(A sessão é encerrada às 12h18.)

13. Interrupción del período de sesiones

Presidente. – Informo os Colegas que não existem procedimentos de cartão azul nas declarações de voto. A Mesa não pode, por isso, aceitar o pedido que foi feito.

Explicación de los signos utilizados

*	Procedimiento de consulta
***	Procedimiento de aprobación
***I	Procedimiento legislativo ordinario (primera lectura)
***II	Procedimiento legislativo ordinario (segunda lectura)
***III	Procedimiento legislativo ordinario (tercera lectura)

(El procedimiento indicado se basa en el fundamento jurídico propuesto en el proyecto de acto.)

Abreviaturas utilizadas para las comisiones parlamentarias

AFET	Comisión de Asuntos Exteriores
DEVE	Comisión de Desarrollo
INTA	Comisión de Comercio Internacional
BUDG	Comisión de Presupuestos
CONT	Comisión de Control Presupuestario
ECON	Comisión de Asuntos Económicos y Monetarios
EMPL	Comisión de Empleo y Asuntos Sociales
ENVI	Comisión de Medio Ambiente, Salud Pública y Seguridad Alimentaria
ITRE	Comisión de Industria, Investigación y Energía
IMCO	Comisión de Mercado Interior y Protección del Consumidor
TRAN	Comisión de Transportes y Turismo
REGI	Comisión de Desarrollo Regional
AGRI	Comisión de Agricultura y Desarrollo Rural
PECH	Comisión de Pesca
CULT	Comisión de Cultura y Educación
JURI	Comisión de Asuntos Jurídicos
LIBE	Comisión de Libertades Civiles, Justicia y Asuntos de Interior
AFCO	Comisión de Asuntos Constitucionales
FEMM	Comisión de Derechos de la Mujer e Igualdad de Género
PETI	Comisión de Peticiones
DROI	Subcomisión de Derechos Humanos
SEDE	Subcomisión de Seguridad y Defensa

Abreviaturas utilizadas para los grupos políticos

PPE	Grupo del Partido Popular Europeo (Demócrata-Cristianos)
S&D	Grupo de la Alianza Progresista de Socialistas y Demócratas en el Parlamento Europeo
Renew	Grupo Renew Europe
Verts/ALE	Grupo de los Verdes/Alianza Libre Europea
ID	Grupo Identidad y Democracia
ECR	Grupo de los Conservadores y Reformistas Europeos
GUE/NGL	Grupo de la Izquierda Unitaria Europea/Izquierda Verde Nórdica
NI	No inscritos