

Maandag, 17 oktober 2022

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STRAATSBURG

VOLLEDIG VERSLAG VAN DE VERGADERINGEN VAN 17 OKTOBER 2022

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PRESIDENZA: ROBERTA METSOLA

President

1. Hervatting van de zitting

President. – I declare resumed the session of the European Parliament adjourned on Thursday, 6 October 2022.

2. Opening van de vergadering

President. – The sitting was opened at 17.02.

3. Verklaringen van het voorzitterschap

President. – Good afternoon, dear colleagues, welcome. Could I ask you to take your seats? Quite a lot of work ahead of us.

I will start with a few more announcements from my end before we come to the adoption of the agenda. First of all, today we mark International Day for the Eradication of Poverty. And on a day like today, we are reminded that far too many people still do not have access to food, water, clothing, shelter, education or health care. Far too many people are excluded from society, denied the possibility of a dignified job. Far too many people are not given the opportunities to achieve their potential.

Dear colleagues, our Europe has always been a front-liner in the fight against global poverty, but yet a lot still needs to be done. And, sadly, the impact of the pandemic and the direct consequences of Russia's illegal war in Ukraine are pushing millions into poverty, and we must work together to counter this.

Today we have the United Nations Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights in the chamber with us, Professor Olivier De Schutter. Thank you for all that you do in strengthening the protection of fundamental rights in Europe and around the world, thank you.

Five years ago, Daphne Caruana Galizia, a Maltese investigative journalist, was horrifically assassinated outside her home. They used a car bomb to kill a woman in an attempt to try to silence her to stop her exposing corruption and organised crime.

This Parliament has been at the forefront of calls for justice, for respect for the rule of law and for media freedom. And for the last half a decade, we have stood with Daphne's parents, sisters and children. We have legislated, we have demanded answers and we have scrutinised.

Last night, as President of this House, I addressed thousands who gathered in Malta and I promised that this House will channel grief into determination to ensure not only better laws for all, but justice for all those involved in her murder and justice for the stories that Daphne died to bring to light.

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So from here, I would like to say the European Parliament will always stand on the side of truth-seekers, on the side of democracy, on the side of our values.

Le 16 octobre marque également le triste anniversaire du meurtre du professeur français Samuel Paty. Samuel Paty était un citoyen français, un Européen, un enseignant qui travaillait pour aider à former la prochaine génération. Il était la personnification de nos valeurs, de la liberté européenne. Il a d'abord été traqué sur Internet avant d'être assassiné par ceux qui tentent de saper notre mode de vie. Nous rendons hommage à sa mémoire et à son héritage, tout en redoublant d'efforts pour poursuivre ceux qui répandent la haine.

Last two points: first of all, I must also mention the murder a few days ago of two young men in Bratislava. Our LGBTIQ community must be safe, we must fight hate. Matúš and Juraj should never have been a target. And their murder shows how far we still need to go. And I know that this Parliament will keep fighting and leading that fight.

And in view of our wide human rights sanctions package adopted today, I would like to pay tribute once again to the brave, defiant men and women still protesting in Iran. The world really is witnessing a generation standing up, and this women-led movement cannot be left alone. And these sanctions adopted today will hold accountable those who are responsible for the brutal crimes against women, young people and men, demonstrators outraged by the death of 22-year-old Mahsa Amini. So to the women on those streets: we hear you, the world sees you, we are with you.

4. Goedkeuring van de notulen van de vorige vergadering

President. – The minutes and the texts adopted of the sitting of 6 October 2022 are available. Are there any comments?

That not being the case, the minutes are approved.

5. Samenstelling Parlement

President. – Following the election of Mr Silvio Berlusconi, Ms Mara Bizzotto, Ms Simona Bonafè, Mr Carlo Calenda, Mr Andrea Caroppo, Mr Marco Dreosto, Ms Eleonora Evi, Mr Raffaele Fitto and Mr Antonio Tajani as Members of national Parliaments of Italy, Parliament takes note of the vacancy of their seats from 13 October 2022, in accordance with the Rules of Procedure.

Following the appointment of Mr Lefteris Christoforou as a Member of the European Court of Auditors, Parliament takes note of his vacancy from 2 November 2022, in accordance with the Rules of Procedure. Since Mr Christoforou is still here, we bid you farewell, Lefteris.

I have received from the competent authorities of Austria notice of the election to the European Parliament of Ms Theresa Muigg, replacing Ms Bettina Vollath with effect from 10 October 2020. Ms Muigg, welcome.

I have also received from the competent authorities of Sweden notice of election to the European Parliament of Mr Johan Nissinen, replacing Ms Jessica Stegrud with effect from 11 October 2020.

I wish to welcome these colleagues and recall that they take their seats in Parliament and its bodies in full enjoyment of their rights, pending the verification of their credentials.

6. Samenstelling commissies en delegaties

President. – The S&D, Verts/ALE, ID and ECR groups have notified me of decisions relating to changes to appointments within committees and delegations. These decisions will be set out in the minutes of today's sitting and take effect on the date of this announcement.

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7. Onderhandelingen voorafgaand aan de eerste lezing van het Parlement (artikel 71 van het Reglement)

President. – Several committees have decided to enter into interinstitutional negotiations pursuant to the Rule 71(1) of the Rules of Procedure. The reports, which constitute the mandates for the negotiations, are available on the plenary webpage and their titles will be published in the minutes of the sitting.

8. Ondertekening van volgens de gewone wetgevingsprocedure vastgestelde handelingen (artikel 79 van het Reglement)

President. – I would like to inform you also that, together with the President of the Council, I shall, on Wednesday, sign nine acts adopted under the ordinary legislative procedure in accordance with Rule 79 of Parliament's Rules of Procedure.

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

9. Mededeling van de fungerend voorzitter van de Raad

President. – Let me also inform you that the laureate of the Sakharov prize for 2022 will be announced on Wednesday afternoon at the end of the meeting of the Conference of Presidents, between 16.30 and 17.00.

The announcement will be preceded by the ringing of the bells and I warmly invite you to be present in the Chamber for this important announcement.

10. Regeling van de werkzaamheden

President. – And now we come to the order of business. The final draft agenda, as adopted by the Conference of Presidents on 12 October pursuant to Rule 157, has been distributed. I would like to inform you that I have received two requests for urgent procedure, from the AFET Committee and from the Council, pursuant to Rule 163 on: specific provisions for the 2014-2020 cooperation programmes following programme implementation disruption and proposal for a decision of the European Parliament and of the Council on the non-recognition of Russian travel documents issued in occupied foreign regions.

The vote on these requests will be taken tomorrow and, if adopted, the vote will be held on Thursday.

We now move to the changes requested by the political groups on Tuesday. In agreement with the political groups, I would like to inform you that the debate on continued internal border controls in the Schengen area in light of the recent ruling by the Court of Justice of the European Union has been advanced and will be held as a third point in the afternoon after the Question Time to the Commission. And the points on the oral questions on UN Climate Change Conference 2022 in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt and the Council and Commission statements on impact of the Russian invasion of Ukraine on migration flows to the EU will be taken only by the Commission.

Now for today, the Left group has asked that a Commission statement on Frontex's responsibility for fundamental rights violations at the EU's external borders in light of the OLAF report be added as a third point this afternoon. As a consequence, the sitting would be extended until 23.00.

I give the floor to Ms Cornelia Ernst to move the request on behalf of the Left group. Cornelia, you have the floor.

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Cornelia Ernst, *im Namen der Fraktion The Left*. – Frau Präsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Wir beantragen eine zusätzliche Debatte, und zwar eine Erklärung der Kommission zur Verantwortung von Frontex für Grundrechtsverletzungen an den EU-Außengrenzen im Lichte des OLAF-Berichts. Diese Aussprache sollte heute als dritter Punkt stattfinden. Wir beantragen das deshalb, weil der OLAF-Bericht bisher ja nur in einem kleinen Kreis, nämlich in der Frontex-Untersuchungsgruppe, überhaupt diskutabel wurde und den Mitgliedern dieser Gruppe und einem kleinen anderen Kreis praktisch nur zeitlich limitiert zur Verfügung gestellt wurde.

Aber dieser Bericht ist ein wirkliches Basisdokument für Menschenrechtsverletzungen, ein Nachweis von Menschenrechtsverletzungen – auch durch Frontex: nicht nur, dass Frontex an den Menschenrechtsverletzungen beteiligt ist, sondern es hat sie auch tatsächlich geduldet. Beides ist passiert. Es gab Anweisung, wegzusehen – vom damaligen Frontex-Chef Fabrice Leggeri. Es wurden illegale Praktiken gedeckt. Wir wurden in die Irre geführt. Mehrfach wurden wir belogen im Parlament. Das wissen wir jetzt, und das können wir dort nachlesen. Und es gibt auch eine Petition, dass eine Haushaltsentlastung für Frontex nicht stattfinden soll.

President. – Can I ask whether any colleague would like to take the floor to speak against this request?

Petri Sarvamaa (PPE). – Madam President, just very, very briefly. It is not factual what you said. This has been discussed in a full committee, which is the Budgetary Control Committee. So it has not just been discussed in the Frontex working group.

President. – We put the vote the request to a vote by roll call. I open the vote. I close the vote. And it has a majority.

And, therefore we will have a Commission statement on Frontex's responsibility for fundamental rights violations at the EU's external borders in light of the OLAF report to be added as a third point this afternoon, and the sitting is thereby extended until 23.00.

On Tuesday, the Renew Group has asked that Council and Commission statements on the growing hate crimes against LGBTQ people across Europe in light of the recent homophobic murder in Slovakia be added as the third point in the afternoon, after the question Time to the Commission. This debate would then be wound up with a resolution to be voted on Thursday. As a consequence, the sitting would be extended tomorrow until 23.00.

I give the floor to Vice-President Šimečka to move the request on behalf of the Renew Group.

Michal Šimečka, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Madam President, as you've already mentioned, on Wednesday night a 19-year-old extremist shot two people in front of a gay bar in downtown Bratislava and injured another. The attacker did not know their names. He didn't know the victims personally. All he knew was that they were members of the LGBTIQ community. That is the sole reason why they had to die.

The Slovak police are now investigating the case as an act of terrorism. To my knowledge, this would be the first terrorist attack against or targeting LGBTQ minority in the European Union. What is also important to note is that this act took place against the backdrop or against the culture of hatred, intimidation and intolerance against the LGBTQ minority not just in Slovakia, but in a number of Member States as well. That is why I would like, with your permission and with your support, colleagues, to move this debate and a resolution on growing hate crimes against LGBTIQ people across Europe in light of the recent homophobic murder in Slovakia.

I think Parliament now needs to send a strong signal of solidarity, but also of standing for human rights and of making clear that, in the European Union, nobody should feel threatened or nobody should have fewer rights just because of their different sexual orientation.

President. – Can I ask: does anybody want to speak against? I see nobody asking for the floor.

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So I put the request to vote by roll call. Vote is open. Vote is closed. And it's adopted. Therefore, we will have Council and Commission statements on growing hate crimes against LGBTQ people across Europe in light of the recent homophobic murder in Slovakia to be added as a third point in the afternoon, after the Question Time to the Commission. And then the debate will be wound up with a resolution to be voted on Thursday.

The deadlines are as follows: motions for resolutions: Tuesday, 18 October at 10.00. Amendments to the motions for resolutions and joint motions for resolutions: Wednesday, 19 October at 10.00. Amendments to joint motions for resolutions: also Wednesday at 11.00. Splits and separates: Wednesday at 19.00.

On Tuesday as well, the ECR Group has asked that the Council and Commission statements on recognising the Russian Federation as a state sponsor of terrorism to be added in the afternoon. The debate would be wound up with a resolution to be voted on Thursday.

I give the floor to Mr Charlie Weimers to move the request on behalf of the ECR Group.

Charlie Weimers, on behalf of the ECR Group. – Madam President, in retaliation for Ukraine attacking a legitimate military target, the Crimean Bridge, the Russian Federation unleashed a brutal bombardment against civilian targets across Ukraine. Terror is an integral part of the Russian war strategy.

But despite recent actions, as well as previous atrocities against the Ukrainian civilian population by the Russian Federation, the leaders of this Parliament last week voted against adding to this session's agenda a debate and a resolution calling for the Russian Federation to be designated a state sponsor of terrorism.

Now, we Conservatives would like to give all Members present a chance to correct the record by supporting the ECR Group proposal to debate and adopt a resolution during this part-session calling for Member States to take action. I ask for your support for this proposal.

President. – I see that Mr Gahler would like to take the floor.

Michael Gahler, on behalf of the PPE Group. – Madam President, colleagues, the EPP Group is prepared to hold this debate this week if it gets a majority. However, we think in order also to preserve the unity of the Parliament on the issue of Ukraine, we should let the discussion go a bit further and we should have the resolution in November II and not to have it at short notice.

There is a debate that is ongoing not only in Europe in our Member States, we have it in the Council of Europe, we have this debate in the United States, whether to have it or not to have it. So we should thoroughly reflect about how to position ourselves and not to do it too quickly in this week. So debate, yes, but resolution November II, that is our suggestion.

President. – Can I ask whether any Member would like to vote against the proposal to have the debate? Yes, go ahead, Ms Donato.

Francesca Donato (NI). – Madam President, I oppose myself to this request because I think that, on the basis of the facts that we have and that we know, labelling the Russian Federation as a state who supports terrorism is arbitrary.

We could do the same thing against Ukraine after the US have assessed that the murder of Darya Dugina has been made by Ukrainian secret services, and that is no doubt a terrorist assault. So if we do want to label some states for terrorism, that would be ones that we could label like at least formally.

President. – Can I ask Mr Weimers whether you, Charlie, would you be OK with the resolution being done at a later plenary so we can vote once ? Or would you insist that the resolution be done this week?

Charlie Weimers (ECR). – Madam President, I appreciate the proposal put forward by colleague Gahler and I would accept that.

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President. – OK, so we would vote once, and I open the vote to have a debate this week with resolution in November. Vote is open. Still, many colleagues have not voted. I close the vote. And it is approved.

So there will be the Council and Commission statement on recognising the Russian Federation as a state sponsor of terrorism to be added in the afternoon, and the resolution will be in November.

Also for Tuesday, the ID Group has asked that the Commission statement on combating violence against women – Strong and immediate measures to condemn the aggressors and support the victims be added as the last point in the evening before the explanation of votes.

I give the floor to Ms Virginie Joron to move the request on behalf of the ID Group.

Virginie Joron, au nom du groupe ID. – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, l'Union européenne prétend que la lutte contre les violences faites aux femmes et contre les violences sexuelles est une de ses priorités. Mais c'est avec gravité que nous découvrons des affaires d'agression sexuelle passées sous silence au sein des institutions européennes ou de grandes entreprises.

Au moment où l'Union européenne apporte son soutien aux femmes iraniennes, au moment où la lutte contre les violences sexuelles est au cœur de nos débats parlementaires, il est inadmissible de découvrir dans la presse, des années après, qu'une jeune femme a été violée par son supérieur dans les bureaux de la Commission. Elle n'aurait reçu aucun soutien, ni de son service, ni de l'institution. L'agresseur n'a pas éclopé de prison ferme et a continué de percevoir son salaire de la Commission.

Ainsi, nous vous demandons que le débat suivant soit ajouté: «La lutte contre les violences faites aux femmes – des mesures fortes et immédiates pour condamner les agresseurs et accompagner les victimes». Mes chers collègues, nous souhaitons votre soutien à cette initiative, au même moment où nous apprenons avec stupeur l'horreur qu'a subie Lola, douze ans. Quelles que soient nos différences, nous devons combattre ensemble ce laxisme pour éviter de telles situations.

President. – I understand that the Greens and the Left Group have counter-proposals to make. I give the floor first to Ms Terry Reintke. Let me also, Terry, welcome you officially as the new Co-Leader of the Green Group.

Terry Reintke, on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group. – Madam President, as you rightly said, we would have a counter-proposal and the title of the counter-proposal that we would like to put forward is 'fighting sexualised violence and violence against women: the importance of the Istanbul Convention and the need for a comprehensive directive against gender-based violence'. And we would like to propose this for Wednesday, as the fourth point of the agenda.

Let me give you the reasons why. First of all, because we believe that the timing is crucial. We do not want such an important topic to be moved to be the last item of the agenda, so we would like to have it moved up, for Wednesday.

The second point, and I really want to make sure that you understand this, we in this Parliament, we are not only a House for talking, we are a House for delivering. The Istanbul Convention and the directive against gender-based violence are two very important proposals that can really change the situation on the ground and make more tangible our fight against sexualised violence and violence against women. This is why we ask you to support our proposal.

President. – I also give the floor now to Ms Manon Aubry to present the counter-proposal on behalf of the Left Group.

Manon Aubry, au nom du groupe The Left. – Madame la Présidente, on peut reconnaître une chose à l'extrême droite, c'est qu'elle ne manque pas de culot et d'hypocrisie. Le groupe ID se déguise soudainement en chevalier blanc qui va venir défendre le droit des femmes et la lutte contre les violences faites aux femmes. Ce serait presque émouvant si vous n'étiez pas systématiquement opposés aux droits des femmes.

Où étiez-vous, chers collègues, quand il s'agissait de voter pour la formation obligatoire des députés européens contre le harcèlement sexuel? Où étiez-vous, collègues, quand il s'agissait de voter en faveur d'un accès universel au droit à l'avortement? Où étiez-vous, collègues, quand il s'agissait de soutenir la convention d'Istanbul sur la lutte contre les violences faites aux femmes? Oui, vous étiez très occupés, très occupés à vous attaquer systématiquement aux droits des femmes, très occupés à soutenir vos collègues qui remettent en cause le droit à l'avortement en Hongrie et en Pologne. Vous étiez très occupés, comme votre ancien collègue Gilbert Collard, à tenir des propos répugnants à l'égard d'une femme à l'Assemblée nationale.

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Alors oui, collègues, on ne joue pas à des jeux politiques avec la vie des femmes. Personne n'est dupe. Vous ne serez pas le défenseur des droits des femmes, vous en êtes le fossoyeur. C'est pour cela que nous faisons cette proposition alternative qui, manifestement, ne vous convient pas: «Cinq ans après #MeToo, harcèlement et violences sexuelles au sein des institutions européennes».

President. – We're going to put the request of the ID Group first to a vote by roll call. I open the vote. I close the vote. And it is rejected.

I now put the request by the Greens/EFA Group to vote by roll call. Vote is open. I close the vote. And it is adopted. And, therefore, we will have a Commission statement on fighting sexualised violence and violence against women, the importance of the Istanbul Convention and a comprehensive proposal for a directive against gender-based violence. And it is added as the second point on Wednesday afternoon.

Then we go to Wednesday. The Left Group has asked that Council and Commission statements on neo-colonial statements of the Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative at the inauguration of the European Diplomatic Academy be added as the sixth point in the afternoon, after the Commission statement on the Lukashenko regime's active role in the war against Ukraine.

I give the floor to Mr Marc Botenga to move the request on behalf of the Left Group.

Marc Botenga, on behalf of The Left Group. – Madam President, just quickly, dear colleagues, what's the difference between a garden and a jungle? A garden is a nice place where civilised human beings walk around. A jungle is the heart of darkness where wild animals live.

Now, many people in Africa, Asia, Latin America remember very well how in the name of civilisation, European colonialism treated them like wild animals, enslaving them, torturing them, and even exhibiting them in human zoos. Therefore, when the highest diplomat of the European Union compares Europe to a garden, but especially the rest of the world, to a jungle, the message these people hear is that Europe is still driven by neocolonialism. We cannot let that message pass. Therefore, I would ask you to put this topic on the agenda for discussion on Wednesday.

President. – Is there anyone who wishes to speak against? I see Ms Kanko would like to take the floor. Go ahead, Assita.

Assita Kanko (ECR). – Madam President, is what Josep Borrell said smart? Am I a big fan of Mr Borrell? No. Am I often unhappy when I hear what he says? Yes, but I can only say that what he said about Europe being a garden and the rest of the world being a jungle has nothing to do with neocolonialism, and people in Africa are not the rest of the world. There is also China. There is also the US. There are plenty of other places in the universe, and people in Africa today are not the people who were in Africa at the time of colonisation. These people today are bankers. These people today are engineers. These people today are fighting for a modern world. Stop seeing the Africa of the past. I fought against this. Mr Borrell did not say anything that is neocolonial.

President. – So I put the request of the Left Group to a vote by roll call. I open the vote. I close the vote. And it is rejected.

And, therefore, the agenda remains unchanged and the agenda is now adopted.

PRESIDENZA DELL'ON. PINA PICIERNO

Vicepresidente

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11. Internationale Dag ter uitbanning van armoede (debat)

Presidente. – L'ordine del giorno reca la discussione sulla dichiarazione della Commissione sulla Giornata internazionale per l'eliminazione della povertà (2022/2878(RSP)).

Nicolas Schmit, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, 'end poverty in all its forms everywhere' is the first of the 17 UN Sustainable Development Goals. According to the United Nations Global Compact, more than 700 million people – or 10% of the global population – still live in extreme poverty.

I am glad that Parliament decided to remind everyone that today is the International Day for the Eradication of Poverty, and I very much welcome this debate. Poverty is the root cause of many human rights and labour rights violations. For example, child labour, forced labour and human trafficking are each deeply connected to poverty.

When it comes to the European Union, according to Eurostat figures, in 2021, there were an estimated 95.4 million people in the EU at risk of poverty or social exclusion, which was equivalent to 21% of the total population: a really frightening figure.

According to AROPE rates, up until last year, relative poverty – linked to insufficient income – was declining from 2016 to 2018, but picked up again in 2019 and 2020. When it comes to adequate income, having a job is increasingly not necessarily a viable route out of poverty. In 2019, almost 1 in 10 workers experienced in-work poverty, a situation that is absolutely unacceptable. The COVID-19 pandemic halted the positive trend in poverty reduction over the past 25 years. The combined impacts of Russia's war of aggression towards Ukraine and of climate change may be further detrimental if we do not take bold measures to support the most vulnerable, but also those households that are suffering from skyrocketing energy price increases without seeing their income being adapted to this evolution.

The European pillar of social rights and the Porto targets put combating poverty at their core. The Union strategy to address poverty is reflected in the European pillar of social rights and its principles, whose objectives are providing equal opportunities for all, fair working conditions and social protection to fight against poverty and inequalities.

Lifting at least 15 million people, including at least 5 million children, out of poverty and social exclusion is our joint European target, proposed by the Commission in its action plan for the implementation of the pillar, and welcomed last year at the Porto Social Summit and endorsed by the European Council. We have to stick to this objective because poverty is hitting more and more families. All EU Member States have set their own national targets to reduce poverty, adding up and exceeding the EU targets.

Prior to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, social indicators for 2021 mainly flagged up positive changes. This was thanks to the contribution of social protection and social inclusion systems.

The at-risk-of-poverty or social exclusion rate for children remains higher than the rate for the general population. This is a real challenge, as children growing up in poverty or social exclusion are less likely to do well in school, enjoy good health and realise their full potential later in life. This is something we just cannot accept.

Young people have been strongly impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic. In addition, young people are generally less well covered by social protection systems, resulting in a higher risk of poverty or social exclusion for 16 to 29 year olds. They often face job precariousness and a lack of affordable housing.

While latest data confirm an improvement in the poverty and relative income situation of older people, older women face a significantly higher poverty risk and lower pensions than men do. Women's lower earnings and under-representation in the labour market translate into their higher risk of poverty. Other factors make women more vulnerable, such as single parenthood, disability and a migrant background. Women are also very often over-represented in sectors where wages are low and precariousness is high, and they are very often obliged to work part-time.

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Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine has caused a clear deterioration of the socio-economic outlook, and it has triggered a humanitarian crisis, with millions of Ukrainians having fled their country. At the same time, the criminal destruction of mainly civil infrastructure in Ukraine has pushed poverty up dramatically in this country.

Against this critical context and key challenges, strong action is needed. We need to continue to tackle the source of the soaring energy prices, which are driving high inflation. We need to prevent households falling into a precarious economic situation, in particular lower-income families. We also need to review the adequacy and coverage of social safety nets, in particular, minimum income benefits and access to enabling services. Wage policies and adequate minimum wages are key to countering poverty, in particular in-work poverty, and to protecting households' purchasing power.

I call on all Member States to swiftly transpose and implement – even before transposition – the directive on minimum wages. I must say I have noticed that a certain number of Member States have now increased their minimum wages, by more than 5, 7 or 10%. Other countries have indexed their minimum wages.

To effectively fight against poverty and inequality, we need an integrated approach based on the coordination of different measures and policies. The Commission has recently adopted a communication that provides guidance to Member States on making greater use of distributional impact assessments, and to better target the different measures.

Concrete initiatives are put forward through the implementation of the European pillar of social rights. The objective of the European child guarantee is to break the vicious circle of intergenerational poverty. Now it's time to put this child guarantee into practice, to implement it through national action plans.

The recently adopted European care strategy – a sector where an overall majority of women are working – gives not only children a better education and better care but also supports long-term care systems.

Finally, the Council recommendation on adequate minimum income ensuring active inclusion education and skills are key in finding good jobs with a decent wage, and so help to reduce poverty.

Addressing energy poverty is a key part of the approach to the fight against poverty. With Parliament, we are working on combating homelessness, a form of extreme poverty which affects 700 000 people or more in Europe.

The Commission recently put forward a regulation on an emergency intervention to address high energy prices which sets a revenue cap on companies that produce electricity at a lower cost. Therefore, we also propose that excessive profits should go to support households and companies.

We need a holistic approach to tackle poverty and inequalities. We have to make sure social policies are considered on an equal footing as other policies, be it economic, fiscal or taxation policies. Fairness is one of the four strands of this Commission economic strategy. These are constituent elements of our unique social market economy.

But we Europeans cannot ignore that hundreds of millions of people live in extreme poverty outside Europe. They are struggling to survive. This year, about 5 million children have already died from poverty. Today, on the International Day for the Eradication of Poverty, more than 11 000 kids will have died from hunger, absence of health care and disastrous living conditions. This is not fate. This could be avoided. Our commitment has to be clear and solid. Social justice is the condition and foundation of peace. Therefore, the EU should be at the forefront of building a fair, just and sustainable world economy that eradicates poverty.

Cindy Franssen, namens de PPE-Fractie. – Voorzitter, mijnheer de commissaris, collega's, het is vandaag de Internationale Dag tegen armoede. Mensen in armoede verdienen onze aandacht echter niet alleen vandaag, maar alle dagen van het jaar.

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Armoede treft nog altijd 91 miljoen mensen – waaronder 18 miljoen kinderen – in Europa. De kosten voor levensonderhoud inzake energie, huisvesting en voeding rijzen de pan uit. Mensen kunnen nauwelijks overleven en de koopkrachtcrisis raakt niet alleen de lagere inkomens maar ook de lage middeninkomens.

Dit alles is absoluut onaanvaardbaar. We hebben onszelf opgelegd om tegen 2030 15 miljoen mensen uit de armoede te halen. We moeten en zullen dit realiseren. Net dáárom is de uitrol van het actieplan van de sociale pijler zo essentieel. Net dáárom is het goed dat belangrijke dossiers zoals de richtlijn voor Europese minimumlonen tot een goed einde zijn gebracht. Net dáárom moeten we toekomstige dossiers – inzake een sociaal klimaatfonds, inzake platformwerknemers, inzake loontransparantie – met overtuiging steunen. En net dáárom moeten we de strijd tegen dakloosheid en voor betaalbare huisvesting voortzetten.

Het mag dus niet bij woorden en goede intenties blijven. We hebben een geïntegreerde en structurele anti-armoedestrategie nodig die de oorzaken van armoede aanpakt en de EU weerbaarder maakt voor toekomstige crisissen. Dat zijn we onze Europeanen verschuldigd. Armoede mag in onze samenleving geen plaats hebben. Zoals u zelf ooit in een webinar hebt gezegd: “Armoede hoort thuis in een museum.” Europa zal sociaal zijn, of zal niet zijn.

Pedro Marques, *em nome do Grupo S&D*. – Senhora Presidente, caro Comissário Nicolas Schmit, colegas, na Cimeira Social do Porto, após uma boa proposta da Comissão Europeia apresentada pelo Comissário Nicolas Schmit, os líderes europeus comprometeram-se a reduzir o número de pessoas em risco de pobreza, reduzir em 15 milhões o número de pessoas em situação de pobreza, incluindo 5 milhões de crianças.

Portugal não fez só a Cimeira do Porto, onde estes objetivos foram consagrados, mas fez também já a garantia-criança ou a rede de creches gratuitas. Gostávamos de ver os planos de muitos mais países saírem do papel, pois com a crise energética provocada pela guerra de Putin, corremos o risco de ver aumentar a pobreza em vez de a diminuir.

Estamos à espera de novas iniciativas de países como Portugal ou da Presidência espanhola do Conselho da União Europeia para avançar com uma nova cimeira social que concretize as prometidas medidas?

Não temos esse luxo. O Inverno está à porta. Neste Dia Internacional da Erradicação da Pobreza, perante a emergência social, relembramos a Comissão e o Conselho da sua responsabilidade. É preciso agir agora.

Dragoș Pîslaru, *în numele grupului Renew*. – Doamnă președintă, domnule comisar Nicolas Schmit, dragi colegi, Uniunea Europeană clar luptă împotriva sărăciei, de aceea avem pilonul european al drepturilor sociale.

Noi, aici, în Parlamentul European, luptăm pentru o agendă socială în Europa. Avem lucruri pe care am reușit să le împingem și să le adoptăm, iar progresele din acest mandat legate de Garanția pentru copii, de strategia de îngrijire, de salariul minim și toate celelalte proiecte pe care le avem, se duc în această direcție.

Dar ce avem nevoie acum în Europa este de o dimensiune socială care să fie luată în calcul mai bine de statele membre. Avem nevoie de a întări colaborarea europeană pe acest domeniu.

România, de exemplu, este pe primul loc în Europa în ceea ce privește sărăcia. Dar când ne uităm câți bani europeni au venit către România în ultima vreme, faptul că Garanția pentru tineri nu a fost bine implementată, Garanția pentru copii încă nu are un plan de acțiune transmis oficial.

Toate aceste lucruri sunt preocupări reale pe care statele membre le au de rezolvat. Aceasta înseamnă, de fapt, să avem mai mult decât discursuri, ci și implementare.

Sara Matthieu, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, dear colleagues, Commissioner, last plenary I got the feeling that a big part of this Parliament is living on another planet. Poverty is rising in Europe all over and more and more people are unable to pay for their basic needs, like feeding their children or heating their homes. So, this should indeed send a huge alarm system to all of you and to our European leaders. But instead, you opted for business as usual.

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Colleagues, we urgently need minimum incomes above the poverty line. We need to implement the Minimum Wages Directive as soon as possible. We need to ban home evictions and energy cuts. Let this International Day for the Eradication of Poverty be a wakeup call to us all. Let us fight poverty together. There is no time to lose.

Dominique Bilde, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, chers collègues, avec la crise sanitaire, l'UE s'est occupée d'empêcher les Français de sortir à l'extérieur de chez eux. Avec la crise énergétique, vous nous faites désormais vivre l'enfer à l'intérieur de chez nous. La lutte contre la précarité énergétique se résume en réalité par le port des pulls et des cols roulés dans nos foyers. J'ai honte pour vous.

En cette journée mondiale consacrée à l'élimination de la pauvreté, nous en sommes réduits à aborder l'avenir dans la misère et le froid. Une situation dont l'Europe est entièrement responsable. La transition écologique, la volonté d'enterrer le nucléaire à terme, la dépendance organisée vis-à-vis du gaz étranger et le dogmatisme autour des énergies intermittentes comme l'éolien auront bel et bien fini par nous coûter cher, très cher.

Votre projet de mix énergétique vert est en train de plonger le budget des ménages dans le rouge. La stagnation des salaires ainsi que l'inflation, qui fait fondre comme neige au soleil l'épargne des peuples d'Europe, nous conduisent droit à l'appauvrissement général.

Nous avons déjà pointé du doigt votre plan pour l'élimination du sans-abrisme en 2030. Le problème est qu'en dépit de ce que vous racontez, le phénomène est loin de se résoudre. Pire, il s'aggrave à une vitesse telle que les acteurs de terrain ne savent plus où donner de la tête.

Il est temps d'en finir avec cette politique désastreuse. La France doit reprendre la main en baissant la TVA, en investissant dans le nucléaire, en sortant du marché européen de l'énergie et en arrêtant immédiatement les politiques que les Verts réclament pendant que les peuples subissent. Seule solution pour endiguer la pauvreté: récupérer notre souveraineté.

Elżbieta Rafalska, *w imieniu grupy ECR*. – Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Komisarzu! Szanowni Państwo! Ubóstwo jest największym i najtrudniejszym problemem społecznym. Jest też skazą na bogatych społecznościach. Wymaga pilnych rozwiązań systemowych i działań, też doraźnych działań kryzysowych.

Zwalczanie ubóstwa, szczególnie biedy dzieci, oraz wsparcie najsłabszych jest zadaniem państw członkowskich Unii Europejskiej, ale jest też naszą moralną powinnością.

Eliminacja biedy jest też jednym z pięciu celów zrównoważonego rozwoju ONZ. Poniżej międzynarodowej granicy ubóstwa - mając dziennie do dyspozycji nieco mniej niż 2 dolary, żyje 8% populacji. Liczba osób żyjących w skrajnym ubóstwie zmniejszyła się, ale też w nierównym stopniu. Największe postępy w eliminacji głębokiego ubóstwa uczyniły kraje azjatyckie. Znaczny spadek ubóstwa odnotowano także w Afryce Subsaharyjskiej, ale nadal 44% społeczeństwa żyje tam poniżej międzynarodowej granicy ubóstwa.

Zatrudnienie jest czynnikiem przeciwdziałającym ubóstwu. Jednak wiemy, że wiele osób pracujących cierpi ubóstwo. Ubóstwem zagrożone są rodziny wielodzietne, osoby niepełnosprawne, w tym szczególnie dzieci. Musimy skutecznie zwalczać ubóstwo. Najlepszym rozwiązaniem jest dobra edukacja, niedziedziczenie biedy, dostęp do ochrony zdrowia i poprawa dobrostanu rodzin.

Leila Chaibi, *au nom du groupe The Left*. – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, chers collègues, quelle est la différence entre ces deux paquets de pâtes? Aucune, me direz-vous. Eh bien si, la différence c'est leur prix: 21 % de différence entre ces deux paquets de pâtes; 21 % d'augmentation en un an pour le prix des pâtes. Les prix de l'alimentation ont explosé. Manger des nouilles est en train de devenir un luxe. Mais j'aurais pu venir ici également avec de la viande surgelée, dont le prix a augmenté de quasiment 30 % en un an. Ou avec une pastèque: les pastèques ont augmenté de 40 % en un an. Ou encore avec des biscuits: certains biscuits ont augmenté de 50 %.

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Entre les prix de l'alimentation et la flambée des prix de l'énergie, de plus en plus de ménages doivent se serrer la ceinture. La situation est devenue intenable. Pendant ce temps, les bénéfices de certaines multinationales explosent, leurs actionnaires se gavent. Chez nous, en France, un exemple est très parlant: le PDG de Total s'est augmenté de 52 % en 2021, alors que Total a versé 2,6 milliards de dividendes exceptionnels la semaine dernière. Tout cela alors que les gens peinent à remplir leur frigo et à se chauffer, et qu'ils doivent choisir entre mettre de l'essence dans leur voiture ou payer la facture d'électricité.

Pendant ce temps-là, que fait l'Union européenne? L'Union européenne palabre. Elle nous dit depuis des mois qu'elle va agir. Et depuis des mois, on attend, on attend. Ici, au Parlement européen, on attend en ce moment la proposition que doit faire la Commission européenne pour répondre à l'augmentation des prix de l'énergie. On attend, on attend. La Commission européenne a toujours été très douée pour mettre des plafonds – plafonner la dette, plafonner les aides d'État, plafonner le déficit public. Mais quand il s'agit de plafonner les prix de l'énergie et les produits de première nécessité, de plafonner les profits des multinationales, il n'y a plus personne. Pourtant, c'est le moment. C'est le moment de plafonner. Plafonner les prix de l'énergie, cela aura un véritable impact sur la vie des gens.

Monsieur le Commissaire, Madame von der Leyen, Présidente de la Commission européenne, 400 millions d'Européens vous regardent. À vous de mettre la main à la pâte.

Presidente. – Grazie on. Chaibi, ricordo a Lei e a tutti i colleghi che non è possibile esibire materiale in Aula di qualsiasi tipo.

Livia Járóka (NI). – Tisztelt Elnök Asszony! 95,4 millió embert fenyegetett a szegénység vagy a társadalmi kirekesztés 2021-ben, az Eurostat adatai szerint, az Európai Unióban. Ez azt jelenti, hogy közel minden ötödik uniós állampolgár küzd napi szinten a megélhetéséért vagy a társadalmi megbecsülésének a megteremtéséért. A koronavírus járvány okozta gazdasági megtorpanás és az uniós határokon dúló orosz–ukrán háború azonban tovább nehezíti ezt a helyzetet, és a legkiszolgáltatottabb csoportokat, családokat éri el először. Ilyenek például az európai romák is, akiket én képviselek.

Mindezek fényében azt javasolom az Európai Bizottság és a tagállamok részére, hogy a magyar jó gyakorlatokból érdemes ebben a nehéz helyzetben párat elvinni, átvenni. Ezeknek hála a súlyos anyagi deprivációban élő magyaroknak a számát 27%-ról 8%-ra tudtuk csökkenteni az elmúlt tíz évben. A romáknál ugyanez a szám 78%-ról 31%-ra csökkent. A családi otthonteremtési támogatással, azzal hogy hároméves korban kötelezővé tettük a gyerekeknek az óvodai oktatást, megszakítottuk a szegénységet jelentő ördögi kört, és nagyon-nagyon fontos, hogy a szülőknek, illetve a 25 év alatti fiataloknak, a sokgyermekes anyukáknak és hamarosan a 30 év alatti édesanyákra is szeretnénk ezeket az adókedvezményeket kiterjeszteni. Kérem, Önök is fontolják meg ezeket a cselekedeteket, mert nagyban enyhítik a szegényeknek a helyzetét.

Marlene Mortler (PPE). – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar, liebe Kollegen! Wer satt ist, hat viele Probleme. Wer hungrig ist, hat nur eines. Das müssen wir uns als wohlstandsverwöhnte Menschen und Politiker immer wieder vor Augen halten. Denken wir zum Beispiel an die Jeans, die wir tragen. Egal ob Designerjeans oder Billigjeans – die Näherin in Bangladesch oder anderswo erhält immer den gleichen menschenverachtenden Stundenlohn. Das ist und bleibt ein Skandal. Wir können noch so viel Geld in arme Länder pumpen. Wenn das Geld in einige wenige Hände kommt und dort verbleibt, dann werden wenige immer reicher und viele immer ärmer.

Gestern war Welternährungstag. Nach dem Welthungerindex leiden alleine 828 Millionen Menschen an chronischem Hunger. *Leave no one behind* – der Leitgedanke der Agenda 2030 ist damit für mich pure Heuchelei, wenn wir zum Beispiel auf agrarischen Gunststandorten wie in Mitteleuropa Ackerflächen stilllegen, statt nachhaltige Bewirtschaftung zu befördern. Wachen wir endlich auf! Nutzen wir unsere Potenziale in Wirtschaft, Forschung, Politik, Gesellschaft für gute Bildung, für mehr Gesundheit für die armen Menschen in Europa und weltweit.

Agnes Jongerius (S&D). – Voorzitter, kinderen vallen flauw in de klas omdat ze zonder ontbijt naar school gaan. Terwijl energiebedrijven megawinsten maken, draaien mensen thuis de verwarming uit.

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Het is al eerder gezegd. In Porto hebben de regeringsleiders vorig jaar bindende afspraken gemaakt om de armoede te bestrijden. Terwijl we daar dus afspraken dat de armoede moest worden teruggedrongen, zien we nu dat de cijfers weer omhooggaan.

De huidige energiecrisis mag niet gebruikt worden om de doelen naar beneden bij te stellen. Sterker nog, we moeten met z'n allen een tandje bijzetten om die doelstellingen alsnog te halen.

Duizenden mensen dreigen in armoede weg te zakken en het enige wat de Commissie op tafel legt, zijn aanbevelingen aan de lidstaten. Eerlijk is eerlijk: daar kopen mensen in armoede niets voor.

We hebben een stevig pakket nodig met maatregelen en middelen om de sociale vangnetten te versterken.

Max Orville (Renew). – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, aujourd'hui a lieu la Journée internationale pour l'élimination de la pauvreté. Une journée seulement, alors que chaque jour, 1,3 milliard de personnes vivent dans une extrême pauvreté, dont près de la moitié sont des enfants et des jeunes.

Aucun continent n'est à l'abri. Pas même l'Europe, notamment les régions ultrapériphériques françaises: 33 % de Martiniquais, 77 % de Mahorais vivent sous le seuil de pauvreté.

Je vous le dis clairement, il nous faut renforcer l'objectif de justice sociale de l'Union européenne et faire de chaque jour une journée de lutte contre la pauvreté.

La pauvreté est un phénomène multidimensionnel: elle touche à la santé, à la nutrition, elle frappe dès l'enfance et continue avec des logements vétustes et l'absence d'accès aux biens de première nécessité. La pauvreté doit être combattue sous toutes ses formes.

L'éducation a une place de choix, car l'enseignement favorise l'égalité des chances. C'est un puissant outil de réduction des inégalités sociales.

L'Union européenne doit prendre toute sa part dans la solidarité internationale pour garantir la dignité humaine.

Marie Toussaint (Verts/ALE). – Madame la Présidente, la pauvreté n'est pas inévitable, pas même sur le continent européen, où elle concerne plus de 100 millions de personnes. Nous ne cessons de proclamer que nous ne voulons laisser personne de côté. Mais comment prétendre cela sans faire de l'éradication de la misère la condition sous-jacente, la condition sans laquelle aucune de nos politiques publiques ne pourrait être déployée?

La misère est une violation des droits humains qu'il faut combattre si nous voulons assurer l'égale dignité de toutes et de tous. Nous ne devons pas accepter que les plus pauvres soient tenus responsables de leur situation et traités en boucs émissaires de tous les maux de nos sociétés. L'extrême pauvreté est un échec collectif, pas un échec personnel. Pourtant, on persiste à voir les plus pauvres comme de potentiels profiteurs qu'il faudrait encadrer et contraindre. De cette manière, on passe simplement sous silence le fait que la pauvreté est d'abord faite de maltraitance sociale, de violences qui cassent les corps et brisent l'esprit, des violences qui n'existent finalement que parce que nous les tolérons.

Voilà pourquoi nous devons reconnaître et combattre l'existence de la précarité sociale comme cause de discriminations. Voilà pourquoi nous devons évaluer toute nouvelle directive, tout règlement, tout projet de politique publique à l'aune de son impact sur les 10 % les plus pauvres. Voilà pourquoi, enfin, nous devons faire en sorte que plus aucune loi, plus aucun budget, plus aucun projet ne soit conçu sans la participation de celles et ceux qui vivent aujourd'hui en situation d'exclusion. Chers collègues, l'éradication de la misère est un programme politique, alors mettons-le en œuvre.

(L'oratrice accepte de répondre à une intervention «carton bleu»)

Bogdan Rzońca (ECR), wystąpienie zasygnalizowane przez podniesienie niebieskiej kartki skierowanie do Marie Toussaint (Verts/ALE). – Bardzo dziękuję, że Pani przyjęła pytanie, z bardzo prostego powodu, ponieważ jest Pani w takiej grupie politycznej, która odgrywa ważną rolę w Parlamencie Europejskim i w kwestiach związanych z Zielonym Ładem.

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Czy nie ma Pani obaw, martwiąc się o ubóstwo, o to, że może nastąpić jego przyrost? Czy nie ma Pani obaw, że pakiet *Gotowi na 55* będzie pogłębiał ubóstwo w Unii Europejskiej? Bo przecież w tym pakiecie są informacje i, powiedzmy, działania, które mają być nakierowane na wzrost podatków od paliw domowych i od paliw samochodowych.

Czy pani nie ma obaw w tej kwestii?

Marie Toussaint (Verts/ALE), *réponse «carton bleu»*. – Est-ce que les politiques climatiques et environnementales vont nuire aux plus pauvres et vont aggraver la pauvreté? Non, je ne le crois pas et je crois même l'inverse. Vous savez qui est aujourd'hui en première ligne face au dérèglement climatique? Eh bien, ce sont les plus pauvres, notamment ces pays que nous avons pillés, dont nous extrayons encore du pétrole alors qu'ils sont en première ligne face à la montée des eaux et aux températures extrêmes, face aussi aux violences qui s'imposent à leurs concitoyennes et à leurs concitoyens.

La situation est la même sur le territoire européen. Qui sont les premiers à être morts des pollutions du charbon? Eh bien, ce sont les ouvrières et les ouvriers qui ont été exposés à ces impacts-là. Qui habite à côté des sites industriels les plus dangereux, des sites Seveso? Eh bien, ce sont ces personnes en bas de l'échelle sociale, parce que les plus riches savent se protéger. Qui souffre de l'exposition aux pesticides, notamment au chlordécone, et on vient de parler des populations ultramarines en France? Qui vit dans des logements dégradés, dans lesquels il est difficile de se chauffer? Quelle population a une mauvaise alimentation parce qu'elle n'est pas en mesure d'accéder à de la nourriture saine?

Alors non, Monsieur, l'écologie, ce n'est pas une peine de plus imposée aux pauvres, mais c'est au contraire une œuvre d'égalité sociale et une œuvre de dignité pour chacune et pour chacun dans notre continent.

Guido Reil (ID). – Frau Präsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Heute ist der internationale Tag zur Bekämpfung der Armut. Für mich ein sehr wichtiger Tag, denn ich war als Kind selber arm. Und meine Heimat, das Ruhrgebiet, ist das Armenhaus Deutschlands. Jeder Fünfte ist dort arm, und 40 % der Kinder beziehen Hartz IV. Und Herr Kommissar Schmit, Sie haben viele Probleme richtig angesprochen. Immer mehr Erwerbstätige sind arm, immer mehr Rentner. Immer mehr Menschen können sich ihre Wohnung nicht leisten. Sie können es sich nicht leisten zu heizen, und sie haben kein Geld für den Strom.

Selbst bei den Lebensmitteln wird es knapp. Die Tafeln in Deutschland wurden im Jahr 2020 von 1,1 Millionen Menschen besucht, und jetzt sind es zwei Millionen Menschen. Zwei Millionen Menschen, die in diesem vermeintlich reichen Land Deutschland auf die Tafeln angewiesen sind!

Sie haben aber jetzt Ursachen genannt. Sie haben die Corona-Krise als Ursache benannt, und das halte ich für falsch. Es war nicht das Virus, das die Menschen in die Armut getrieben hat, sondern die Entscheidungen der Politik, die völlig überzogenen Corona-Maßnahmen. Und Sie haben den Ukraine-Krieg als Ursache benannt. Aber ist es der Krieg? Nein, es sind die Sanktionen, die die Menschen gerade in die Armut treiben – die Menschen in Europa in die Armut treiben. Und es hilft den Ukrainern nichts, wenn die Menschen in Europa arm sind. Es schadet den Russen nichts – sie verdienen sich nämlich gerade dumm und dämlich.

Wer die Armut bekämpfen will, der muss an die Wurzeln gehen. Und die Wurzeln sind die Nullzinspolitik der EZB, die ungebremste Masseneinwanderung und der *Green Deal* – die Klima-Gesetzgebung. Das sind die Punkte, die Europa in die Armut treiben.

Laura Ferrara (NI). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, l'eliminazione della povertà significa lotta per la dignità umana, che costituisce la base di ogni diritto fondamentale: della libertà, della giustizia, della pace.

Forti di questa convinzione, come Movimento 5 Stelle abbiamo sempre sostenuto misure quali l'introduzione del reddito di cittadinanza e del salario minimo, al fine di tutelare i soggetti più vulnerabili e contrastare povertà ed esclusione sociale.

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L'impatto socioeconomico della pandemia e della guerra ci impone di reperire ulteriori risorse rispetto a quelle messe in campo con il Fondo sociale europeo Plus, il Fondo di aiuti europei agli indigenti e NextGenerationEU. Abbiamo bisogno di un'Energy Recovery Fund per affrontare i rincari dei prezzi dell'energia e l'aumento della povertà energetica.

Se non riusciremo a correggere le disuguaglianze che concentrano la ricchezza nelle mani di pochi e che limitano l'accesso alle opportunità di lavoro, l'accesso a beni e servizi chiave, non avremo mai una società giusta in grado di aiutare chi rimane indietro.

Λουκάς Φουρλάς (PPE). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, κύριε Επίτροπε, η φτωχοποίηση εκατομμυρίων Ευρωπαίων πολιτών είναι μια πραγματικότητα την οποία πρέπει να δούμε κατάματα. Εδώ και πολλούς μήνες βιώνουμε τον αντίκτυπο ενός πολέμου που ξέσπασε στην αυλή μας με τραγικά αποτελέσματα σε όλους τους τομείς.

Η κατακόρυφη αύξηση των τιμών επιτείνει το πρόβλημα και, δυστυχώς, καθιστά ουτοπική την επίτευξη του στόχου για τον τερματισμό της ακραίας φτώχειας έως το 2030. Ο αριθμός των ανθρώπων που δυστυχούν αυξάνεται συνεχώς. Ζητούμενο πλέον είναι μια πανευρωπαϊκή στρατηγική που να υποστηρίζει τους καταναλωτές, τις μικρές επιχειρήσεις και γενικά όσους πληρώνουν το κόστος μιας κατάστασης για την οποία δεν έχουν καμία ευθύνη. Μια στρατηγική που στο επίκεντρό της θα έχει συγκεκριμένες ευάλωτες ομάδες συνανθρώπων μας: τα παιδιά, τις γυναίκες, τις μητέρες που μεγαλώνουν μόνες τα παιδιά τους, τους νέους, τους ηλικιωμένους, τους άνεργους, τους άστεγους και τα άτομα με αναπηρία.

Σήμερα, οι συνάνθρωποί μας παλεύουν για αξιοπρεπή διαβίωση. Εμείς καλούμαστε να ελαφρύνουμε το βάρος των νοικοκυριών και των επιχειρήσεων. Καλούμε τα κράτη μέλη να εξετάσουν άμεσα το ενδεχόμενο εξαίρεσης των βασικών τροφίμων από τον ΦΠΑ για όσο συνεχίζεται η κρίση και την άμεση εφαρμογή του κατώτατου μισθού. Η αξιοπρεπής διαβίωση και η κοινωνική προστασία είναι αξίες που η Ευρώπη της αλληλεγγύης καλείται να διαφυλάξει.

Pierfrancesco Majorino (S&D). – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, oggi è la Giornata internazionale contro la povertà e non possiamo certo dire che l'Europa ci arrivi con tutte le carte in regola.

Ci sono più di cento milioni di europei poveri. Questo dato, aggravato dalla pandemia e dalla crisi energetica, la dice lunga sulla necessità di una svolta. Abbiamo recentemente fatto passi in avanti straordinari, ad esempio sul salario minimo, ma questa è una svolta di visione o è un'eccezione che conferma la regola? Io confesso di non averlo ancora ben capito.

Servono misure immediate contro il caro energia, politiche molto più coraggiose per il diritto alla casa, politiche uniformi per rendere obbligatorio e stabile il reddito minimo garantito e ancora un grande piano europeo a sostegno delle persone senz'ateto, a cui spesso non viene garantito nemmeno l'accesso al sistema sanitario, e ovviamente il diritto alla formazione e allo studio, affinché il diritto all'accesso al lavoro venga salvaguardato senza discriminazioni.

In altre parole, la lotta alla povertà è un fatto politico e non è un favore da fare a qualcuno.

Kim Van Sparrentak (Verts/ALE). – Madam President, colleagues, Commissioner, the projections show us that during the coming winter, people in this Union will die from hunger and cold, and more and more people will lose their home and fall into extreme poverty. Also, homelessness has life-threatening consequences.

But, so far in this House, we have seen more support for companies struggling with the rising energy costs than support for citizens. And this abstract number of almost 100 people in the EU at risk of poverty in reality means freezing rooms, empty lunchboxes, and losing your home.

That's why I ask our European leaders, when discussing how to respond to the energy crisis, to look beyond mere numbers and to take action for people. Make sure we won't lose sight of ending homelessness by 2030, and make sure no one will die from the cold this winter. Decide on a European moratorium on evictions and a moratorium on being cut off from energy.

Anne Sander (PPE). – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, en cette journée pour l'éradication de la pauvreté, je souhaite d'abord rappeler une bien triste réalité: en Europe, ce sont un peu plus de 10 % des citoyens qui vivent sous le seuil de pauvreté.

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Les politiques européennes que nous avons mises en place ces dernières années, notamment avec des initiatives comme la mobilisation de 80 milliards d'euros dans le cadre du Fonds social européen en 2014, ont quand même permis d'enregistrer certains succès et de réduire cette tendance. C'est la preuve que notre modèle européen d'économie sociale de marché dispose d'un certain nombre d'armes pour lutter contre la pauvreté.

Pour ma part, je considère que le travail, un emploi rémunéré, est sans doute le meilleur des filets de sécurité. Mais on voit bien aujourd'hui, avec le COVID et la guerre en Ukraine, que ce filet de sécurité n'est plus suffisant parce que même ceux qui travaillent sont confrontés à de graves difficultés, notamment en raison du coût des carburants. Donc, plus que jamais, il est de notre responsabilité, au niveau européen, de trouver des solutions, notamment pour lutter contre le prix de l'énergie.

Ilan De Basso (S&D). – Fru talman! Fattigdom är ingen naturlag. Ojämlikhet, sociala och ekonomiska klyftor är människans verk. Det håller stegvis på att slita sönder Europa och våra samhällen. Klyftorna ökar och de rika blir rikare.

I dag vill jag särskilt uppmärksamma kvinnor och barn och de arbetare som knappt har råd att sätta mat på bordet – de som faktiskt i praktiken är daglönare. Många kvinnor i Europa är arbetslösa eller arbetar deltid och har vanligen också sämre betalt än männen.

Samtidigt lever miljontals barn under fattigdomsstrecket och i ett utanförskap i Europa. Det är därför vi måste utgå ifrån en politik som utjämnar barns uppväxtvillkor. För att detta ska vara möjligt krävs en politisk vilja, en progressiv omfördelning inom medlemsstaterna. Vi når dit genom att skapa fler jobb, erbjuda bra utbildningar, trygga anställningar och facklig organisering samt ett bättre skyddsnät till dem som mest behöver det.

Fattigdomsbekämpning är vårt gemensamma ansvar, från europeisk nivå till lokal nivå. Europa kan bättre.

Rosa D'Amato (Verts/ALE). – Signora Presidente, signor Commissario, onorevoli colleghi, se dovete scegliere tra accendere il riscaldamento o mangiare, cosa fareste? Questa è la domanda che si pongono milioni di cittadini in tutta l'Unione.

Già oggi milioni di famiglie vivono in condizioni di povertà. L'inflazione galoppante e la crisi energetica rischiano di far salire drammaticamente questo numero. L'Europa tutta, da quest'Aula ai governi, ha l'obbligo di agire per prevenire una vera e propria emergenza umanitaria e lo deve fare subito.

Il Consiglio discute di proposte contro la crisi energetica, discute di *price cap*, di prelievi sugli extraprofitti, di riforma del mercato. Tutte misure giuste, ma che non rispondono alle urgenti esigenze di aiuto che arrivano dai cittadini più esposti. La pandemia ce lo ha insegnato: la via d'uscita dalla crisi è nella solidarietà. Le divisioni a Bruxelles non devono essere pagate dal popolo in difficoltà.

Serve un fondo comune europeo che preveda in via prioritaria aiuti alle famiglie e alle micro e piccole imprese. E, aggiungo, il patto di stabilità e crescita: la sua sospensione va prorogata. Gli Stati hanno bisogno del necessario spazio fiscale per finanziare corposi pacchetti di sostegno.

Non c'è tempo da perdere. L'inverno è alle porte.

Lina Gálvez Muñoz (S&D). – Señora presidenta, señor comisario, la pobreza es sin duda inmoral y que un territorio rico como Europa tenga 95 millones de personas —el 21,7 % de su población— en riesgo de pobreza y exclusión social debería avergonzarnos.

Además, esta pobreza se perpetúa de generación en generación, especialmente en el caso de las mujeres. Hay muchísimas trabajadoras pobres, que, además, lo son desde hace tiempo, sobre todo en los barrios de muchas ciudades donde hay grandes bolsas de marginación, como en mi tierra por ejemplo, en Andalucía, con veinticuatro de los treinta municipios con menor renta de España.

Así que urge poner en marcha una estrategia antipobreza para 2030 que debe suponer, por una parte, desarrollar políticas económicas y educativas que no sean generadoras de desigualdad, afianzar nuestros estados de bienestar y también el empleo digno.

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Por otra parte, necesitamos también poner sobre la mesa un instrumento específico, un instrumento nuevo para romper los círculos de pobreza, sobre todo en aquellos barrios y aquellas zonas donde el futuro es una palabra que conjuga muy mal con la vida digna y el bien común.

La subida de los precios de la energía, la especulación con bienes básicos, no apunta en la buena dirección y Europa tiene que acertar con una respuesta valiente y digna que vaya más allá de las simples recomendaciones, porque todas y cada una de las personas cuentan, tanto las que viven dentro como fuera de Europa.

Procedura «catch the eye»

Στέλιος Κυμπουρόπουλος (PPE). – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, συνάδελφοι, 95,4 εκατομμύρια Ευρωπαίοι πολίτες αντιμετώπιζαν κίνδυνο φτώχειας ή κοινωνικού αποκλεισμού μέσα στο 2021, με τις γυναίκες να αντιμετωπίζουν ακόμη υψηλότερο κίνδυνο· 95,4 εκατομμύρια. Είναι ένας αμείλικτος δείκτης που φέρνει όλους μας αντιμέτωπους με τη σκληρή πραγματικότητα. Κυρίως όμως πρέπει να γιγαντώνει τη θέληση και τις προσπάθειές μας να κάνουμε πράξη τους στόχους του Πόρτο για μείωση αυτού του αριθμού κατά 15 εκατομμύρια μέχρι το 2030, με ενεργητικές πολιτικές απασχόλησης, επαρκή κατώτατο μισθό και δίχτυ προστασίας για τους πιο ευάλωτους. Μόνον έτσι αυτή η Παγκόσμια Ημέρα δεν θα μείνει στα χαρτιά, αλλά θα αποτελέσει ένα πραγματικό εφελτήριο συντονισμένης δράσης για μια πιο ισχυρή κοινωνική Ευρώπη.

Eugen Tomac (PPE). – Doamnă președintă, domnule comisar, cred că această cifră de peste 95 de milioane de cetățeni europeni care se află la limita sărăciei este una alarmantă.

Eu vin dintr-o țară unde procentul este mult mai mare, în România, pentru că încă avem cetățeni care au nevoie de un sprijin consistent din partea statului, din partea Uniunii Europene.

Cred că politicile noastre în ceea ce privește combaterea sărăciei trebuie să se axeze mult mai mult pe educație, pe integrarea pe piața forței de muncă și, evident, mult mai multe resurse pentru a pregăti generația viitoare, pentru că, din nefericire, oamenii renunță foarte ușor atunci când se luptă cu sărăcia, la asistență de sănătate de calitate, la educație, și aceste lucruri produc efecte pe termen mediu și pe termen lung.

Avem nevoie de mai multă ambiție și determinare în a combate sărăcia.

Ljudmila Novak (PPE). – Gospa predsedujoča, velikokrat se sprašujem, kakšno srce imajo tisti ljudje, ki si izplačujejo milijonske, milijardne dobičke, ne vidijo pa, da njihovi zaposleni, njihovi sosedje, someščani, ne morejo plačati osnovnih računov.

Naša razprava tukaj mora biti glasen signal, jasen signal vsem tistim, da je njihovo ravnanje sramotno, nedopustno. In kako lahko pogledajo sočloveku v oči, če tako ravnajo?

To so vojni dobičkarji in na energetske področju s takimi visokimi cenami energije se to zagotovo dogaja. To je nedopustno in sramotno. Tako da revščina ni potrebna, kadar bi znali deliti tisto, kar vsi skupaj ustvarjamo.

In zato moramo povedati vsem tem izkoriščevalcem – nisem proti delovnim ljudem, sem pa proti izkoriščevalcem.

Victor Negrescu (S&D). – Madam President, dear colleagues, dear Commissioner, in 2021, like said, 95 million people in the EU were at risk of poverty and social exclusion. This was equivalent to 21% of the EU population, and the risks are growing with the current energy crisis and inflation rate. We are the developed part of the world, but many of our citizens have difficulties in paying their bills at the end of the month.

The risk of poverty increases, according to Eurostat, if the individual is a woman, has children, is young or unemployed. For instance, 27% of young adults aged between 18 and 24 are affected by poverty, and the risk varies across the EU. Romania, Bulgaria and Greece reported the highest shares of people at risk of poverty and social exclusion.

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Dear colleagues, our speeches in the plenary would not resolve the problems. We need, therefore, a European strategy against poverty, with concrete milestones, financial mechanisms and proactive policies implemented at all levels. 'No one left behind' should mean something, and this implies effective measures and clear targets to reduce poverty in all our regions. So, I support what Commissioner Schmit said, that we need to act together now in order to end poverty in Europe.

Sandra Pereira (The Left). – Senhora Presidente, o Dia Internacional para a Eliminação da Pobreza, que hoje se assinala, traz à luz dados preocupantes sobre a pobreza em Portugal. De acordo com o Eurostat, no final de 2021, 2,3 milhões eram pobres ou estavam em risco de pobreza ou exclusão social, o que é equivalente a 22,4 % da população portuguesa.

Entre 2020 e 2021, a pobreza agravou-se, não só em Portugal, mas na União Europeia a 27 e os números de 2022 serão ainda mais preocupantes. Enquanto os ricos ficam mais ricos, aumenta a injusta distribuição da riqueza e as desigualdades.

É fundamental o aumento dos salários e das pensões, o combate à precariedade e a defesa do emprego com direitos, o reforço dos serviços públicos e o seu acesso universal, políticas de habitação pública, que são medidas que, aliadas à tributação do grande capital e à progressividade dos sistemas fiscais, poderiam inverter a tendência de pobreza que hoje se vive. Mas tardam em chegar, porque são contrárias à lógica neoliberal que há décadas domina as políticas dos Estados-Membros da União Europeia.

Mick Wallace (The Left). – Madam President, in 1987, over 100 000 people gathered in Paris to declare poverty a violation of human rights. But we seem to have forgotten it.

In the EU now, human rights generally refers to civic and political rights. Taking social and economic rights off the table in the human rights debate is a huge con job on the part of neoliberalism. In her excellent book, *The Morals of the Market*, Jessica Whyte talks about the effort during the past 100 years to redefine and enforce a set of rights that are compatible with the market economy.

And we've seen in the EU, which has been criticised by the UN Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty, for relegating social economic rights to second tier aspirational principles. In doing so, he said, the EU has all but declared poverty a necessary evil. And it is little wonder that poverty is still rampant in the EU.

Clare Daly (The Left). – Madam President, I think it is ironic that the theme of this year's International Day for the Eradication of Poverty is 'dignity for all in practice' when it comes, as we heard earlier, in the same week that High Representative Borrell tells the globe that Europe is a garden and the rest of the world is a jungle.

And apart from the sycophantic racism and arrogance, which is a million miles from dignity, seriously, a garden? There are 95.4 million people in danger of poverty or social exclusion, 21.7% of the EU's population. And this is what he calls a model of social cohesion and economic progress, when all of the trends are going to more inequality and the gap is widening.

Meanwhile, in the jungle, as he calls it, it is as it is in a large part because of the policies of Europe and global capitalism. You cannot tackle poverty without tackling the fact that the majority of the world's wealth is owned and controlled by a tiny minority who use it for their own enrichment instead of the needs of the many. We need to end neoliberalism and put people before profit.

(Fine della procedura «catch the eye»)

Nicolas Schmit, membre de la Commission. – Madame la Présidente, d'abord, je tiens à vous remercier pour ce débat. Je suis d'accord avec le député qui a dit que chaque jour devait être un jour consacré à la lutte contre la pauvreté. Nous ne pouvons pas nous satisfaire d'un seul jour par an.

La pauvreté, c'est un gâchis énorme. D'abord, un gâchis humain, mais c'est aussi un gâchis économique. C'est pour cela qu'il est extrêmement urgent maintenant de prendre des mesures pour que cette pauvreté – qui est déjà très présente, comme beaucoup d'entre vous l'ont dit – ne s'étende pas et pour qu'on puisse effectivement atteindre les objectifs de réduction de la pauvreté.

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Il est vrai que voir les files d'attente devant les banques alimentaires s'allonger, c'est une situation difficilement acceptable dans une Europe qui, quand même, est une Europe riche. Il faudrait d'abord – et je crois que certains l'ont dit – que les salaires puissent permettre aux gens de vivre dignement. Il est vrai aussi que tous les États membres, pratiquement tous les États membres, ont mis en œuvre des moyens, des mesures pour effectivement freiner l'explosion des prix et son impact sur les ménages, et notamment sur les ménages les plus vulnérables. Il faut maintenant que l'Europe joue aussi pleinement son rôle et que nous mettions en œuvre des politiques courageuses pour limiter cette hausse des prix qui pèse d'abord sur les ménages aux revenus les plus modestes.

J'ai entendu aussi qu'il y aurait une sorte de choix à faire entre, d'un côté, la lutte contre le changement climatique et, de l'autre, la lutte contre la pauvreté. C'est un choix complètement faux parce que nous voyons aujourd'hui d'abord que la dépendance par rapport aux énergies fossiles, qui d'ailleurs contribuent à détruire notre planète, est en fait une des raisons pour lesquelles la pauvreté s'élargit en Europe et ailleurs. Donc ce n'est pas un choix, il faut mener les deux ensemble.

N'oublions pas que c'est Poutine, avec sa guerre criminelle, qui est à l'origine de cette crise qui provoque la pauvreté; que c'est encore lui qui menace les pays du Sud en bloquant la fourniture des céréales. Cette guerre absurde, criminelle, est une machine, une machine diabolique, oui, diabolique pour provoquer la pauvreté, déstabiliser le monde et déstabiliser les sociétés et pour diviser les populations. Eh bien, il faut qu'effectivement on puisse mettre fin à cette guerre en soutenant le peuple ukrainien.

Presidente. – La discussione è chiusa.

Dichiarazioni scritte (articolo 171)

Caterina Chinnici (S&D), per iscritto. – Sono trascorsi trent'anni da quando le Nazioni Unite hanno dichiarato il 17 ottobre del 1992 Giornata mondiale per l'eradicazione della povertà, ma dobbiamo amaramente constatare come tale obiettivo non sia stato ancora raggiunto.

Nonostante vi sia la possibilità per sfamare ogni persona sulla Terra, nel mondo oggi ancora 811 milioni di persone non hanno cibo a sufficienza e 44 milioni rischiano di scivolare nella carestia; 2 miliardi di persone vivono ancora senza sicurezza di acqua potabile e 1,3 miliardi vivono in condizioni di povertà multidimensionale, di cui quasi la metà sono bambini e giovani. 385 milioni di bambini, stando a dati UNICEF, che vivono in condizioni di estrema povertà con meno di 1,90 dollari al giorno. Una povertà che crescendo condiziona pesantemente la loro capacità di costruire un futuro migliore per sé stessi, le loro famiglie e le loro comunità.

Dignità per tutti – il tema di quest'anno – non è soltanto un diritto fondamentale in sé, sancito dall'articolo 1 della Carta dei diritti fondamentali dell'UE, ma costituisce la base stessa dei diritti fondamentali.

Garantire concretamente il rispetto della dignità umana, in particolare dei bambini più poveri del mondo, deve rappresentare per l'Unione un dovere morale prima che un prioritario impegno politico.

12. De rechtsstaat in Malta, vijf jaar na de moord op Daphne Caruana Galizia (debat)

Presidente. – L'ordine del giorno reca la discussione sulla dichiarazione della Commissione sullo Stato di diritto a Malta, cinque anni dopo l'assassinio di Daphne Caruana Galizia (2022/2866(RSP)).

Didier Reynders, membre de la Commission. – Madame la Présidente, Mesdames et Messieurs les députés, je vous remercie tout d'abord d'avoir inscrit à l'ordre du jour ce débat sur la situation de l'état de droit à Malte, cinq ans après l'assassinat de la journaliste d'investigation Daphne Caruana Galizia.

Au nom de la Commission, je voudrais commencer par rendre hommage à la mémoire de Daphne Caruana Galizia. Rendre hommage à sa famille ainsi qu'aux acteurs de la société civile qui se sont battus pour que justice soit faite. Leur rendre hommage pour leur détermination et leur courage.

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Depuis cet assassinat, la Commission a toujours souligné que Daphne Caruana Galizia, sa famille et la société maltaise dans son ensemble méritaient que justice soit rendue. C'est aussi – je le sais – une priorité pour le Parlement européen.

Nous avons assisté encore récemment à certains développements, notamment grâce aux efforts incessants de la famille et de la société civile et au travail de diverses instances européennes, en particulier Europol. L'enquête publique sur cet assassinat – un exercice distinct des procédures pénales en cours –, initiée par l'État maltais et qui a mené à l'adoption d'un rapport en 2021, s'est révélée un exercice remarquable de transparence et d'indépendance. Il est fondamental, cinq ans après les faits, que l'enquête pénale en cours soit menée à bien, complètement, et notamment que les commanditaires de cet assassinat soient tenus pour responsables devant la justice. La Commission reste très attentive à cet égard.

De manière plus générale, nous devons plus que jamais protéger la démocratie et l'état de droit. L'Union européenne a intensifié ses efforts à cet égard et le rapport annuel sur l'état de droit joue un rôle central dans ce domaine. En juillet, la Commission a publié la troisième édition du rapport, qui comprend pour la première fois des recommandations spécifiques pour tous les États membres. Je souhaiterais développer nos recommandations relatives à l'état de droit à Malte.

Starting with the justice system, the report reflects that a number of reforms started in 2020 have been implemented. Such reforms, in particular, the reform of the system of judicial appointments and of judicial discipline, have contributed to strengthening the independence of the Maltese justice system.

However, several challenges remain. For example, the efficiency of justice, in particular, the length of proceedings, has continued to deteriorate in recent years. Several initiatives are ongoing to contribute to the improvement of the efficiency of the justice system. The Commission has recommended in the rule of law report that these efforts be strengthened.

Furthermore, while some steps have been taken to depoliticise the appointment of the Chief Justice, the fact that there is no involvement of the judiciary in this process requires further attention. The Commission has recommended that Malta address this situation, taking into account European standards on judicial assessments and appointments and the opinions of the Venice Commission.

En ce qui concerne le cadre de la lutte contre la corruption, l'assassinat de M^{me} Caruana Galizia, qui enquêtait sur l'évasion fiscale, le blanchiment d'argent et la corruption à Malte, montre que ceux qui aident à détecter la corruption de haut niveau peuvent courir des risques sérieux. Nous avons donc accueilli favorablement les recommandations de l'enquête publique sur cet assassinat, qui portent spécifiquement sur la lutte contre la corruption. Cela inclut par exemple des mesures visant à mieux détecter les augmentations inexplicables du patrimoine des agents publics.

Néanmoins, nous avons noté, dans le rapport sur l'état de droit, qu'il n'y a pas eu de suivi spécifique de la part du gouvernement maltais sur ces points jusqu'à présent, ce que nous ne pouvons que regretter. Les mesures proposées doivent être mises en œuvre.

Dans ce contexte, la Commission a recommandé à Malte de relever les défis liés aux enquêtes et aux poursuites dans les affaires de corruption de haut niveau, notamment en établissant un bilan solide en matière de jugement définitif.

Je voudrais également souligner que la Commission renforce sa lutte contre la corruption dans l'Union. Comme l'a annoncé la présidente de la Commission dans son discours sur l'état de l'Union en septembre, nous présenterons des mesures visant à mettre à jour le cadre législatif européen en la matière.

In this context, allow me to say a few words on Malta's investor citizenship scheme. Malta is the only Member State that continues to run a «citizenship by investment» scheme. The Commission considers that such schemes are incompatible with EU law. The granting by a Member State of its nationality and thereby of EU citizenship in exchange for a predetermined payment or investment and without a genuine link with the Member State concerned is not compatible with the principle of sincere cooperation and with the concept of EU citizenship enshrined in the treaties.

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While Malta suspended its scheme in March for Russian and Belarusian nationals, it has not expressed any intention to end it for nationals of other countries. As our concerns remain, the Commission decided last month to refer Malta to the Court of Justice of the European Union.

Continuing on the rule of law report, the Commission has also issued recommendations to Malta on media freedom. We recommend that Malta strengthen the rules to enhance the independence of public service media. We also recommend to advance with the introduction of legislative and other safeguards to improve the working environment of journalists, including on access to official documents, taking into account European standards on the protection of journalists.

Since the publication of the public inquiry report following the assassination of Daphne Caruana, a committee of experts on media reform has been appointed by the Maltese Government. We are aware that, at the end of September, the government had tabled three bills on the matter.

As the Council of Europe has also made clear, I would like to emphasise that in this field, effective consultation with civil society, journalists and media experts is crucial in such a process. The Commission will monitor these developments, notably in the course of the preparation of our fourth rule of law report.

In the meantime, the Commission has continued to work in the field of media freedom and pluralism in the European Union. In September this year, we published a proposal for a European media freedom act in which we want to put for the first time in EU law safeguards to protect the editorial independence of the media.

Finally, I wish to conclude by referring to our action in relation to strategic lawsuits against public participation (SLAPPs). Daphne Caruana Galizia had 47 such lawsuits pending against her in Malta and abroad at the moment of her assassination. I understand that some of the proposals tabled by the Maltese Government related specifically to SLAPPs.

Replying also to a call from the European Parliament, the Commission took action in this area at EU level by presenting, last spring, an initiative to protect journalists and human rights defenders against SLAPPs. The anti-SLAPP initiative is a combination of legislation by way of a proposal for a directive with non-legislative measures in the form of a recommendation. The recommendation is already applicable. The negotiations on the proposed directive are currently ongoing and the Commission is determined to conclude them as swiftly as possible.

Finally, when it comes to check and balances, we recommend that Malta relaunch efforts to establish a national human rights institution. Taking into account the UN Paris principles, it is the Commission's view that every Member State should have such an institution.

To conclude, let me say that you can see that the Commission is fully committed to protecting the rule of law everywhere in the European Union, notably as regards media freedom and the protection of journalists. As regards the situation in Malta in particular, we will continue to follow closely the ongoing reforms. This is part of the follow-up to all recommendations made in the rule of law report, as well as in the context of the implementation of the Maltese recovery and resilience plan.

We are, of course, open to continuing the dialogue with the Maltese authorities regarding these reforms. We will also continue to insist on the need for the criminal procedure regarding the assassination of Daphne Caruana Galizia to lead to concrete results. I take note of the fact that the two perpetrators were found guilty on Friday, but that the process is still ongoing as regards the possible mastermind. I thank you for your attention. Of course, I am now looking forward to listening to your remarks and interventions.

Manfred Weber, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, the brutal assassination of Daphne Caruana Galizia in Malta five years ago yesterday took away the life of a brave woman and mother. But at the same time, it was also a massive attack against freedom of media and against democracy in Malta. It shocked Europe and the world to the core.

Prime Minister Joseph Muscat promised to leave no stone unturned to get to the truth. But his words were empty, and his government obstructed justice and showed a shameful contempt for Daphne. A public inquiry was only established after Muscat was pushed from the Council of Europe. And the result? They found, and I quote: 'The State of Malta should bear responsibility for the assassination by creating a climate of impunity generated from the highest level, which led to the collapse of rule of law.' Quote end.

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It is totally unacceptable that a government of an EU Member State is partly responsible for the assassination of a journalist. If this is not a serious breach of rule of law, then what is ? The European Commission has to step up its efforts to ensure that the rule of law in Malta is fully restored, and I thank the Commissioner for his statement today. I turn also to our S&D Members in this House. Please stop turning a blind eye to the shameful behaviour of party members in Malta.

Last Friday, the court in Malta convicted two men to 40 years' imprisonment for Daphne's murder. But for us, this is only the first step towards justice. We also want justice to be served against the big fish who ordered the killing and not just who for those who carried it out. We want justice served against those involved in the corruption scandals exposed by Daphne, for which she was killed, starting with Muscat and his friends.

The European Commission has to be very clear. The Government of Malta has to fully implement the public inquiry recommendations. And finally, we want the Government of Malta to shoulder its responsibility for the assassination and stop impunity once and for all by letting the institutions work freely to deliver justice. We stand to the people of Malta. We stand for rule of law.

Thijs Reuten, *on behalf of the S&D Group*. – Madam President, thank you to the Commissioner for all the remarks, which I subscribe to, and for the dignified homage he paid to Daphne Caruana Galizia.

The killing of a journalist leaves deep wounds for loved ones left behind first and foremost, but also in society. And when someone keeping those in power accountable is literally under fire, it's not the journalist only that is under threat: we are all under threat and democracy is in danger.

Today, we honour the legacy of Daphne Caruana Galizia. The day a car bomb ended her life left indescribable damage for her family and friends, but it also exposed the problems of Maltese rule of law, as Daphne Caruana Galizia did herself. She paid for this with her life. In order to keep her legacy alive, the wounds to Maltese democracy need to recover. We will not get her back, but bringing all accomplices to her death to justice is the absolute minimum and remains a top priority.

A lot has changed in the five years after the tragic and indigestible death of Daphne Caruana Galizia. The current government is constructively working on important reforms, and although we understand that change does not happen overnight, we always aim higher. Therefore, on several reforms, from the judiciary to the citizenship schemes, as mentioned by the Commissioner, we need further progress.

In the European Parliament, we are proud to hold the rule of law in high esteem. Journalists are our most important ally in this, everywhere in Europe, and they should never be in danger for fulfilling this crucial role. That's why working on better laws to protect journalists and prevent SLAPPs needs to be a shared priority of this Parliament, the Commission and Member States – all Member States, whether it's Hungary, Greece, Poland or Malta, or any other Member State. Only when we keep our independent media safe, will our democracies be healthy.

Sophia in 't Veld, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Madam President, colleagues, today we honour Daphne Caruana Galizia. First and foremost, our thoughts are with the family. They have lost a mother, a wife, a daughter, a sister.

Yesterday, many people in Malta gathered to commemorate Daphne. That is heart-warming because it is a moment for national unity. At such moments, there is no place for partisan divisions, and it is for political leadership to lead by example and to publicly display their unity. That applies to this House as well, because democracy is a common value.

Daphne died because she exposed wrongdoing, corruption and crime, and nearly everything she wrote about turned out to be true. Yet hardly any of those cases have been adequately investigated, let alone brought to trial. Justice must be done and the rule of law must prevail. Impunity must end – really and truly. Not just for Daphne, but for all people of Malta and of Europe.

In these turbulent and insecure times, Europeans are entitled to stable, reliable, honest government, and journalists are vital for keeping governments honest. They are the oxygen of democracy. Journalists must be able to do their jobs in safety. I salute you, Daphne Caruana Galizia. We will continue to work tirelessly for justice and the rule of law.

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And oh yeah, a little P.S. message to Mr Joseph Muscat: I believe you need your lawyers for more urgent matters than writing letters to MEPs, telling them what they can and cannot say.

Gwendoline Delbos-Corfield, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, Daphne Caruana Galizia was murdered five years ago, and yesterday, on the anniversary of her death, everyone seemed to want to honour her life. But are we truly entitled to do so? The truth is, that story is ugly and dirty, and it has left a long-lasting stain on Malta's democracy, Malta's society and that government's legacy.

But it is also a very depressing story because it has revealed the real state of democracy and media freedom across the whole of the European Union. Sadly, worse, it is a never-ending story because since Daphne Caruana Galizia's tragic killing, other journalists were murdered in other Member States – and numerous others have received threats. The context is always the same – courageous journalists who are investigating corruption cases linked to high-level individuals in government, construction industry, shipping, energy supply, golden visas – the common thing behind these attacks is always the link between criminal organisations, politicians and bribery.

And what good has been done to help journalists? Well, let's see. In Malta, the police inquiry was blocked from advancing and the legislation to protect journalists is still not in place. For the rest of Europe, I have never met journalists who are as afraid as they are in Greece; in France, you can be detained by the police just for covering a demonstration, and in Poland and Hungary, you can be spied on like in the time of the Stasi. Media freedom is not good in the European Union.

Alessandro Panza, *a nome del gruppo ID*. – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, oggi siamo qui per parlare di giustizia, la giustizia che equamente dovrebbe essere riservata agli Stati e pertanto ai cittadini, che hanno bisogno di sentire che le istituzioni europee trattano equamente tutti i casi di violazione.

Abbiamo posto sul banco degli imputati la Polonia e l'Ungheria e – Dio non voglia – anche l'Italia, per i loro governi troppo di destra, che mettevano in discussione il cosiddetto Stato di diritto, abbiamo temuto per la democrazia in questi paesi, adottato risoluzioni ed espresso giudizi severi nei confronti di chi ha manifestato una legittima sfiducia nel sistema europeo. Ma niente è stato detto a proposito di Malta. La giornalista Daphne Caruana Galizia ha perso la vita barbaramente per aver denunciato i loschi traffici che vedono Malta crocevia di migranti, droga e petrolio. Il governo Muscat ha permesso che sul suolo europeo facessero ingresso il riciclaggio e la corruzione, tutto questo sotto il silenzio di un'Unione europea di sinistra, troppo impegnata a denigrare i governi di destra.

Allora io mi unisco alla voce di Matthew Caruana Galizia e chiedo se la morte della madre sia il prezzo da pagare per la costruzione del gasdotto di Mellitah, già finanziato in parte con i fondi europei e incluso nel quinto elenco dei progetti di interesse comune dell'Unione europea. Siamo di fronte a una grave forma di ingiustizia per cui ci si aspettava un maggiore coinvolgimento, una maggiore attenzione delle alte sfere europee, con l'imposizione magari di adeguate contromisure, e invece niente.

Perché questo era ed è tuttora il caso in cui una maggiore attenzione mediatica e istituzionale sarebbe stata opportuna e necessaria. Questo è il caso in cui si verifica una grave violazione dello Stato di diritto, culminato addirittura con un omicidio. Ma come sempre, in questo Parlamento si usano due pesi e due misure, e quando a sbagliare è uno Stato governato dalla sinistra, il perdono viene concesso facilmente e lo sguardo rivolto altrove, anche a costo di sacrificare la giustizia.

Presidente. – Vorrei rassicurare l'on. Panza, in questo Parlamento non si utilizzano mai due pesi e due misure.

Patryk Jaki, *w imieniu grupy ECR*. – Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Komisarzu! Otóż w pierwszej kolejności trzeba złożyć hołd zamordowanej dziennikarce Daphne Caruani Galizii i jej rodzinie. Zginęła ona z powodu tematów, które podejmowała, a wśród nich jest korupcja w socjalistycznym rządzie Josepha Muscata. Należy się jej ogromny szacunek. Podejmowała tematy korupcji, oszustw podatkowych, prania pieniędzy. Co istotne, postępowanie, pomimo upływu lat, nie doprowadziło do skazania żadnych mocodawców, polityków, jak również do prawdziwego rozliczenia afer opisywanych przez Daphne, które były bezpośrednią przyczyną zlecenia jej zabójstwa. Do tego rodzina zamordowanej dalej bywa obiektem jakiejś nagonki, czy to sądowej, czy innej.

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My w pełni popieramy wolność mediów i stanowczo potępiamy jakiekolwiek bezprawne działania mające na celu wywieranie nacisku na dziennikarzy czy na wolność mediów. Dlatego dalej jesteśmy oburzeni bezkarnością, jaką cieszą się kluczowe osoby w administracji byłego premiera, w tym sam premier, szefowie jego sztabu, ministrowie i inne osoby z administracji. Uważamy, że wszystkie osoby, niezależnie od afiliacji i statusu politycznego, powinny być równe wobec prawa. Wobec tego pytanie jest takie: być może czas rozpocząć, Panie Komisarzu, artykuł 7. wobec Maltę? Bo czy w Polsce lub na Węgrzech zginął jakiś dziennikarz, który zajmował się korupcją polityków? Czy zginął w ogóle jakiś dziennikarz? Co to za podwójne standardy?

To samo nierozwiązane sprawy zabójstwa Jána Kuciaka i jego narzeczonej Martiny Kušnírovej czy Wiktorii Marinowej, czy greckiego dziennikarza. Gdzie są pociągnięci do odpowiedzialności ich mocodawcy, osoby zamieszane w sprawę? Co to są za podwójne standardy? Jeżeli chcemy naprawdę bronić, chcecie Państwo bronić praworządności, to nie będzie w Unii Europejskiej praworządności, kiedy ochronie nie będą podlegali dziennikarze. Czas na ochronę dziennikarzy. Czas na prawdziwe działanie. Artykuł 7. Panie Komisarzu.

Κωνσταντίνος Αρβανίτης, εξ ονόματος της ομάδας *The Left*. – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, κύριε Επίτροπε, πέντε χρόνια μετά τη δολοφονία της Daphne, είμαστε πάλι εδώ να συζητάμε για τη Μάλτα, το κράτος δικαίου και την ασφάλεια των δημοσιογράφων. Να ξεκαθαρίσουμε ότι η υπόθεση της Μάλτας πάει πολύ αργά καταρχήν. Υπάρχουν σοβαρά ζητήματα που είδαμε στην επίσκεψή μας στη Μάλτα και, βεβαίως, θέλω να σημειώσω —να προλάβω— ότι δεν μπορεί σήμερα ακόμα να δικάζονται οι συγγενείς της Daphne Galizia με αγωγές. Πρέπει να τελειώσει αυτή η ιστορία.

Όμως, άκουσα τον κύριο Weber και ήταν πολύ αυστηρός. Να ξεκαθαρίσουμε εδώ, λοιπόν, αν θα είμαστε πιο επιεικείς όταν η κυβέρνηση είναι δεξιά και κάπως διαφορετικά να το βλέπουμε αν η κυβέρνηση είναι σοσιαλδημοκρατική. Η δολοφονία δημοσιογράφου είναι χτύπημα στη δημοκρατία. Βεβαίως, περιμένουμε να δούμε το ίδιο και για τους δολοφόνους του Καραϊβάζ στην Ελλάδα, της Marinova, του Kuciak, του de Vries στην Ολλανδία.

Το Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο —και το λέω ως πρώην δημοσιογράφος— δεν μπορεί να βάζει νερό στο κρασί του σε ζητήματα δημοκρατίας. Αυτό το παιχνίδι των εντυπώσεων πρέπει να σταματήσει. Θα συνεχίσουμε μέχρι να αποδοθεί δικαιοσύνη για όλους τους δημοσιογράφους που έχουν δολοφονηθεί μέχρι τώρα, αλλά και για τους εγκεφάλους, για ένα σύστημα εξουσίας ώστε να μην τολμάει κανείς να μιλάει.

ΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑ: ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΠΑΠΑΔΗΜΟΥΛΗΣ

Αντιπρόεδρος

David Casa (PPE). – Sur Presiden, infakkar li iva, ilbierah Malta fakkret hames snin mill-assassinju ta' Daphne Caruana Galizia. Daphne Caruana Galizia, wahedha, kienet kapaci tizvela korruzzjoni fl-oghla livelli. Ma bezzghet minn hadd anke meta l-apparat politiku ta' Kastilja kien mobilizzat biex jirredikolaha u biex jizolaha.

Facil ninsew li Daphne kienet fuq kollox mara, u kburija li kienet mara Maltija. L-istorja kuraġġuza ta' Daphne tfakkarna fir-riskju li jiffaċċjaw il-ġurnalisti meta l-gvernijiet ikaxkru saqajhom u jinjoraw il-ġurnaliżmu f'wiċċ evidenza ta' korruzzjoni u kriminalità. Dan huwa meta r-riskju ghas-sigurtà tal-ġurnalisti huwa l-oghla.

Sinjur President, jumejn ilu, iż-żewġt ahwa li splodew il-bomba ammettew htijiethom u se jqattgħu erbghin sena habs u dan huwa pass importanti, imma pass żgħir. Għad jonqos ġustizzja shiha għal dik il-kriminalità li nqatlet għaliha Daphne hi u tesponiha. U fuq dan il-punt għadna lura hafna. L-assassini nqabdu, issa jmiss lill-politici u lill-ufficjali li lagħbu rwol importanti li jinqabdu, kif qal l-MEP Reuten min-naħa tas-Socjalisti, issa jmiss li niffukaw fuq il-mandanti, fuq min ippjana l-assassinju.

Daphne kien haqqha ahjar; il-poplu Malti kien haqqu ahjar. U issa se nibqgħu nirsistu b'hilitna kollha biex niżguraw ġustizzja shiha, għax iva, Daphne kellha raġun, u iva, Daphne eroj Maltija.

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Cyrus Engerer (S&D). – Mr President, five years ago, all of us were shocked. On the day of Daphne's assassination, I stated that this was a terror attack on freedom of speech.

I joined the vigil in Sliema with my partner and a friend, only to realise that, due to partisan political reasons, we were not welcome there. I did not agree with all that Daphne wrote, but what happened needed to be fought by us all, away from partisan bickering, which is leaving all of us bruised and citizens alienated. We hold strong to our Maltese values – those of democracy, human liberties, justice and the rule of law, the same values of our European Union.

In five years, seven journalists have been – unacceptably – killed in our Union and our European response is anti SLAPP legislation. Important, but not enough. Back home, we are undergoing an overhaul of our judicial, institutional, political and media set up. It gives me hope. Reforms are being praised by international institutions, but when all this is done, this too will not be enough.

What we need is to heal as a nation from political divisions rooted in the past. Our challenge is to fight hate, classism, the belief that some opinions are superior to others. Justice for Daphne is being done in our courts. But yet, to honour her, we need to open minds, open hearts and fight partisan hate, and we must do that together.

Ramona Strugariu (Renew). – Mr President, one can fight with a gun or one can fight with a pen. History proves that most of the times a pen was a lot more powerful than a gun.

For soldiers of the truth like Daphne, the fight for a world with less corruption, for the freedom of speech and for the rule of law cost her life. They killed her, with impunity until today, but they could not kill her story. The Daphne Project - Forbidden Stories is still alive today and continues her work. Governments should honour this fight for the truth, not bury it. There must be an end to impunity for those who silence journalists, activists and media workers.

This is what we need to do in this House as well: legislate and work with our governments as well so that it stops and journalists are protected. This is what we owe to Daphne and people like her. Otherwise, there will be no truth left to fight for.

And please, dear colleagues and Commissioner, consider naming the European anti-SLAPP Directive, the Daphne Law, because she deserves that.

Daniel Freund (Verts/ALE). – Mr President, dear colleagues, Daphne Caruana Galizia was an anti-corruption fighter. She dedicated her work to uncovering corruption, and she was murdered for it by greedy politicians and businessmen that wanted to keep stealing public funds without being exposed. This must never happen again.

It's our duty – it's the duty of the European Union – not only to protect journalists, but also to make sure that the rule of law is strong everywhere in our Union. I spoke to Daphne's sons just earlier today. They told me that there still hasn't been a single corruption prosecution in Malta since the murder of their mother. The mastermind behind the assassination is still at large and some of the policies that enabled the corruption in Malta are still there. You can still buy a passport. The cooperation with the European prosecutor is still not ideal.

But I want to say one sentence to you, Manfred Weber. You spoke out very strongly for the rule of law in the fight against corruption. We need to do that wherever it happens, not only when it's a government from the S&D or from the liberals. We only win this fight when we stand together as democrats.

Assita Kanko (ECR). – Mr President, of course, we are here today for justice for Daphne Caruana Galizia, a journalist who was just doing her work and who was murdered in Malta, with a bomb in a car. She was killed with complicity of the state and of some rich people. Today, only those who executed the orders are in jail. What about those who requested and who called for the murder? Why is her family still a target of SLAPPs?

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Of course, we are here today for justice for Daphne Caruana Galizia. But we are also here for what she was fighting for: we are here for press freedom, for democratic values, for the right of the people to know what is going on. This is what Daphne Caruana Galizia gave her life for – for the fight for democracy to survive. Democracy and the rule of law cannot survive without a free press. That's why we must protect it.

Jeroen Lenaers (PPE). – Mr President, five years ago, Daphne Caruana Galizia was assassinated. The ultimate punishment for exposing the corruption at the highest level of the Maltese Government: a government that carries responsibility for her murder by creating a favourable climate for anyone who wanted to eliminate her.

Whoever planned and carried out the assassination did so in the knowledge they would be protected. And they still feel protected today. Impunity is still the norm in Malta. The government has no real desire to find out who ordered and paid for the assassination. Too afraid of inconvenient truths. Just like nothing is done to address the corruption, fraud and criminality that Daphne exposed in the first place. It's very concerning.

Yes, indeed, this is not about party politics, but listening to this debate and looking at the speakers list, I have to wonder. The S&D has five speaking slots in this debate. Four of them are filled by Maltese MEPs. That's the whole Maltese delegation. Is there really nobody else apart from Thijs Reuten, who did so very eloquently, who is concerned about this, who is committed to this? Is there nobody else who wants to join his call for justice for the family of Daphne?

The rule of law cannot be a partisan issue. We need to show up together. We need to work together and we need to fight together.

Alfred Sant (S&D). – Mr President, the significant commemoration of Daphne Caruana Galizia's horrible murder is not being enhanced by this debate. The resolution before us replicates the attitudes of many other resolutions before it. They echo the messages of right-wing splinter groups which disparaged the Malta Government on all fronts and mindlessly.

Before, measures were needed; indeed, they were needed. They are being carried out in a democratic and open process of give and take. It might seem slow. But it is sure and certain and it is giving results. Reforms already effected and in the pipeline actually put Malta ahead of many other European states in the way, for instance, judicial, constitutional and police systems are or will be run.

Inexorably, those responsible for Caruana Galizia's murder have been hunted down and brought to justice within timeframes that compete reasonably well with what happens elsewhere in Europe. The process of justice and reform will continue to the end.

However, this debate and the resolution attached to it will bring, I'm afraid, no value added to this process, and they do not reflect well on the objectivity and common sense of this House.

Maite Pagazaurtundúa (Renew). – Señor presidente, Malta ha descendido 31 puestos en la clasificación mundial de la libertad de prensa desde el asesinato de la periodista Daphne Caruana en el año 2017. Ha llegado al puesto 78 de 180. El asesinato de la periodista más molesta buscaba, en realidad, el miedo y el silencio de muchos. Y, por los datos de la clasificación, sabemos que las cosas no han cambiado en lo sustancial.

La justicia lenta es menos justicia y la impunidad relativa no es justicia. El procedimiento judicial ha sido largo y tortuoso, y solo tenemos la punta del iceberg de toda la trama que llevó al asesinato de Daphne Caruana. Los sicarios han confesado, pero todo lo demás queda impune.

La existencia de ciudadanos, señorías, es condición indispensable para que nuestras democracias lo sigan siendo. El oficio de periodista no puede ser un oficio de héroes.

Cuando fue asesinada, Daphne tenía las cuentas embargadas por las querellas para acallar su boca, para que no se supiera sobre la corrupción. Y este es uno de los desafíos en la Ley Europea de Libertad de los Medios de Comunicación de la Comisión Europea. El Parlamento Europeo no puede permitir al Consejo rebajas o imposturas en este dossier. No, en este dossier.

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Diana Riba i Giner (Verts/ALE). – Señor presidente, señor comisario, el viernes pasado, dos días antes de que se cumpliera el quinto aniversario del asesinato de Daphne Caruana Galizia, los hermanos Degiorgio fueron condenados a cuarenta años de prisión cada uno tras confesar la autoría del crimen.

Un paso sin duda importante para que se haga justicia, pero sin olvidar que aquellos que ordenaron la autoría del crimen siguen libres.

El clima de impunidad y encubrimiento que envuelve todavía este caso evidencia que no se han realizado las reformas suficientes durante estos cinco años para mejorar el Estado de Derecho en Malta.

No podemos permitir que en la Unión Europea los periodistas, activistas y opositores políticos sufran el acoso y las amenazas de los poderosos con el objetivo de silenciarlos y evitar que participen en el debate democrático.

Daphne fue una luchadora y una heroína. Le debemos una ley anti-SLAPP a nivel europeo que sea lo más ambiciosa posible y que evite que casos como el suyo vuelvan a repetirse. Hagámoslo posible.

Ryszard Czarnecki (ECR). – Panie Przewodniczący! Panie Komisarzu! Szanowni Państwo! To dobrze, że Parlament zajął się sprawą maltańskiej dziennikarki. Szkoda, że jest to dopiero druga debata w ciągu pięciu lat na ten temat. Choć przecież chodzi o morderstwo polityczne. I rzeczywiście jest tak, jak mówili moi przedmówcy, że bardzo dużo nie zostało wyjaśnione w tej sprawie. Nie wyjaśniono także tego kontekstu styku polityki ze światem przestępczym.

Byłem w specjalnej delegacji do innego kraju Unii Europejskiej, do Słowacji, też akurat rządzonej przez tą samą opcję polityczną. Zajmowaliśmy się tam sprawą zamordowania Jána Kuciaka, jego narzeczonej, też człowieka, który badał interesy władzy i tych, którzy na kontakcie z władzą chcieli zarabiać pieniądze. Pomyślmy teraz, czy rzeczywiście te sprawy doczekały się także z naszej strony właściwego zainteresowania. A czy nasze zainteresowanie Polską, na przykład, było proporcjonalne do tego, co się u nas dzieje? Zastanówmy się. Proszę o refleksję nad tą sprawą.

Andrzej Halicki (PPE). – Mr President, dear colleagues, it has been five years since Daphne Caruana Galizia was assassinated. Five long years without justice. Where are those who ordered the murder? Where are those who paid for it? The socialist Government is still refusing transparency. There is pressure on journalists in Malta. There is a lack of full media freedom.

As the deputy chairman of the LIBE Committee, responsible for monitoring of rule of law, I have to say very clearly and loudly, there is no rule of law without media freedom. There is no democracy without media freedom because there is no free and fair elections. We have to restore the rule of law in Malta. Daphne Galizia is waiting for justice but is also still waiting for democracy there.

Alex Agius Saliba (S&D). – Sur President, ftit tax-xhur ilu l-President tal-Kummissjoni Ewropea stqarret illi l-isforzi ta' Malta sabiex jissahhu l-istituzzjonijiet, is-saltna tad-dritt u l-governanza huwa ta' min wiehed ifahharhom. Fl-istess hin illum qeghdin hawnhekk nassistu ghad-disa' rizoluzzjoni u dibattitu ta' fatti rreċiklati dwar is-saltna tad-dritt f'Malta. Bir-rispett kollu lejn il-memorja ta' Daphne Caruana Galizia, għadni qed nistenna dibattiti u rizoluzzjonijiet f'dan il-parlament dwar l-erba' delitti ta' ġurnalisti oħra li sehhew fl-Unjoni Ewropea wara dak ta' Daphne Caruana Galizia. Delitti li l-proċedura legali tagħhom għadhom lanqas biss bdew jew inkella ma gewx konkluzi. Riformi għad fadlilna bħala pajjiż xi nwettqu, pero' nistaqsi, liema huwa dak l-Istat Membru li għandu sistema perfetta fejn jidhlu l-istituzzjonijiet tiegħu. Id-differenza hija dik illi l-gvern Malti qatt ma kien superv, sema', iddjalo u wettaq ir-riformi li ġew proposti. Sahħahna t-trasparenza fil-hatra tal-gudikanti, saħħahna l-Uffiċċju tal-Avukat Generali, saħħahna r-rizorsi tal-pulizija u l-FIAU u sa issa diġà għandna tliet persuni ssentenzjati u tlieta oħra, fosthom l-allegat mandant, li qed jistennaw il-bidu ta' ġuri sabiex issir gustizzja shiha mal-ġurnalista. Dawn huma l-fatti li minhabba interess politiku partigjan anka f'din il-Kamra, illum qed jippruvaw jiġu mistura.

Moritz Körner (Renew). – Herr Präsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Wir gedenken heute dem Mord an Daphne. Dieser schreckliche Mord war ein Angriff auf Daphne, aber vor allem ein Angriff auf die Pressefreiheit in Europa. Mit einem Angriff auf die Pressefreiheit war es auch ein Angriff auf die Demokratie, weil die Pressefreiheit die Luft ist, die die Demokratie zum Atmen braucht.

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Aber ich muss ganz ehrlich sagen am Ende dieser Debatte: Ich bin schockiert. Schockiert zum einen von denjenigen, die die Hintermänner immer noch verteidigen und hier aus politischen Gründen eine Debatte ablehnen, und schockiert zum anderen von denjenigen, die die intellektuelle Dreistigkeit besitzen, in dieser Debatte von doppelten Standards zu reden, davon, dass ja über die Probleme in Malta mit der Rechtsstaatlichkeit nicht gesprochen würde und nur immer über Polen und Ungarn. Diese Dreistigkeit, in einer Debatte, in der genau diese Themen angesprochen werden, darüber zu reden, dass wir das nicht tun, die ist schon schockierend. Dieses Parlament – und auch wenn Ihnen das nicht gefällt – wird immer hinschauen, wenn es darum geht, dass der Rechtsstaat verteidigt werden muss, wenn die Demokratie angegriffen wird, und wir werden auch hinschauen, wenn die Pressefreiheit eingeschränkt wird und Journalisten Angst haben müssen. Das ist unsere Aufgabe in diesem Parlament.

Fulvio Martusciello (PPE). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la storia di Daphne Caruana Galizia è la storia di Jan Kuciak: giornalisti uccisi durante le loro indagini sotto i governi socialisti.

E allora io voglio cogliere l'occasione per ricordare in quest'Aula le dichiarazioni che i governi socialisti hanno fatto per cercare verità e giustizia, per chiedere verità e giustizia. Ricordiamo le loro dichiarazioni. Quello che avete sentito è il rumore del silenzio. E il silenzio in questi casi uccide due volte.

Josianne Cutajar (S&D). – Sur President, hafna mill-konkluzjonijiet tal-inkjesta pubblika fil-każ tal-qtil ta' Daphne Caruana Galizia saru jew qeghdin fil-process li jsiru. Il-livell ta' indipendenza ġudizzjarja perċepita f'Malta għadu għoli. Il-Gvern Malti rreagixxa billi implimenta numru ta' riformi biex ikunu indirizzati nuqqasijiet fis-sistema demokratika u s-saltna tad-dritt. Dal-kliem mhux qed tghidu Josianne Cutajar, Maltija kburi, membru ta' partit Laburista fil-gvern. Dal-kliem qalitu Von Der Leyen lill-Prim Ministru Robert Abela; il-Kummissjoni Ewropea fl-aħhar rapport dwar is-saltna tad-dritt. Dad-diskors intqal mill-Kunsill tal-Ewropa. Għadhom kemm instabu u ġew ikkundannati aktar persuni hatja għal dal-qtil li halla tebgħa fuq pajjiżna. U għandna Gvern li qed ikompli jbidel, li jemmen li dak li kiseb s'issa għadu mhux il-wasla. Il-progress li qed isir f'pajjiżi jirrikonossih min għandu ottika imparzjali u oġgettiva. M'għandux ikun dal-parlament li għal darb'ohra jipprova jpingi stampa mod iehor. Naghlaq billi nfakkar li l-protezzjoni tal-ġurnalisti u s-saltna tad-dritt għandhom ikunu protetti u msahha kullimkien u f'kull Stat Membru.

Διαδίκασια «catch the eye»

Eugen Tomac (PPE). – Domnule preşedinte, domnule comisar, stimaţi colegi, au trecut cinci ani de la acest asasinat care ne-a uimit pe toţi, însă în aceşti cinci ani au mai plecat dintre noi şi alţi şapte jurnalişti care s-au sacrificat, punându-se în slujba adevărului şi încercând să prezinte opiniei publice ceea ce se întâmplă în jurul lor.

Astăzi, din păcate, sunt şi alţi jurnalişti aflaţi în situaţia de a fi ameninţaţi. Inclusiv în ţara mea, în România, există jurnalişti care sunt persecutaţi, sunt şantajaţi, sunt ameninţaţi şi cred că avem nevoie de o legislaţie care să-i protejeze mult mai bine pe cei care luptă împotriva celor care cred că sunt deasupra legii, cred că, prin resursele pe care le au, pot influenţa viaţa şi destinul oamenilor oneşti din Europa.

Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). – Señor presidente, la sala de prensa de la sede del Pleno del Parlamento Europeo en Estrasburgo lleva el nombre de Daphne Caruana Galizia, una heroica periodista de investigación vilmente asesinada por llevar a cabo indagaciones con respecto a un grave asunto de corrupción.

Ha habido una investigación judicial, ha habido condenas en el Estado miembro de la Unión Europea, nada menos, en el que este crimen fue perpetrado. Pero no podemos ignorar que, como se ha recordado, otros seis periodistas de investigación —hombres y mujeres— han sido canallamente asesinados en Estados miembros de la Unión Europea, entre ellos, Grecia o los Países Bajos.

Todos ellos merecen la misma preocupación y todos ellos nos recuerdan el deber que tenemos de poner en marcha esta estrategia de protección de la libertad de expresión contra toda forma de intimidación o de silencio impuesta a través de la amenaza, sea directamente criminal o sea a través de presiones políticas, que intenta acallar las investigaciones que alimentan la libre formación de la opinión pública en una sociedad libremente constituida.

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Γεώργιος Κύρτσος (Renew). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, να συγχαρώ καταρχάς τον Επίτροπο για την προσπάθεια που κάνει. Έχει φέρει, μαζί με την πίεση που ασκούμε και εμείς, κάποια αποτελέσματα —όχι βέβαια αυτά που επιθυμούμε. Να σας πω, όμως, ότι τα προβλήματα δεν είναι μόνο στη Μάλτα —γιατί μίλησε ο Επίτροπος για χρυσά διαβατήρια, «golden visa».

Αυτή τη στιγμή στην Ελλάδα υπάρχει βιομηχανία χρυσών διαβατηρίων και κάθε φορά που διαμαρτύρεται κάποιος, όπως εγώ, οι υπουργοί μας λένε —αφού έχουν νομιμοποιήσει διάφορους υπόπτους για διαχείριση μαύρου χρήματος— ότι φέρνουν επενδύσεις. Μίλησε ο Επίτροπος για SLAPP· μα, τον πρωταθλητή στα SLAPP τον έχουμε στην Ελλάδα και είναι ο πρώην διευθυντής του γραφείου του Μητσοτάκη —και ανιψιός του φυσικά— ο οποίος οργάνωσε και την παρακολούθηση, τις τηλεφωνικές υποκλοπές δηλαδή, σε βάρος του συναδέλφου μας, του σοσιαλιστή Νίκου Ανδρουλάκη. Επομένως, όλα αυτά τα βλέπουμε.

Δολοφονία, βέβαια, δημοσιογράφου είχαμε και στην Ελλάδα: του Καραϊβάζ πριν από 18 μήνες. Δεν υπήρξε καμία πρόοδος στις έρευνες, δεν υπήρξε καμία ενημέρωση από την κυβέρνηση του κυρίου Μητσοτάκη και δεν υπήρξε κανένα ενδιαφέρον. Και όταν τα έδεσα αυτά στον κύριο Μητσοτάκη, μαζί με άλλα, βρέθηκα εκτός Νέας Δημοκρατίας και απ' ό,τι θυμάμαι ο κύριος Weber υποστήριξε τον κύριο Μητσοτάκη και όχι εμένα. Επομένως, για να τιμήσουμε τη μνήμη της δολοφονηθείσας, νομίζω ότι πρέπει να ανεβάσουμε όλοι το ευρωπαϊκό μας επίπεδο.

Clare Daly (The Left). – Mr President, the murder of Daphne Caruana Galizia was a tragic loss for European journalism. She was a genuinely fearless investigative reporter who worked throughout her career to bring important truths to light, and God knows there are very few who do that kind of work in the European media.

Fearless reporting is a rarity. What dominates the European media instead is client journalism, and it fills the pages of our newspaper. It gets all the air time in broadcast news. Client journalism trades its freedom for access and profit. So when we talk about threats to media freedom, what we're talking about are the threats to this handful of journalists who actually do journalism, who uncover uncomfortable truths and hold them up to the light. The murder of Ms Caruana Galizia was one such threat. The continued incarceration of Julian Assange is another. Every day he remains in prison, the noose draws tighter around the neck of any journalist who might threaten Western power. So, for anyone who says they care about media freedom, one of the important ways of honouring her legacy on this important anniversary is to demand his release.

Mick Wallace (The Left). – Mr President, at a time when real journalists are as scarce as hen's teeth, it's only right that we are remembering Daphne Caruana Galizia. She had the courage to speak the truth.

I heard an earlier speaker say that there is no rule of law or democracy without media freedom. But what I'd like to know is, how do you tie that in with the treatment of Julian Assange? He's in prison in London. He's been in incarceration for over 10 years now, between the Ecuadorian embassy and prison, for speaking the truth. He told the truth about US-NATO war crimes in Afghanistan and Iraq. And I don't hear many people in here call for his release. I want to know why. Why don't ye call for the release of Julian Assange if you care about media freedom? Because as long as he's not free, ye have no credibility talking about media freedom.

(Λήξη της διαδικασίας «catch the eye»)

Didier Reynders, membre de la Commission. – Monsieur le Président, Mesdames et Messieurs les députés, je voudrais d'abord vous remercier à nouveau pour ce débat. Nous le devons à Daphne Caruana Galizia.

Je me réjouis tout d'abord que nous puissions continuer notre dialogue sur la situation de l'état de droit dans les différents États membres. Et comme vous le savez, je me tiens à la disposition de votre Parlement, que ce soit en plénière, en commission ou dans un autre format, pour examiner cette situation dans les 27 États membres.

S'agissant plus particulièrement de la situation à Malte, je voudrais réitérer que nous apprécions la volonté des autorités maltaises d'avoir un dialogue avec la Commission sur les réformes à mener. Je souhaite toutefois insister sur l'importance de mener à bien toutes les réformes nécessaires en matière d'indépendance et d'efficacité de la justice, de lutte contre la corruption et de liberté des médias, et de les mettre en œuvre concrètement.

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Je tiens à rappeler l'engagement de la Commission pour la protection des journalistes ainsi que pour la liberté et le pluralisme des médias. Nous avons proposé de nombreuses mesures à cet égard ces deux dernières années et nous allons continuer à soutenir les travaux du Parlement et du Conseil afin que ces initiatives soient adoptées le plus rapidement possible. Vous avez notamment, à plusieurs reprises, évoqué la situation des procédures-bâillons, les SLAPP. Il faut avancer dans le cadre, notamment législatif, de la proposition de directive en la matière, à côté – je l'ai rappelé tout à l'heure – de la recommandation qui est déjà en vigueur.

Mais nous devons aussi assurer la mise en œuvre de toutes ces réformes pour honorer la mémoire de Daphne Caruana Galizia. Et je tiens à répéter qu'il est fondamental, cinq ans après les faits, que l'enquête pénale en cours soit menée à bien, complètement, et notamment que les commanditaires de cet assassinat soient tenus pour responsables devant la justice.

Rendre justice est indispensable pour Daphne Caruana Galizia, pour sa famille, pour la société maltaise et pour la défense des valeurs ancrées au cœur de l'Union européenne. Je sais que c'est aussi le combat du Parlement européen. Nous aurons l'occasion de revenir à nouveau à la fois sur l'évolution des réformes et sur l'aboutissement des procédures judiciaires.

Πρόεδρος. – Έχω λάβει, σύμφωνα με το άρθρο 132 παράγραφος 2 του Κανονισμού, δύο προτάσεις ψηφίσματος.

Η συζήτηση έληξε.

Η ψηφοφορία θα διεξαχθεί την Πέμπτη.

Γραπτές δηλώσεις (άρθρο 171)

Λουκάς Φουρλάς (PPE), γραπτώς. – Πέντε χρόνια μετά τη δολοφονία της ερευνήτριας και δημοσιογράφου, Daphne Caruana Galizia, και ακόμα περιμένουμε απαντήσεις από τη δικαιοσύνη. Μόνον ένας από τους δολοφόνους έχει μέχρι στιγμής καταδικαστεί για τη δολοφονία της. Η διαφθορά πρέπει να παταχθεί και οι ένοχοι, όσο ψηλά κι αν βρίσκονται, θα πρέπει να παραιτηθούν άμεσα και να πληρώσουν. Στεκόμαστε δίπλα σε όσους αγωνίζονται κατά της διαφθοράς και για να λάμψει η αλήθεια.

László Trócsányi (NI), írásban. – Megdöbbenéssel állunk az előtt, hogy Máltán a hatóságok Daphne Caruana Galizia oknyomozó újságíró meggyilkolása kapcsán késve és nem kellő hatékonysággal folytatták le a nyomozást. Egy újságíró meggyilkolása nem csak embertelen gyilkosság, hanem a sajtószabadság, és maga a jogállamiság elleni legdurvább merénylet. Kulcsfontosságú, hogy a hatóságok mindenkor kellő eréllyel lépjenek fel az ilyen jellegű bűncselekmény elkövetőivel szemben, és biztosítsák a szabadságjogok maradéktalan érvényesülését. Nem véltelen, hogy Máltán a demokratikus érzelmű emberek fel vannak háborodva a baloldali erő halogató magatartása miatt! Furcsának tartjuk, és kettős mércének tekintjük, hogy amikor egy országban baloldali kormány van hatalmon, az Európai Parlament a jogállamiság védelme érdekében csak vonakodva, a jobboldali politikai pártok nyomására hajlandó megszólalni. Ezzel szemben az Európai Parlament baloldali erői teljes támadásba lendülnek, amikor egy országban jobboldali kormány van hatalmon. Ilyenkor vélt és nem megalapozott vádakkal illetnek egyes tagállamokat, mint ahogy ez hosszú évek óta történik Lengyelország és Magyarország esetében is. A hitelesség komoly érték. Amikor azonban egy szervezet kettős mércét kezd alkalmazni, akkor a hitelesség is eltűnik.

13. De verantwoordelijkheid van Frontex voor schendingen van de grondrechten aan de buitengrenzen van de EU in het licht van het verslag van OLAF (debat)

Πρόεδρος. – Το επόμενο σημείο στην ημερήσια διάταξη είναι η συζήτηση επί της δήλωσης της Επιτροπής σχετικά με την ευθύνη του FRONTEX για παραβιάσεις των θεμελιωδών δικαιωμάτων στα εξωτερικά σύνορα της ΕΕ μέσα από το πρίσμα της έκθεσης της OLAF (2022/2895(RSP)).

Ylva Johansson, Member of the Commission. – Mr President, Frontex fulfils a critically important task. Its mission is to help Member States protect the common European external borders, and to uphold fundamental rights in doing so.

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In particular, in the current difficult situation, with a high number of irregular migrants coming through the Western Balkan routes, we see how essential Frontex is, or when we read a report that on 14 October, Hellenic police and Frontex rescued 92 naked migrants in the area of Evros. Right now, Frontex is undertaking briefings with the people concerned to establish the facts. This shows once more how important it is for Frontex to be present at our external borders.

To achieve its objective, Frontex must be a robust and well-functioning agency, with the right governance and control systems in place, and it must have the right processes and staff at its disposal to uphold fundamental rights.

My services have consistently worked together with the agency on this objective. This work started in the summer of 2020, when the first media reports on possible pushbacks in the Mediterranean appeared. The Commission has been instrumental in pushing forward the work of the Fundamental Rights Working Group of the Frontex management board. This work resulted in recommendations to the management board and Frontex in February 2021, which were endorsed by the management board in March 2021.

Since then, the Commission representatives on the management board have worked closely with the board in order to implement the board's conclusions, as well as the recommendations of the European Parliament's Frontex Scrutiny Working Group. This has led to fundamental reforms in the agency structure and internal processes.

The OLAF report in February this year confirmed many findings of the board's working group. However, in addition, it identified personal misbehaviour and mismanagement of three members of the management staff of the agency, including its then executive director. This report was addressed to the management board of Frontex, as the appointing authority of the staff members in question, in line with the rules on OLAF investigations.

My services cooperated closely with the board from the transmission of the report to the management board in February until the conclusion of the follow-up in June this year. As a result, the executive director of the agency resigned at the end of April from his function, as you know. Also, the second person concerned left agency in the meantime. The third person, who had fully cooperated with OLAF's investigation, was assigned to a different function in the agency at his own request.

I am aware that reading the report will have shocked many of you, just as it shocked me. But I am convinced that the management board of Frontex has assumed its responsibility fully and in a very efficient way. This has allowed the agency to continue to operate smoothly while working hard on remedying the remaining shortcomings identified by its control bodies, the board and the Frontex Scrutiny Working Group. Right now, we are in the process of recruiting the new executive director for Frontex, and I hope that this new executive director will be appointed before the end of this year.

Jeroen Lenaers, on behalf of the PPE Group. – Mr President, dear Commissioner, the timing of this debate was a bit spontaneous – I will try to make it work. But first of all, thanks a lot to OLAF for the very thorough work they have done in preparing this report.

I think it goes without saying that the behaviour of the three persons concerned, as it is described in the OLAF report, is very concerning, and that they have seriously hurt the image of the agency. We need Frontex as an agency beyond any doubt because of its crucial role in the management of our external borders.

I also believe that this report and the resignation of the Executive Director is in a way a very good moment for a fresh start, because the report also shows that the agency is full of brave men and women with integrity that dare to speak out with OLAF and help OLAF reach its conclusions. We need to build on all those men and women that are currently still active at Frontex.

We had a very interesting meeting with the authors of the report in the joint CONT and LIBE meeting. They indicated that they did not investigate any allegations of pushbacks or fundamental rights violation and that it goes without saying any such allegations need to be investigated wherever and whenever they appear, but they were not part of the scope of this investigation.

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One of the other things that I read in the report, if you read between the lines, is that Frontex really also needs guidance from the European Commission about the difficult legal framework in which maritime surveillance takes place, about the difficult position that Frontex is in, about their role in working with, but also for, Member States. We need the new Executive Director to really make a change. We need more guidance from the Commission and we need to work with the Frontex Scrutiny Working Group in this House to help that.

One last thing that I want to say as well – and this is to echo what the Commissioner said – we need to address the despicable behaviour of the Turkish authorities with the strongest and most convinced way, because the recent scandals again show in what kind of geopolitical circumstances the Greek authorities, but also Frontex, need to operate and it is hardly achievable.

Birgit Sippel, *im Namen der S&D-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident! Seit Jahren steht Frontex in der Kritik. Missmanagement, mangelnde Transparenz, unterschlagene Kenntnis von Menschenrechtsverletzungen an den Außengrenzen, womöglich sogar Beteiligung an Pushbacks. Leggeri war stolz auf sein neues Equipment. Doch das gesetzlich vorgeschriebene Personal wurde nicht rekrutiert. Wozu auch? War er doch offenbar der Ansicht, Grenzmanagement sei gar nicht möglich unter Einhaltung von Grundrechten.

Die Liste der Verfehlungen ist lang, und die Verfehlungen sind zum Teil wohl dokumentiert, nicht erst seit dem OLAF-Bericht. Dennoch wurden diese Verfehlungen wieder und wieder abgestritten, wurde Unwissen geheuchelt oder gar dreist gelogen. Das alles legt der OLAF-Bericht schonungslos offen und bestätigt ganz nebenbei, dass Frontex von Pushbacks wusste, an diesen beteiligt war, die Aufzeichnung solcher Handlungen bewusst und gezielt verhindert hat. Geschützt wurde der ehemalige Exekutivdirektor Leggeri dabei von Mitgliedstaaten im Verwaltungsrat, konservativen Teilen der Kommission, aber auch Mitgliedern hier im Haus.

Doch sein Rücktritt jetzt ist kein Freifahrtschein. Denn spätestens mit den Erkenntnissen des OLAF-Berichtes ist klar: Ein neuer Direktor oder neue Vertreter im Verwaltungsrat reichen nicht aus. Es braucht neue Strukturen, Vertrauen muss komplett neu aufgebaut werden. Es braucht auch einen neuen Umgang mit Transparenz. Exemplarisch dafür steht, dass der Bericht des OLAF hier im Hause nur eingeschränkt zugänglich gemacht und auch jetzt nicht von offizieller Stelle veröffentlicht wurde, sondern durch ein Nachrichtenmagazin. Das schiere Ausmaß der Probleme muss klar anerkannt werden, und neue Strukturen müssen geschaffen werden. Das ist gerade deshalb notwendig, weil Frontex eine so wichtige Agentur ist. Doch die Veränderungen sind noch nicht klar erkennbar. Es wird Zeit!

Jan-Christoph Oetjen, *im Namen der Renew-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, Frau Kommissarin! In der Tat, Frontex hat eine wichtige Aufgabe. Die europäischen Grenzen zu schützen ist eine wichtige Aufgabe. Als europäische Behörde muss Frontex natürlich Grundrechte schützen. Und die Frage, die wir uns, glaube ich, stellen müssen, verehrte Kolleginnen und Kollegen, ist: Warum kann so etwas denn eigentlich passieren? Manchmal habe ich den Eindruck – wenn die Innenminister der Europäischen Union darüber sprechen, dass Frontex ein robustes Mandat hat –, dass sich manch einer bestätigt fühlt in der Art und Weise, wie bei Frontex gehandelt wird.

Es ist jetzt durch diesen OLAF-Bericht herausgekommen, dass es persönliches Fehlverhalten von drei Personen gegeben hat. Okay, der OLAF-Bericht über Frontex ist in der Tat schockierend, und Frontex muss sich jetzt neu aufstellen. Aber ich bezweifle, dass es eine Art Einzelfall einzelner Personen ist, sondern es ist ein System, das wir umstellen müssen, meine sehr verehrten Damen und Herren. Ich glaube, dass ein neuer Exekutivdirektor dafür sorgen muss, dass Frontex auf neue Füße gestellt wird, damit diese wichtige Aufgabe des Grenzschutzes in der Tat gut erledigt werden darf unter Einhaltung von Menschenrechten, verehrte Kolleginnen und Kollegen, mit transparenten Regeln, und damit sich Frontex als Unterstützung für die Mitgliedstaaten versteht, aber – das sage ich ganz deutlich – auch als Organismus, der die Mitgliedstaaten kontrolliert bei ihrer Aufgabe, die Grenzen zu schützen. Denn Grenzschutz, meine sehr verehrten Damen und Herren, ist nicht unvereinbar mit dem Einhalten von Grundrechten, sondern es gehört zwingend zusammen.

Erik Marquardt, *im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, Frau Kommissarin! Sie haben ja gesagt: Sie waren schockiert, als Sie den OLAF-Bericht gelesen haben, und das habe ich in letzter Zeit öfter gehört. Man ist schockiert, wenn man diesen Bericht liest. Ehrlicherweise wundert mich das ein bisschen. Also, da stehen keine neuen Sachen drin – da stehen Sachen drin, die wir hier seit Jahren diskutieren. Sachen, von denen behauptet wird, sie seien manchmal Fake News, manchmal türkische Propaganda, manchmal irgendwelche politischen Dinge, die sich andere ausdenken.

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Also ich glaube: Von diesem OLAF-Bericht schockiert zu sein, muss uns eigentlich dazu bringen, dass wir schockiert von uns selbst sind. Wir wissen das – seit Jahren. Wir wussten das und wir wussten auch, dass wir eigentlich jetzt uns gemeinsam hinsetzen können und Frontex neu aufstellen. Aber wir haben es nicht gemacht. Im Gegenteil: Mir wurden gestern schon wieder Dokumente von Frontex zugespielt, wo klar ist: Frontex weiß auch von weiteren Menschenrechtsverletzungen. Es passiert einfach nichts, es passiert nichts, und ich finde es wirklich entwürdigend – auch für dieses Haus –, dass wir an den Außengrenzen nicht nur Menschen, schreiende Frauen und Kinder und Männer auf seeuntüchtigen Booten zurücklassen, sondern wir lassen da den Rechtsstaat zurück, wir lassen da zurück, wofür eigentlich Europa stehen sollte, unsere gesamten Werte und das, was wir aus der Geschichte gelernt haben.

Und ich finde es eigentlich wichtig, dass wir uns vielleicht einfach stärker zusammenreißen, dann nicht erzählen, wir hätten eine Flüchtlingskrise an den Außengrenzen, denn wir haben eigentlich seit Jahren eine wirklich substanzielle Krise des Rechtsstaats. Eine substanzielle Krise des Rechtsstaats, die ich in der Rede jetzt nicht weiter ausführen kann. Aber ich hoffe, dass wir in den nächsten Wochen das lösen oder zumindest irgendwie einen Schritt in die richtige Richtung einschlagen.

Silvia Sardone, a nome del gruppo ID. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, questa è l'ennesima discussione in cui l'Unione europea si concentra nell'accusare chi osa contrastare l'immigrazione clandestina.

Invece di rendervi conto che c'è un enorme problema, continuate a criminalizzare chi si oppone ai flussi di irregolari. Lo avete fatto per anni contro il ministro Salvini, colpevole di aver difeso i confini dell'Italia e di aver fatto crollare gli sbarchi di chi non aveva alcun diritto di stare in Europa: ha stroncato il business dell'accoglienza e per quello è finito imputato in due processi assurdi.

Ma queste anime belle che si indignano sono le stesse che in Francia con Macron respingono gli immigrati al confine con l'Italia e in Spagna con i socialisti, usando anche l'esercito, attaccano i migranti che tentano di entrare nel loro territorio a Ceuta e Melilla. Insomma, siete accoglienti con i confini degli altri. Voi auspicate un «liberi tutti» dalla Turchia e dal Nord Africa, portando i paesi del Mediterraneo e, in particolare, l'Italia a essere ancora di più il campo profughi d'Europa. Voi chiedete addirittura che non sia fatta alcuna distinzione tra profughi e clandestini, però, incredibilmente, nulla fate per promuovere le rotazioni dei porti e i ricollocamenti degli immigrati. Insomma, nessuna solidarietà.

La vostra è una doppia morale inaccettabile, ed è anche uno dei motivi per cui dalla Svezia all'Italia si affermano alle elezioni coalizioni di centro-destra. I cittadini sono stanchi del vostro falso buonismo e della vostra incapacità di affrontare in modo serio e pragmatico il problema dell'immigrazione.

Cornelia Ernst, im Namen der Fraktion The Left. – Herr Präsident! NGOs, Anwälte, Betroffene von Pushbacks haben lange Monate gewartet, endlich diesen Bericht auf den Tisch zu bekommen. Er ist ein Beweisstück dafür, dass Frontex Mitwisser systematischer Menschenrechtsverletzungen an den Außengrenzen ist, Komplize bei der Vertuschung illegaler Pushbacks, deren Folge nicht selten der Tod von Asylsuchenden ist. Dafür wurde sogar die Luftüberwachung ausgesetzt.

Wie tief die moralische Verrottung war, beweisen die Kommunikationskanäle des früheren Frontex-Chefs Leggeri und seines Teams, der Anweisungen gab, wegzusehen, um nicht Zeuge von Pushbacks zu werden. Sogar dem eigenen Frontex-Grundrechtsbeauftragten wurden bewusst Informationen vorenthalten und wir, das Parlament, wurden ständig und andauernd belogen und zum Narren gehalten.

Es geht nicht um die Verfehlungen Einzelner, es geht darum, dass diese Agentur Gott gespielt hat, um sich über jedes Recht hinwegzusetzen. Dieses System Frontex muss beendet werden! Keinen einzigen Cent Steuergelder darf es für eine Agentur geben, der das Leben von Asylsuchenden nicht mal einen Pfifferling wert ist. Wir brauchen eine Agentur des Respekts vor dem Recht und eine Agentur, die tatsächlich Menschenrechte achtet. Denn Grenzschutz ohne Menschenrechte ist Despotie.

Lena Düpont (PPE). – Mr President, Madam Commissioner, colleagues, what happened since the FSWG had concluded the report on the allegations? The agency had taken various actions to improve, to get better, to live up to the revised mandate and the task.

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Three new DEDs had taken up their responsibility, a new FRO has taken up his duty, accompanied by now 46 fundamental rights monitors, more than first foreseen. The fundamental rights strategies implemented, the FRO is an integral part of the agency's work, the steer mechanism is revised. The cooperation with the consultative forum had been reinstated with the quality it has had before the former ED.

Does the OLAF report put things mentioned above in question? No, because mismanagement and misbehaviour can be assigned to three persons, and they had to face the consequences. Can the agency, the Management Board, the European Parliament and the Commission step up the efforts? Yes they can, because times have not gotten easier.

The geopolitical situation has tightened and Frontex, even while under serious constraints, had fully delivered what we had expected of them, support the Member States facing Russia or Belorussia, supporting Ukraine refugees and providing shelter and care.

So, colleagues, whether we like it or not, supporting the agency and strengthening it is paramount in these turbulent times. The agency has done its homework. Let's do ours and support them.

Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D). – Señor presidente, comisaria Johansson, *corruptio optimi pessima*: este adagio latino nos dice que la corrupción de los mejores es la peor de todas, del mismo modo que la desviación de poder de quienes tienen encomendada la tarea de velar por el cumplimiento del Derecho es un daño al conjunto del sistema del que forman parte.

Es el caso de Frontex, lamentablemente. No nos sorprende, porque hemos estado encima durante un buen número de años en la Comisión de Libertades Civiles, Justicia y Asuntos de Interior. Usted lo sabe muy bien.

Frontex es, en estos momentos, la agencia gigante de la constelación de la Unión Europea. Cuenta con 750, casi 800, millones de euros en su presupuesto y con un despliegue que aspira a 10 000 agentes uniformados y armados al servicio, precisamente, del cumplimiento del Derecho europeo, que incluye vinculadamente la Carta de los Derechos Fundamentales de la Unión Europea.

Por eso, además de las desviaciones de poder, que atienden a acosos laborales o abusos de poder en el interior de la Agencia, a la Comisión LIBE del Parlamento Europeo le preocupan especialmente aquellas actuaciones en las cuales ha habido violaciones de derechos fundamentales, devoluciones en caliente y cooperación con operaciones ilegales en frontera y con devoluciones ilegales en frontera, como han sido reportadas, lamentablemente, una y otra vez.

Por eso, hay que extraer las lecciones y, por supuesto, suscribimos la necesidad de que el Consejo de Administración y el director informen al Foro Consultivo y al responsable de derechos fundamentales de la Agencia para velar por que los derechos fundamentales sean parte esencial de la dieta y del orden del día del trabajo cotidiano de la Agencia y de todos sus agentes.

Pero, además de eso, tenemos en estos momentos nada menos que una perspectiva de renovación de la dirección de la Agencia porque —digámoslo claro— la presión política de este Parlamento Europeo —y usted lo sabe bien, comisaria— ha sido determinante en la dimisión de su anterior director. Por tanto, el mensaje es claro. La próxima dirección tiene que estar fundamentalmente comprometida con los derechos fundamentales. Tiene que tener experiencia política de relación interinstitucional y de rendición de cuentas transparente ante el Parlamento Europeo. Pero, sobre todo, tiene que tener un compromiso beligerante, contrastado en su hoja de servicios, con el respeto de los derechos fundamentales, que son vinculantes desde que entró en vigor el Tratado de Lisboa con la Carta de los Derechos Fundamentales de la Unión Europea.

Tineke Strik (Verts/ALE). – Mr President, dear Commissioner, today we can finally speak freely about the way Frontex was covering up pushbacks. Despite all attempts to keep it secret, reported violations were disregarded, fundamental rights watchdogs were side-lined, the Parliament lied to.

The report not only reveals the misbehaviour of a manager, but also the complete failure of the governance of Frontex. Why did the Member States and Commission allow this misconduct to go on for years? Why didn't they prevent this deeply rotten culture?

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This report is not about an incident or a few people, but about the structural human rights crisis at our borders and within Frontex, an agency that must guarantee our values and rights. Lives, protection, human dignity are at stake, we must see that the lessons learned at all levels. It would be a big mistake to pretend that almost all problems are already solved.

No, we must work hard on the structure and culture of the agency on transparency and accountability, and to stop any acceptance of pushbacks.

Patricia Chagnon (ID). – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, ce soir, votre attitude vis-à-vis de Frontex a le mérite de la clarté. Le changement brutal de direction et la campagne de diffamation dont l'agence a fait l'objet sont éloquentes. Longtemps, on nous a dit que Frontex était une agence de gardes-frontières de l'Europe. Nous avons toujours émis nos réserves et votre attitude aujourd'hui lève tout doute.

Schengen, qui devrait être un espace de libre circulation protégé, est en réalité un espace de libre circulation ouvert à tous vents. Pour vous, l'immigration n'est pas un problème, c'est votre projet. Nous saurons en informer les peuples d'Europe, qui n'en peuvent plus de l'immigration que vous leur faites subir.

Κωνσταντίνος Αρβανίτης (The Left). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, αγαπητοί συνάδελφοι, να ευχαριστήσουμε καταρχάς την OLAF που μας επιβεβαίωσε αυτό που γνωρίζαμε. Αλλά γιατί να μην το μάθει και ο κόσμος; Γιατί είναι κρυφή αυτή η έκθεση και γιατί θα πρέπει να μαθαίνουν οι πολίτες γι' αυτήν μέσω του Τύπου;

Ο κύριος Leggeri παραιτήθηκε, ή τον «παραιτήσαμε». Στην Ελλάδα ο κύριος Leggeri βραβεύτηκε για ακριβώς τους ίδιους λόγους. Εδώ, λοιπόν, υπάρχει μια αντίφαση και θέλω να σημειώσω κάποια πράγματα: 92 άνθρωποι γυμνοί στην Τουρκία, 120 άνθρωποι παρουσία του Frontex στην Ιταλία, 75 Αφγανοί πρόσφυγες επαναπροωδούμενοι από τη Βουλγαρία στην Ελλάδα, στα Κύθηρα 10 νεκροί και 15 τουλάχιστον αγνοούμενοι. Έρχονται τα καράβια, κυρία Επίτροπε, από τη Σμύρνη μέχρι όπου φτάσουν, για να σκάσουν στην καλύτερη περίπτωση στα βράχια και να πνιγούν οι άνθρωποι ή κάποιοι να σωθούν και κάποιοι να χαθούν στα διεθνή ύδατα. Αυτό που γίνεται σήμερα είναι γενοκτονία. Πνίγονται άνθρωποι στο Αιγαίο, πνίγονται άνθρωποι στην ευρωπαϊκή θάλασσα.

Και εδώ υπάρχει το θέμα για τον Frontex. Έρευνα και διάσωση υπάρχει σε αυτόν τον Οργανισμό; Τι ακριβώς κάνει όταν βλέπει ένα σκάφος να έρχεται από την Τουρκία προς την Ευρώπη; Τους αφήνουμε στα διεθνή ύδατα και μετά τι; Αυτό είναι, λοιπόν, για εμένα το μεγάλο ζήτημα. Και βεβαίως δεν πρέπει να σταματήσει εδώ αυτή η ιστορία αλλά να προχωρήσει.

Tomáš Zdechovský (PPE). – Pane předsedající, paní komisařko, já možná tuto debatu příliš nechápu. V době, kdy nasazují důstojníci Frontexu svoje životy na hranicích Evropské unie, kdy opravdu řada z nich má neskutečně mnoho přesčasů, kdy jsme mohli vidět, že řada z nich neviděla rodiny řadu týdnů, protože musí být v práci a musí dělat svoji práci, aby Evropa byla bezpečná, uděláme tuto debatu a budeme se tady tvářit, že Frontex má problém?

Frontex měl problém. Ano, a my jsme to přiznali i ve zprávě discharge, která je poměrně kritická, ale jenom slepec nechce vidět to, jakým způsobem se Frontex změnil. Ano, můžeme tady kritizovat bývalého ředitele, ale on už není ředitel. Novou ředitelkou je paní Kalnajaová, která je ochotná poslouchat naše výtky a provedla ve Frontexu řadu opatření, která napravila tu situaci, která ve Frontexu panovala. A dneska se nemáme bavit o tom, jaká je situace ve Frontexu.

Dneska se tady máme bavit o tom, kdo riskuje životy lidí, aby je převezl přes hranice, o pašerácích, o státech, které nespolupracují. Má tady zaznít kritika Turecka. A já opravdu se divím levici a některým i středopravicovým stranám, že rozehrávají tuto nebezpečnou hru.

Maria Arena (S&D). – Monsieur le Président, le management des frontières extérieures ne se fait pas sans foi ni loi. Je dirais même que dans ces politiques extrêmement sensibles, le respect des droits humains doit être au centre des préoccupations de cette agence qui est présentée aujourd'hui comme essentielle pour la mise en œuvre de la politique migratoire.

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Pourtant, on le sait, et ce n'est pas la première fois que Frontex se retrouve sous les feux des critiques, tant pour son inefficacité, et je vous renvoie au rapport de la Cour des comptes, que pour ses violations graves des droits humains, rappelées ici dans le rapport de l'OLAF, qui ne fait que confirmer ce que nous disons depuis des mois et des mois: l'absence du respect des droits humains, systématique à l'intérieur de cette agence.

Madame la Commissaire, vous êtes responsable du respect des traités et des conventions internationales qui mettent au cœur du projet européen le respect des droits de l'homme. Le message doit être clair. Le mandat doit être clair. L'organisation de Frontex doit être transparente. Ce sont des lois, ce sont des droits et c'est de la bonne gouvernance en toute transparence. Et manifestement, on en est très loin aujourd'hui.

Saskia Bricmont (Verts/ALE). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, aujourd'hui, c'est une fois encore le travail des ONG, mais aussi des journalistes d'investigation que nous devons saluer. Alors que leurs activités sont de plus en plus criminalisées, sans eux, le rapport de l'OLAF, qui décrit les agissements de l'agence Frontex, n'aurait jamais vu le jour. Et sans eux et sans la presse, le débat d'aujourd'hui n'aurait jamais été possible ni public.

Frontex et son ancienne direction ont bénéficié de complaisance et d'un laissez-faire de la part des États membres, trop heureux de voir se hisser les frontières de l'Europe forteresse, frontières toujours plus meurtrières. Trop heureux aussi de ne pas avoir à faire preuve de solidarité et d'humanité pour l'accueil des exilés.

Le rapport de l'OLAF est accablant. En sus de ses nombreux dysfonctionnements internes, Frontex a sciemment – sciemment – passé sous silence des violations des droits fondamentaux. Frontex a sciemment laissé faire les autorités nationales se rendant activement coupables de refoulements illégaux, en contradiction totale avec le droit international et le droit européen. L'agence la plus financée de l'Union européenne a menti à ce parlement et méprise de plus en plus ouvertement les valeurs européennes. Nous refusons que l'argent des contribuables européens serve à financer ces agissements. Raison pour laquelle demain le Parlement, ce parlement, doit refuser la décharge budgétaire à Frontex.

Ελισάβετ Βόζεμπεργκ-Βρυωνίδη (PPE). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κυρίες και κύριοι συνάδελφοι, η έκθεση στερείται νομικής βάσης και δεν οδηγεί σε σαφή και συγκεκριμένα συμπεράσματα. Κάθε συζήτηση για το μεταναστευτικό οφείλει να είναι σοβαρή και υπεύθυνη.

Να μιλήσουμε με αλήθειες: η έκθεση συμπίπτει με την έξαρση της τουρκικής επιθετικότητας σε βάρος της Ελλάδας και την εργαλειοποίηση απελπισμένων ανθρώπων. Μόλις προχθές, Τούρκοι οδήγησαν 92 ανθρώπους στον Έβρο, τους κακοποίησαν, τους γύμνωσαν και τους υποχρέωσαν να περάσουν στα ελληνικά σύνορα. Έχει ενημερωθεί η κυρία Επίτροπος, η κυρία Johansson. Οι άνθρωποι αυτοί διασώθηκαν από τις ελληνικές αρχές. Υπάρχει στην έκθεση κάποιο αποδεδειγμένο στοιχείο για παράνομες απωθήσεις; Κάθε άλλο, δεν είναι αυτή η δουλειά της. Η δουλειά της είναι να ελέγξει τους υπεύθυνους για τυχόν λάθη, και τα λάθη διορθώνονται. Γνωρίζετε ότι, καθημερινά, άνδρες και γυναίκες του ελληνικού Λιμενικού διασώζουν ανθρώπινες ζωές στη θάλασσα; Γνωρίζετε —ή μήπως αγνοεί κανείς— ότι η Τουρκία δεν τηρεί την υποχρέωσή της, αλλά αντίθετα καλύπτει —αν δεν στηρίζει κιόλας— τα κυκλώματα των διακινητών και περιφρονεί την υποχρέωσή της που απορρέει από την κοινή δήλωση ΕΕ-Τουρκίας του 2016;

Συνάδελφοι, τα λάθη διορθώνονται. Όμως, δεν ακυρώνουμε τον ρόλο του Frontex. Όταν μιλάμε για παρανομίες σε σχέση με την ανθρώπινη ζωή και τις ανθρώπινες αξίες πρέπει να χρησιμοποιούμε αποδεικτικά στοιχεία, επιχειρήματα και συγκεκριμένα πραγματικά περιστατικά. Διαφορετικά, δεν είμαστε σοβαροί απέναντι στο πρόβλημα. Ο Frontex είναι αναγκαίος. Χρειαζόμαστε μια ισχυρή φύλαξη των εξωτερικών συνόρων με παράλληλο σεβασμό στα θεμελιώδη δικαιώματα. Το έχουν ανάγκη αυτό οι Ευρωπαίοι πολίτες και τους το οφείλουμε.

Pierfrancesco Majorino (S&D). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, Frontex rappresenta una pagina assolutamente negativa e fallimentare, è perfino un pessimo esempio di gestione di denaro pubblico, ma, ancora prima, è uno strumento di palese violazione dei valori europei.

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C'è infatti solo da vergognarsi di fronte alla sistematica azione repressiva messa in atto da un'agenzia che dovrebbe contribuire a gestire bene i fenomeni migratori e che invece è diventata un laboratorio della discriminazione istituzionalizzata, come si evince anche dalle rivelazioni sulla relazione OLAF riguardanti pure la declassificazione volta a nascondere casi di evidente violazione dei diritti umani.

Spiace vedere che la Commissione europea sia su tutto il tema delle politiche migratorie, non certo solo su Frontex, molto impacciata e contraddittoria. Il patto su migrazione e asilo è infatti un clamoroso esempio negativo e si deve cambiare tutto, mettendo al centro gestione dei flussi migratori, revisione delle regole, azioni antidiscriminatorie, cooperazione tra gli Stati, politiche europee di integrazione e inclusione.

In questa cornice serve il contrario di quella che è stata Frontex. Abbiamo infatti bisogno di un'agenzia che aiuti e supporti le azioni di soccorso in mare e in terra, di attraversamento dei confini, di gestione serena dei flussi migratori.

Se guardiamo alla realtà di oggi, gli esempi di fronte a cui non possiamo più permetterci di voltarci dall'altra parte ipocritamente sono tantissimi, da ciò che accade nel Mediterraneo, con lo scandalo dei campi libici, a quel che avviene nei Balcani o, giusto per fare un altro esempio, tra Bielorussia e Polonia.

Anna-Michelle Asimakopoulou (PPE). – Mr President, I welcome this debate today in the interest of serving the truth, but as a Greek member of this House, I cannot allow this debate to fuel the campaign launched by Turkey, slandering Greece over migration in order to overshadow the fact that Turkey consciously and systematically weaponises migrants at the EU's external borders.

And I quote Turkish Foreign Minister Çavuşoğlu, 'Under the supervision of the EU and with the help of Frontex, Greece is killing people in the middle of the sea.' That is a lie. And I quote President Erdoğan, 'Greece is turning the Aegean Sea into a graveyard through illegal pushbacks.' And, 'Europe and the United Nations must stop these atrocities, which are crimes against humanity.' That is another lie, and it is an even bigger provocation.

The truth, dear colleagues, is that Turkey is cramming desperate men, women and children into unseaworthy vessels, violently pushing them towards Greece, while the Greek authorities, with the help of Frontex, are saving lives every day. Just last Friday, as Commissioner Johansson mentioned, 92 migrants were rescued at the Evros River and testified to being abandoned there by the Turkish authorities completely naked. Yes, completely naked. This, dear colleagues, is the naked truth about Turkey weaponising migration. And you must finally face the naked truth, with unity and solidarity, if not for Greece's sake, because you owe it to our European culture, values and humanitarianism.

Alessandra Moretti (S&D). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, mi rivolgo a voi e chiedo: in che direzione sta andando la nostra Unione europea?

Che fine hanno fatto i valori di solidarietà, pace e difesa dei diritti umani che dovrebbero guidare e ispirare le azioni dell'Unione? Che fine ha fatto il diritto internazionale che prevede che ogni persona in cerca di protezione deve – e sottolineo – deve essere accolta nei paesi in cui scappa? Che fine ha fatto la nostra umanità?

Sono queste le domande che sorgono quando leggo la relazione dell'OLAF e quando sento le testimonianze di gravissime violazioni dei diritti fondamentali da parte di un'agenzia europea. Non è tollerabile che un'agenzia che opera su mandato dell'Unione non rispetti i suoi principi fondamentali, violando convenzioni, codici, regolamenti interni.

Sono italiana, so bene cosa significa vedere migranti che sbarcano sulle proprie coste, capisco l'impegno che viene chiesto al paese che li accoglie, ma conosco anche ciò da cui scappano queste persone, qualcosa che non lascia scampo. Ho visto con i miei occhi anche i migranti che popolano le rotte balcaniche, che camminano a piedi nudi nella neve pur di raggiungere una speranza e che subiscono respingimenti illegali.

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Colleghi, è il momento di avere coraggio e raggiungere finalmente una politica comune per gestire l'immigrazione, basata sulla solidarietà e sulla cooperazione dentro e fuori l'Unione e che rispetti i diritti umani di tutti, sempre.

Διαδικασία «catch the eye»

Maria Spyraiki (PPE). – Mr President, Madam Commissioner, I would like to bring to your attention some details on the aspect that Commissioner Johansson has already included in her introduction.

It was the morning of 14 October when the Greek border police found two groups, in total 92 irregular immigrants including 6 children, naked next to the River Evros, which constitutes the border between Greece and Turkey, between the EU and Turkey. According to their testimonies, they had been robbed, they had been subject to personal injuries, as well as assaults on their dignity, by the Turkish authorities, who obliged them through threats and violence to cross the river, to cross the EU-Turkish border. Needless to say that it is obvious that Turkey is failing to implement all the relevant obligations and actions based on the EU-Turkish Joint Statement.

I would like to assure this House that the Greek authorities will continue to protect our external borders, our EU borders. The Greek authorities, supported by Frontex, are operating in a very complex, very volatile environment in which Turkey – we can all agree – is weaponising desperate people. And we have to face the truth and to condemn Turkey in this regard.

Γεώργιος Κύρτσος (Renew). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, καταλαβαίνω την κριτική στον Frontex και είμαι και υπέρ των αλλαγών. Όμως, ανεξάρτητα από τις αλλαγές, πρέπει να βρούμε τρόπο να κάνουμε τον Οργανισμό ισχυρότερο. Να σας θυμίσω ότι από την προεδρία Juncker υποσχόμασταν έναν Frontex με 10.000 εργαζόμενους, ο οποίος φυσικά δεν υπάρχει ακόμα. Ειδικά στην Ελλάδα χρειαζόμαστε έναν αποτελεσματικό Frontex για δύο λόγους.

Ο πρώτος είναι για να μην δίνεται, έτσι, ερέθισμα στον Ερντογάν να εκβιάζει την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση με περισσότερους πρόσφυγες και μετανάστες, διότι θα δημιουργηθούν πολύ συγκεκριμένα προβλήματα. Για παράδειγμα, η νέα κυβέρνηση της Σουηδίας περιόρισε τους πρόσφυγες που θα δέχεται κάθε χρόνο σε 900. Άρα, πρέπει να βγάλουμε ορισμένα συμπεράσματα. Επίσης, χρειαζόμαστε την ισχυρή ευρωπαϊκή παρουσία στα σύνορα Ελλάδας-Τουρκίας για να μην ξεφεύγει η ένταση με βάση συγκεκριμένα συμβάντα, διότι όλοι καταλαβαίνουμε πού μπορεί να οδηγήσει αυτή η ένταση.

Carlo Fidanza (ECR). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, io non devo intervenire in questo dibattito, ma devo dire che invece è stato un dibattito illuminante, perché, vedete colleghi, noi siamo tutti a favore di una trasparenza massima, siamo tutti a favore del rispetto dei diritti umani, questo dibattito però ci ha rivelato come in realtà non sia questo l'oggetto del contendere.

L'oggetto del contendere è il mandato di Frontex, perché è stato detto in diversi interventi che ora che si sono dimessi i precedenti dirigenti bisogna cambiare la natura e la funzione di questa agenzia, la si vorrebbe trasformare in sostanza in una sorta di maxi ONG che, anziché aiutare gli Stati membri a cercare di proteggere le frontiere, così come previsto dai trattati, a partire dal trattato di Schengen, diventi di fatto un organo, un ente che consenta una promiscuità, che è quella che vediamo quotidianamente, tra chi entra illegalmente e chi invece ha diritto a essere accolto con gli strumenti della protezione umanitaria.

Questo è sbagliato. Noi ci opponiamo a questa visione ideologica e continuiamo a ritenere che una politica comune dell'immigrazione si faccia anche con uno strumento efficace che aiuti gli Stati membri a proteggere le frontiere esterne dell'Unione.

Clare Daly (The Left). – Mr President, I have to agree with colleagues that the saddest part of this discussion is that, as shocking as it is, it contains nothing new. The report is very clear, and I thank OLAF for it, but we know that Frontex has carried out pushbacks. We know that Frontex has funded the Greek Government in carrying out pushbacks; we know that Frontex has deliberately withdrawn surveillance to allow for pushbacks; and we know that they deliberately covered up information they had in order not to reveal pushbacks. So they are guilty of some of the crimes that have led to the deaths of 35 000 people on our borders. We have known about these from testimony received time and time again from activists on the ground in Greece, but nothing was done. I salute OLAF, but let's be clear, the terms of reference were limited enough.

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What I want to know is, what has the Commission done? It has been eight months since this report was completed, and it is not good enough to come in here and say: 'Well, it's all about a few bad eggs, the three fellas are now being moved. Ah sure, alright. Nothing to see here'. The report reveals collusion and information passing between Executive Director Leggeri and the Commission. Has that been investigated? What are the recriminations of this? This is the EU's biggest funded agency. It has broken international law. This is not about arranging deck chairs on the Titanic. It needs to be disbanded.

Mick Wallace (The Left). – Mr President, the OLAF report exposes Frontex, and it confirms what we've been saying for a long time.

We met Amir Zahir and Akif Rasouli in Lesbos. They fled Afghanistan, their country destroyed for 20 years by the US and NATO. They arrived in Turkey. They got a boat from Turkey to Greece. The Greek coastguard spotted them. They punctured the boat and there were a lot of people on the boat. They eventually arrested them and they were sent for pre-trial detention. They are still in prison. They're facing 50 years of a prison sentence, possibly. This is a shame on Europe. Frontex are denying people the right to seek asylum. It's international law.

The Europe of Frontex is not our Europe, just as Josep Borrell's vision of Europe and the rest of the world as a garden versus a jungle is not our vision of Europe and the world.

(Λήξη της διαδικασίας «catch the eye»)

Ylva Johansson, Member of the Commission. – Mr President, thank you all for this very important debate. Frontex fulfils a critically important task. Its mission is to help Member States protect the common European Union external borders and to uphold fundamental rights in doing so.

To achieve its objective, Frontex must be a robust and well-functioning agency with the right governance and control systems in place, and it must have the right processes and staff at its disposal to uphold fundamental rights.

I said this in the beginning of this debate and we from the Commission side have been working intensively for many, many years to strengthen the governance, address shortcomings, and make sure that Frontex has the proper processes and staff in place.

They have appointed new fundamental rights officers. The fundamental rights monitors are in place. Three new executive directors with strong mandates are in place. The new Frontex mandate is in place and soon we will have the new executive director appointed after a thorough process that is now ongoing.

More needs to be done – this is clear – to address all identified shortcomings. I trust the Management Board and the interim Executive Director, Aija Kalnaja, that are guiding the agency in the right direction.

It is clear that severe misconduct by the former executive director and two other members of the management staff has been identified by the OLAF report is extremely serious and that this has damaged the agency's possibility to fulfil its duties.

But let me also stress the obvious. We have courageous, good men and women that protect our external borders 24/7 in compliance with fundamental rights. Protection of our external borders and protection of the fundamental rights goes hand-in-hand, and that is how thousands and thousands of border guards are practising their duties day and night.

Πρόεδρος. – Η συζήτηση έληξε.

14. Duurzame brandstoffen voor de zeevaart (initiatief FuelEU Zeevaart) - De uitrol van infrastructuur voor alternatieve brandstoffen (debat)

Πρόεδρος. – Το επόμενο σημείο στην ημερήσια διάταξη είναι η κοινή συζήτηση επί:

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— της έκθεσης του Jörgen Warborn, εξ ονόματος της Επιτροπής Μεταφορών και Τουρισμού, σχετικά με τα βιώσιμα ναυτιλιακά καύσιμα (πρωτοβουλία FuelEU Maritime) (COM(2021)0562 - C9-0333/2021 - 2021/0210(COD)) (A9-0233/2022), και

— της έκθεσης του Ismail Ertug, εξ ονόματος της Επιτροπής Μεταφορών και Τουρισμού, σχετικά με την ανάπτυξη υποδομών εναλλακτικών καυσίμων (COM(2021)0559 - C9-0331/2021 - 2021/0223(COD)) (A9-0234/2022).

Jörgen Warborn, rapporteur. – Mr President, Commissioner, honourable colleagues, it is high time to advance the green transition of shipping. With a compromise adopted in the Committee on Transport and Tourism (TRAN), we lay out the world's by far most ambitious pathway to maritime decarbonisation.

Europe takes the frontrunner position in tackling emissions by creating demand for sustainable fuels and fostering innovation in green propulsion technologies. This is truly ground-breaking. Never before has any global power drafted such a comprehensive and efficient framework for tackling maritime emissions.

I am happy that after almost a year of in-depth dialogue with ports, ship-owners, trade unions, environmental organisations and fuel suppliers from all parts of Europe, followed by intense negotiations in Parliament, we now have a deal on the table.

And not just any deal, a deal supported by an overwhelming majority in TRAN with the EPP, S&D, Renew, ID and ECR, including, very importantly, the support from both our associated committees, ENVI and ITRE – a very broad majority of three committees and five political groups.

Our compromise is ambitious and it is realistic because, as responsible politicians, we have to take many perspectives into account. On climate, most importantly, but not just setting the most extreme targets that might look good on paper. Instead, thinking about real enforceability, making sure things actually happen in reality. Also thinking about social aspects, protecting jobs, because 75% of our exports go by ship. We secure connectivity for people living on islands, in coastal areas and in the outermost regions. We shield the most vulnerable families from rising prices. Safeguarding the maritime sectors competitiveness, and making sure there won't be carbon leakage and jobs leaving Europe.

In the negotiations in TRAN, my guiding principle was to ensure we get the biggest emissions savings possible per euro spent. We do that with an effective scope targetting 90% of maritime CO₂ emissions while shielding the very smallest ship-owners and ports from massive economic and bureaucratic burdens. We do it with the phase-in that is rapid but realistic so that we send a strong signal to the market to invest in green ships and ramp up the projections of RFNBOs and biofuels, to deploy onshore power and invest in innovative wind propulsion. We do it with the target-oriented design where we set the pathway forward with strict greenhouse gas limits, but without micromanaging ship-owners or forcing them into some kind of 'one-size-fits-all'.

The deal before you ensures is that maritime climate targets are met rapidly and effectively, that Europe becomes the benchmark for the rest of the world, that we actually change the way global shipping is powered, going green and making sure the innovation happens here.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to members and staff who were part of these negotiations, especially to my TRAN colleagues from EPP, S&D, Renew, ID and ECR and the shadow rapporteurs from ENVI and ITRE who supported this agreement. I urge all colleagues in plenary to adopt our compromise and to reject all other amendments. Let's move this important and urgent file ahead. Let's go with confidence to dialogues with a strong and united Parliament position.

Ismail Ertug, rapporteur. – Mr President, dear colleagues, I think we have committed ourselves to the Paris Agreement targets, and with the Fit for 55 package, we, as the European Union, have put this legislation on the table.

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Within this legislation – I think it goes without saying – we have to decarbonise, in particular, the transport sector, and we see that individual transport as well as heavy-goods transport are still emitting very high emissions. Alternative and sustainable fuels are key to decarbonising and, in order to do so, we definitely need to overcome the bottleneck which is and which was for a long time the infrastructure. Therefore, dear colleagues, we have to fast roll out the infrastructure for alternative fuels.

Just let me go one step back in near history: in 2013, the European Commission already came up with legislation called AFID, the Alternative Fuels Infrastructure Directive, at that time, and this previous legislation was totally destroyed – I have to say that in these words – by the Member States, by the Council. If they had not completely undermined the legislation at that time, we would have had 677 000 charging stations across the European Union by the end of 2020. And even now, October 2022, we have, I would say, only 377 000 charging stations. Therefore, it was high time that the European Commission submitted the AFIR Regulation within the Fit for 55 package.

Two weeks ago, here, exactly at that place, we voted in the Transport Committee overwhelmingly with a majority for this report – 36 yes to no, and I clearly say charging must be as simple as filling up petrol if we want to make a success story out of it.

I don't want to miss the opportunity to thank all my shadow colleagues from all the other groups. I guess we have now achieved strong and progressive elements. We have achieved charging stations every 60 kilometres, which will be obligatory until the end of 2025. We have also put in higher power output for light-duty vehicles, for heavy-duty vehicles and, in particular, for hydrogen infrastructure. We have also put more ambition into the hydrogen targets: refuelling hydrogen stations every 100 kilometre until the end of 2027.

We have also put into this legal regulation obligatory card payments on charging stations. We have included the electrification of and hydrogen for rail modes. On-shore power supply for ships until the end of 2030 and shoreside electricity for aircrafts until the end of 2025. We have also incorporated exemptions for outer regions and included data provisions which make user information easier. I proposed a European access point, which will also be established within this regulation. Now, hopefully, we will get the support from Members of Parliament on Wednesday at noon.

But still one remaining issue is open and for this, I want to ask for your support, dear colleagues, and it is the sanction mechanism. I just want to tell you frankly that this sanction mechanism has nothing to do with ideology. It's just a tool to push the Member States towards the implementation of this regulation. Article 19(a) just says that the Member States need to implement a penalty mechanism for those charge point operators who don't comply with the legislation. Full stop. We also included a recital stating that the European Commission will be demanded to fine Member States EUR 1 000 per non-installed charging station.

Ladies and gentlemen, dear colleagues, we have worked now, I would say, for a year and a half, extremely, extremely on this dossier, with all my colleagues on the different reports and the different committees. We had more than 1 000 amendments. We clustered all these amendments into different topics. We have put them all together. We made out of this more than 1 000 amendments, 18 compromise amendments, and we brought 17 of them through, two weeks ago within the Transport Committee.

Now it's up to us to take the next step. The next step is to vote for it in this House, and then we have to go to the trilogues, where we already have fixed two dates for trilogues with the Czech Presidency. I think we did our utmost as European Parliamentarians. Now it's up to you to vote and to follow my and our line. I'm really optimistic that this will be the starting point of a new European era where we can install infrastructure for alternative fuels, alternative technology. Once again, No Green Deal without new technologies.

Christel Schaldemose, *ordfører for udtalelse, ENVI*. – Hr. formand! Den internationale skibsfart er en af de sektorer, hvor CO₂-udledningerne er steget mest markant siden 1990'erne. Og fremover mod 2050 forventes udledningerne at stige med op til 130 % i skibsfarten. Vi har derfor desperat brug for en grøn omstilling af skibsfarten. Nye teknologier og nye typer af grøn brændstof er taget op i andre sektorer. Vi har brug for, at skibsfarten også sætter gang i en tilsvarende udvikling. Det haster. EU-Kommissionen erkender, at med den nuværende lovgivning vil det være svært at nå de reduktioner i skibsfartens CO₂ før 2030, og det er simpelthen ikke godt nok. I ENVI lægger vi derfor op til, at vi både har brug for, at EU lovgiver om ambitiøse reduktionskrav, samtidig med at vi hjælper til med, at vi får boostet innovationen for sektoren, så vi kan få sat gang i den fornødne udvikling. Der er virkelig brug for, at vi presser alle i den maritime sektor til at bidrage, både leverandører og operatører. Alle skal til at bruge mere grønt brændstof. Ellers kommer skibsfarten ikke tidsnok med i den grønne omstilling. Vi har brug for skibsfarten, men vi har brug for, at den sejler på grønt brændstof.

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PRESIDÊNCIA: PEDRO SILVA PEREIRA

Vice-Presidente

Rasmus Andresen, *Verfasser der Stellungnahme des mitberatenden Ausschusses für Industrie, Forschung und Energie*. – Herr Präsident! Wir brauchen emissionsfreie Schifffahrt bis spätestens 2050. Seit 1990 sind die Schiffsemissionen um 36 % gestiegen. Sie schaden dem Klima und unserer Gesundheit. Deshalb ist jetzt die Zeit zu handeln.

Es ist gut, dass sich die EU-Kommission mit dem Gesetz über Kraftstoffe im Seeverkehr auf den Weg macht und Klimaziele für die Schifffahrt formuliert. Es ist gut, dass auf Druck von uns Grünen, des Industrieausschusses und auch des Umweltausschusses die Emissionsreduktionsziele im Parlamentsbericht verschärft wurden. Es ist auch gut, dass wir Ausbauziele für erneuerbare Kraftstoffe einbauen. Klimaschädliches LNG wird dadurch unattraktiver, und erneuerbare Alternativen werden deutlich attraktiver. Trotzdem hat der Bericht zu viele Schlupflöcher. Industrie- und Umweltausschuss haben bei den Beratungen gezeigt: Mehr ist möglich und nötig. Deshalb möchte ich Sie, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, bitten, für die Änderungsanträge beispielsweise der Grünen-Fraktion und auch vieler anderer Abgeordneter zu stimmen. Hören Sie auf den Teil der Industrie, der möchte, dass wir mehr umsetzen und die Ziele anscharfen.

Adina-Ioana Vălean, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, honourable Members, Rapporteurs, Shadow Rapporteurs. First, I would like to thank everybody who was involved in this dossier's reports on the FuelEU Maritime Regulation and Alternative Fuels Infrastructure Regulation. I really appreciate the efforts made by everybody to reach such broad majorities around the compromises.

It is very good to see these key proposals moving forward, as they are important deliverables for the Fit for 55 package. Accelerating the uptake of alternative fuels is a cornerstone of our approach to achieve our 2030 climate ambition. It is also an effective contribution to decreasing our reliance on fossil fuel imports and improving energy security and air quality in the EU.

FuelEU Maritime will play a crucial role in decarbonising the maritime sector. Imposing gradually stricter greenhouse gas intensity limits on the energy used onboard ships will provide a clear signal to the market of the need for renewable and low-carbon fuels in this sector. It also provides regulatory certainty and facilitates the necessary investment for the energy transition. The additional requirements to use onshore power supply will drastically cut emissions in port areas from the most polluting ships, including minimising harmful air pollution.

It is important to ensure that the provisions for zero emissions at berth remain robust. The report adopted in the Committee on Transport and Tourism (TRAN) is the result of a well-balanced compromise following months of discussions. It maintains the majority of central elements in the core methodology of the original Commission proposal, such as focus on greenhouse gas intensity, technology neutrality and flexibility mechanisms. Some other amendments could reduce the efficiency and make it more difficult to implement the regulation.

I would like to recall some of the key elements behind our proposal. First, the Commission has proposed a level of ambition that ensures we are on track to deliver the climate goals in 2030 and 2050, with maritime transport playing its role as part of the economy-wide effort for decarbonisation. The priority should be to adopt this important piece of legislation quickly, with the reassurance that we would soon review the regulation.

Second, regarding the inclusion of a sub-target for renewable fuels of non-biological origin, I would like to recall that FuelEU Maritime is built upon a principle of technological neutrality, which is also strongly supported by the stakeholders. While I agree that we should incentivise the use of these fuels, we should leave it to the market to make technology decision and drive the price down as supply increases. Otherwise, we risk locking in the large majority of the existing fleet on the most expensive fuel option, making them end up paying to comply. That would be a lose-lose situation leading to higher costs for operators while doing nothing for cutting emissions.

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Other amendments have also been tabled ahead of today's plenary debate on the scope of the regulation, both in terms of the ship size threshold and geographical scope. Regarding the former, in the Commission's opinion, the 5 000 gross tonnes threshold remains the most optimal one where we tackle 90% of emissions while not imposing regulatory burdens on 99% of maritime transport SMEs. We must also keep in mind that the EUR 5.7 billion investment estimate for ports to put in place new infrastructure to meet the FuelEU and AFIR current requirements already requires significant effort. It is extremely doubtful that the ports sector could cover drastically increased investment needs, which would be required if the size threshold is lowered.

As regards the geographical scope, our proposal is fair towards third countries and allows them to decide on appropriate action regarding their share of energy used emissions. The only real solution to this problem is a global measure agreed at the IMO, which the EU is pushing for. That being said, I think we can all agree on the need to set a clear path for swift action on renewable and low-carbon fuels in maritime transport.

By delivering a robust legal framework with ambitious but achievable targets, we will encourage investment, create demand and allow the supply to scale up in a timely fashion. Let's not forget that decarbonising shipping will require a major effort from operators and ports and that we should do as much as we can to ensure a smooth transition.

A few words on the Alternative Fuels Infrastructure Regulation: to accelerate the uptake of sustainable alternative fuels, and particularly zero-emission vehicles, we must also ensure that a sufficient network of publicly accessible recharging and refuelling points is available across the EU, and this regulation provides certainty to light and heavy-duty vehicles that they can easily recharge and refuel.

I want to welcome the TRAN report, which fully supports the switch to regulation, the setting of binding deployment targets and requirements to achieve full interoperability. This is also a very good starting point for the dialogues, considering that the Council also supports these main principles in its general approach.

Some of the proposed amendments go well beyond the scope and parameters of our proposal. Let me therefore reiterate the key reasoning behind our proposal. Deployment of infrastructure should largely be market driven. We are setting mandatory deployment targets to ensure that a sufficient network of electric recharging and hydrogen refuelling infrastructure is deployed across the EU. Member States will have to ensure this.

On this basis, market actors should invest further into the recharging and refuelling infrastructure needed to fully correspond to market demand, providing the optimal infrastructure. Targets should also remain technically feasible, considering the investments needed, particularly in the underlying electricity grid infrastructure. 2025 will be upon us very quickly. Those green investments will take some time, especially for truck recharging. Equally, deployment targets should be reasonable and be set at a level that will not crowd out private investments or lead to unused infrastructure in parts and regions of Europe. It would simply make it more expensive for our citizens.

Competition between operators of recharging points will be key to having the best services and prices for consumers. We agree on the need to ensure that users have full access to relevant data. Transparent price information and easy payment methods. Overall, we should be careful not to overregulate this nascent and fast-growing market, for example, in the area of roaming, and thereby discourage private investments.

When it comes to infrastructure for propulsion fuels in maritime ports, I believe that we need to be careful in what can be prescribed already today. Picking one technology now and mandating such infrastructure in all ports will effectively pre-empt future technology choices by industry. We will have a review on AFIR early on that will provide more clarity on possible decarbonisation pathways for the maritime sector that would allow us to set appropriate targets.

As regards targets for rail infrastructure to be certainty under AFIR, I would like to recall that, under our TEN-T proposal, we already propose a full electrification of the TEN-T Core and Comprehensive Railway Networks. Repeating such requirements in AFIR would only create unneeded legislative redundancies.

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To conclude, I look forward to a fruitful debate and I hope that you can adopt the Parliament position on these two files this week to start trialogues next week already. Thank you very much.

Michael Bloss, *rapporteur for the opinion of the Committee on Industry, Research and Energy*. – Mr President, I wonder if the MEPs should now also get to triple the amount of speaking time, as she also got it. So maybe in this House we should also then give it to the MEPs.

Herr Präsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Derzeit verursacht der Verkehr knapp ein Drittel der Treibhausgasemissionen in Europa. Und das muss und das wird sich ändern. Schon bald wird das Reisen mit dem Elektroauto von Schweden bis Bulgarien problemlos möglich sein. Das Laden von E-Autos wird einfacher sein als das Tanken von Benzin. Und statt Abfallen und App-Chaos wird es überall unkompliziert mit Kartenzahlung gehen.

Meine Damen und Herren, geben Sie den Bürgerinnen und Bürgern Europas heute dieses Versprechen. Ich appelliere an Sie: Konzentrieren wir uns auf das Pferd, auf das die Autoindustrie setzt – das Elektroauto. Grünen Wasserstoff braucht ThyssenKrupp für CO₂-neutralen Stahl, Autos fahren mit Batterie, und LNG ist knapp in Europa. Lassen Sie uns keinen Champagner in den Tank kippen. Schalten wir jetzt auf Turbo in der E-Mobilität und sichern damit Arbeitsplätze, Innovation und Zukunft in Europa.

Bronis Ropė, *Regioninės plėtros komiteto nuomonės referentas*. – Gerbiamas pirmininke, gerbiama komisare, kolegos. Akivaizdu, kad pasiekti tikrąją Europos Sąjungos nepriklausomybę būtina atsisakyti priklausomybės nuo iškastinio kuro. Alternatyvių degalų infrastruktūros projektų skatinimas paprasčiausiai yra būtinas dalykas.

Tiesa, nė vienas Europos Sąjungos regionas ar teritorija negali būti palikti nuošalyje. Šiuo metu viešojo elektrinių lengvųjų automobilių priemonių įkrovimo infrastruktūra Sąjungoje diegiama netolygiai. Ir tai yra didelė problema.

Europa šioje srityje bus silpna tiek, kiek savo pasiekimuose silpna bent viena Sąjungos šalis ar nutolusi teritorija. Ir nesvarbu, kiek konkrečioje vietoje gyvena gyventojų – tol kol elektromobilio nebus galima įkrauti keliaujant bet kuria ES kryptimi – nesugebėsime įtikinti vartotojų atsisakyti taršaus keliavimo būdo. Kviečiu bendradarbiauti ir siekti tikslų kartu.

Jens Gieseke, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion*. – Sehr geehrter Herr Präsident, Frau Kommissarin Vălean, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Für die EVP habe ich zwei Gesetzesvorhaben aus dem Paket „Fit für 55“ verhandelt: die CO₂-Flottengrenzwerte für Pkw und die Verordnung über den Infrastrukturausbau.

Beide Vorhaben sind für mich zwei Seiten einer Medaille. Leider haben sich sowohl das Parlament als auch die Mitgliedstaaten mehrheitlich für das Verbrennerverbot bei Pkw ab 2035 ausgesprochen. Daran wird auch ein rechtlich unverbindlicher Erwägungsgrund nichts ändern. Lassen Sie es mich deutlich sagen: Ab 2035 wird kein Pkw mehr mit Verbrennungsmotor zugelassen werden können. Und ich halte diese Entscheidung immer noch, Herr Kollege Bloss, für rundweg falsch.

Jetzt schon zu entscheiden, welche Technologie 2035 das meiste CO₂ einspart und gleichzeitig erschwinglich ist für die Bürgerinnen und Bürger – was für eine Hybris! Grüne, Sozialdemokraten und Liberale stehen immer noch fest hinter dem Verbot und treiben es weiter voran. Von Einsicht aufgrund steigender Energiepreise keine Spur. Was heißt das alles für den Infrastrukturausbau? Vor allem eins: Wir brauchen mehr Tempo. Scheuklappen und Technologiefixierung helfen uns nicht. Grüne und Sozialdemokraten wollten das Prinzip Brechtange – keine Rücksicht auf den tatsächlichen Bedarf, nur starre Ziele, planwirtschaftlich, inklusive Strafsystem – und zusätzlich noch ohne Folgenabschätzung die Zuginfrastruktur einbeziehen.

Ich glaube, das wäre schlechte Gesetzgebung. Unser Anspruch, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, sollte bessere Rechtsetzung sein. Für uns alle ist klar: Wir müssen den Infrastrukturausbau in allen EU-Mitgliedstaaten voranbringen und nicht nur in einigen wenigen. Daher mein dringender Appell: Unterstützen Sie die Anträge der EVP! Sorgen Sie dafür, dass wir eine Infrastruktur bekommen, die den Bürgerinnen und Bürgern am Ende auch tatsächlich etwas nützt, und dass kein Geld verschwendet wird.

Maandag, 17 oktober 2022

Vera Tax, *namens de S&D-Fractie*. – Voorzitter, 90 % van alle spullen die we gebruiken in de EU komt binnen via containers, op grote megaschepen, zoals bijvoorbeeld de sneakers die je vandaag draagt of die je graag morgen wilt kopen. Zeg maar, bijna alles wat je online of offline in de winkel koopt, komt via de oceaan bij jou terecht. En 99 % van de brandstoffen die deze containerschepen voortstuwen zijn fossiel, en dus slecht voor de opwarming van het klimaat en de luchtkwaliteit in de havens. En nu komt het! Nog nergens ter wereld zijn er afspraken gemaakt over hoe we deze vervuiling gaan stoppen. Tot nu, in de EU.

De wet voor schone scheepvaart gaat ervoor zorgen dat alle containerschepen en alle cruiseschepen die in de EU varen of in de EU komen, duurzaam moeten zijn in de toekomst. Met deze wet maken we eerlijke afspraken over hoe containerschepen en cruiseschepen vanaf 2025 steeds minder CO₂ mogen uitstoten, en vanaf 2030 verplicht zijn om elektriciteit te gebruiken als ze voor anker liggen in de havens, zodat er ook geen luchtvervuiling meer is in zeehavens zoals Rotterdam en Amsterdam. Want elk jaar overlijden er in de EU 400 000 mensen vroegtijdig door luchtvervuiling.

Waar ik bijzonder trots op ben, is dat deze wet het oorspronkelijke voorstel van de Commissie zelfs ambitieuzer maakt. Dat was mijn missie als onderhandelaar: een nog snellere reductie van de CO₂-uitstoot en een verplicht percentage voor gebruik van brandstoffen die nul emissie hebben, zodat de brandstofproducenten deze meest duurzame brandstoffen ook nu al gaan produceren.

Met deze ambitieuze schonescheepvaartwet kunnen we voldoen aan de klimaatdoelstellingen en geven we tegelijkertijd brandstofproducenten vóóraf duidelijkheid over de enorme investeringen die nodig zijn om deze maritieme sector te verduurzamen.

En met deze wet hoeft jij je er in de toekomst geen zorgen meer over te maken of jouw sneakers wel duurzaam over de oceaan zijn gekomen. Jij hoeft alleen nog maar na te denken over welke kleur je graag zou willen.

Elsi Katainen, *Renew-ryhmän puolesta*. – Arvoisa puhemies, arvoisa komissaari, hyvät kollegat, meriliikenteessä on edessä isot päästövähennykset, sillä noin 98 prosenttia aluksista kulkee vieläkin fossiilisilla polttoaineilla. Olemme erittäin laajan, mutta aivan väistämättömän murroksen äärellä, jossa EU näyttää suuntaa koko maailmalle. Lainsäätäjien tehtävänä on tarjota varustamoille, satamille ja koko merenkulkualalle vakaa ja selkeä näkymä sektorin tulevaisuuteen. Vain siten voi syntyä uusia innovaatioita ja uutta liiketoimintaa.

Laivoja, satamia ja niiden infra ei voi laittaa yhteen muottiin esimerkiksi talvimerenkulun aiheuttamien haasteiden takia. Tarvitsemme käyttöön kaikki kestävät ratkaisut uusista vetypohjaisista polttoaineista nesteytettyyn biokaasuun ja uusiin tuulimekaniikkaa hyödyntäviin innovaatioihin, satamien maasähkövalmiutta unohtamatta.

Haluan kiittää kaikkia kanssaneuvottelijoita sekä erityisesti esittelijä Warbornia, jonka johdolla olemme yhdessä neuvottelleet realistisen, pragmaattisen ja myös kunnianhimoisen kokonaisuuden parlamentin kannaksi. Viennistä elävä Eurooppa tarvitsee merenkulkualalle selkeän ja reilun toimintaympäristön, jotta Euroopan kilpailukyky turvataan myös tulevaisuudessa. Sitä kohti vuoteen 2050 mennessä päästöttömän merenkulun lainsäädäntö on avainasemassa.

Jutta Paulus, *im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident, Frau Kommissarin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Die Seeschifffahrt ist bislang von allen Klimaschutzmaßnahmen ausgenommen. Mit der Verordnung zu nachhaltigen Schiffstreibstoffen hätten – ich sage bewusst: hätten – wir die Chance gehabt, einen schwer zu dekarbonisierenden Bereich, der gemäß allen vorliegenden Studien und Szenarien in den nächsten Jahrzehnten sogar noch wachsen wird, auf den Pfad der Klimaneutralität zu bringen. Doch schon der Vorschlag der Kommission blieb hinter dem Anspruch der Klimaneutralität 2050 zurück, indem die Treibstoffe im Jahr 2050 immer noch 25 % der Emissionsintensität heutiger Treibstoffe haben sollten.

Das ist absurd, denn andererseits hat die Kommission einen Entwurf geschrieben für das nächste Treffen der internationalen Schifffahrtsorganisation IMO für Klimaneutralität 2050. Ein solcher Vorschlag ist aber unglaublich, wenn die EU selbst das in ihrer Gesetzgebung für die Schifffahrt nicht anstrebt. Der Umwelt- und der Industrieausschuss dieses Parlaments haben diesen grundsätzlichen Mangel korrigiert und außerdem viele fachlich gut fundierte Vorschläge gemacht, wie die Schifffahrt schneller klimaneutral werden kann, wie zukunftsfähige fossillfreie Treibstoffe gefördert werden können und die Emissionen in den Häfen gesenkt werden können. Aber leider liegt dem Plenum nun, nach den recht ungewöhnlich geführten Verhandlungen, ein Text vor, der nicht nur die höheren Ziele vermissen lässt, sondern auch noch viele, viele Ausnahmen einführt für Eisbrecher, für Fahrten in Randgebiete, für Unternehmen mit wenigen Schiffen und so weiter.

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Neben uns Grünen haben deswegen viele weitere Kolleginnen und Kollegen wie beispielsweise die liebe Catherine Chabaud Änderungsvorschläge gemacht, wie wir die Schifffahrt auf den Pfad zur Klimaneutralität bringen können. Und ich bitte Sie, diese Änderungsanträge anzunehmen.

Roman Haider, im Namen der ID-Fraktion. – Herr Präsident! Es gibt an der aktuellen Verkehrspolitik der EU so viel zu kritisieren, dass ich in Wahrheit gar nicht weiß, wo ich überhaupt anfangen soll. Darum zum wesentlichen Problem gleich zu Beginn: Die Pläne zur Abschaffung fossiler Kraftstoffe bedeuten für die Wirtschaft und den Alltag der Bürger eine regelrechte Katastrophe. Und der Ausbau der Infrastruktur für alternative Kraftstoffe ist völlig sinnlos, solange ein grundlegendes Problem nicht gelöst ist: Woher soll der Strom für die Millionen E-Autos kommen?

Straße, Schiene, Luftfahrt, Schifffahrt – alle Bereiche des Transportwesens sollen ja auf alternative Kraftstoffe umgestellt werden. Allein um den unrealistischen Zeitplan einzuhalten und die völlig überzogenen Ziele dieses Vorschlags zu erreichen, werden Milliarden an Investitionen nötig sein – und all das, ohne vorher eine leistbare und zuverlässige Stromversorgung sicherzustellen. Eine leistbare und zuverlässige Versorgung der hochindustrialisierten Mitgliedstaaten der EU ist mit Wind und Solarparks technisch nicht machbar. Wir werden also weiterhin zu einem gewissen Ausmaß von fossilen Brennstoffen abhängig sein. Die Regeln der Physik und der Technik lassen sich halt nicht durch ideologische Träumereien ersetzen.

Und von den ganzen anderen Problemen, die diese Phantastereien mit sich bringen – dem Verlust von Arbeitsplätzen, dem Verlust der Mobilität, dem Verlust von Know-how oder der zunehmenden Abhängigkeit bei kritischen Rohstoffen, Lithium oder seltenen Erden oder den Problemen bei der Entsorgung und beim Recycling und so weiter –, davon rede ich da noch nicht einmal. Und nicht zu vergessen, dass wir uns aktuell auch in einer dramatischen Energie- und Versorgungskrise befinden.

Schauen Sie endlich den Tatsachen ins Gesicht! Mit diesen Vorhaben treibt man die Verkehrsarmut weiter voran. Mobilität wird zum Luxusgut, vor allem im ländlichen Bereich. Legen Sie endlich realistische und auch technisch umsetzbare Pläne zur Energieversorgung in den EU-Staaten vor. Dann und nur dann können wir darüber reden, wie es mit dem Ausbau der Infrastruktur für E-Autos aussieht.

President. – Let me tell you that, due to time constraints, I will close the request for ‘catch the eye’, respecting the requests that have already been made.

Carlo Fidanza, a nome del gruppo ECR. – Signor Presidente, signora Commissaria, onorevoli colleghi, a distanza di poco meno di dieci anni dalla prima direttiva sulle infrastrutture per i carburanti alternativi, di cui sono stato relatore, lavorando già allora con il collega Ertug, che ringrazio per la collaborazione, si è scelto di dare vita a un regolamento, proprio per dare un quadro più chiaro all'industria, agli operatori e ai consumatori.

Devo dire francamente che ci saremmo però aspettati, a maggior ragione dopo la crisi e la guerra in Ucraina, una pausa di riflessione, una pausa di riflessione sull'intero pacchetto del «Fit for 55», che invece viene ancora utilizzato in chiave ideologica, e devo dire che, purtroppo, anche questo regolamento risente di questa impostazione. È un tassello di un'ideologia che ci sta spingendo a una transizione troppo rapida verso il tutto elettrico, ignorando quelle che possono essere le conseguenze sul piano geopolitico della dipendenza a cui ci consegneremo nei confronti della Cina che, come sappiamo, oggi detiene gran parte delle tecnologie e delle materie prime.

Una conseguenza sociale, perché stiamo ignorando l'impatto che questa rivoluzione imposta dall'alto avrà sulle tasche dei cittadini europei e anche degli Stati membri, perché ancora non si capisce bene chi dovrebbe pagare questa transizione così accelerata.

Si fa quindi di un approccio ideologico una normativa europea, ignorando, devo dire, Commissaria, il principio della neutralità tecnologica, che non è a sufficienza tutelato in questa normativa. Vedete, si cela tutto questo, si vende tutto questo come qualcosa di ambizioso, però quando l'ambizione si rifiuta di fare i conti con la realtà, rischia di diventare utopia, e le utopie, lo sappiamo, molto spesso hanno generato danni molto ingenti.

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João Pimenta Lopes, *em nome do Grupo The Left*. – Senhor Presidente, o caminho para a redução das emissões de gases com efeito de estufa no setor marítimo deve ser feito no quadro dos avanços científicos e tecnológicos e considerar os meios e as condições de partida e necessidades de cada Estado no quadro das suas estratégias de desenvolvimento e soberania.

A abordagem de uma mesma solução que a todos obriga, impõe enviesamentos, agrava assimetrias em benefício e ao serviço dos mercados e da liberalização do setor do transporte marítimo e dos portos. Ganham os grupos económicos e as potências europeias que lideram as ditas ambições.

Uma abordagem que ignora as consequências diversas da liberalização destes setores, que omite a relação entre a dinamização de um comércio internacional desregulado e emissões e a necessidade das relações comerciais mutuamente vantajosas que perspetivem o direito à soberania alimentar, a salvaguarda da produção nacional, a redução dos circuitos de produção-consumo, a defesa dos direitos sociais e o respeito pelo ambiente e a biodiversidade.

A discussão deveria ter no seu epicentro as possibilidades de desenvolvimento de cada Estado em função das suas necessidades, no quadro da reversão dos processos de liberalização e privatização do setor marítimo e portuário e da recuperação do controlo público de setores estratégicos e considerar simultaneamente os desafios que se colocam no quadro das oportunidades de desenvolvimento da indústria naval e indústrias conexas em cada país que esta diretivas proporcionam.

É essa perspetiva de desenvolvimento soberano e de cooperação que serve os países e os povos.

Andor Deli (NI). – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! Az alternatív üzemanyag-infrastruktúra nagyon fontos, ugyanakkor az EP javaslatát sajnos nem veszi figyelembe a tagállamok közötti eltéréseket, így azt sem, hogy a töltőállomások ilyen arányú kiépítéséhez elengedhetetlen az energetikai infrastruktúra nagyarányú előzetes megerősítése. Mindezek további hatalmas kiadások a tagállamoknak, egy olyan időszakban, amikor ott lebeg a gazdasági válság, a recesszió veszélye. Megeshet, hogy a kiépítendő infrastruktúra kihasználtságával is gondok lesznek. Egyrészt, mert az elektromos meghajtású járművek megfizethetetlenül drágák az európai polgárok nagy többsége számára, másrészt, mert az autógyártást hátráltatják a beszállítási láncok fennakadásai, és nincs elég villanyautó a piacon. A zöldítés inkluzív kell, hogy legyen. Úgy gondolom, hogy a rendeletek teste szabásán és a megfelelő támogatási rendszeren kellene inkább dolgozni. A papír mindent elbír, de az Unió polgárainak megvalósítható, reális szabályozásra van szükségük.

Petar Vitanov (S&D). – Mr President, Madam Commissioner, over the past year we should all have seen that Europe's prosperity is in direct relation with its independence – independence from imported fuels and energy sources. The war in Ukraine has forced us to take a hard look at problems that we have turned a blind eye to for a long time.

On the other hand, the environmental catastrophe is not just knocking on the door, but it is making its way across the continent. Decarbonising transport offers excellent opportunities to take a step toward a real change. By shifting to a sustainable, renewable and efficient energy solution across all transport modes, the Union can reduce greenhouse gas emissions and air pollution to improve citizen's quality of life and create new high-quality jobs while modernising and strengthening European industry and its competitiveness.

And I want to thank Mr Ertug and Mr Warborn and of course, all the shadows, for their outstanding job on the two reports and to encourage my colleagues to support the outcome achieved in the TRAN Committee. And yes, I do realise that some measures might be painful, but paying the price today will guarantee our benefit tomorrow.

Caroline Nagtegaal (Renew). – Voorzitter, commissaris, “Staat er geen laadfile bij de laadpalen? Wordt mijn laadpas wel geaccepteerd?” Laadstress: een bekend fenomeen voor menig elektrisch rijder. En ook voor mij. En mijn hoop is dan ook dat dit plan ervoor zorgt dat deze stress tot het verleden gaat behoren.

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En niet alleen voor weggebruikers moeten de zorgen verdwijnen. Ook onze vaarwegen en luchthavens verdienen de juiste infrastructuur. Ik realiseer me ook echt dat dit een uitdaging wordt. Denk aan het beperkte elektriciteitsnet en problemen bij het betalen. Daarom moeten lidstaten, wat de VVD betreft, nú beginnen met het versterken van het elektriciteitsnet en het werken aan slimme technologieën – denk aan *smart charging*. Want zo kunnen we de druk op het stroomnet verlichten. Ook betalen moet eenvoudiger worden, met een betaalpas of een laadpas, zodat laden – óveral in de EU – toegankelijk wordt.

Ik zie dat de transportsector zich keihard inzet voor die duurzame toekomst, maar dat kan niet van de ene op de andere dag. Gun ze dan ook een realistisch tijdspad. We moeten nú doen wat nodig is om het energieaanbod voor de transportsector toekomstbestendig te maken. En om dat in goede banen te leiden, pleit ik voor een nationaal coördinator die de uitrol overziet en lokale overheden helpt met die uitdaging.

Want één ding is wat mij betreft duidelijk: met deze voorstellen hoeven we helemaal niet minder te rijden, minder te varen of te vliegen, maar wél schoner.

Anna Deparnay-Grunenberg (Verts/ALE). – Herr Präsident, Frau Kommissarin, sehr verehrte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Gas und Öl sind von gestern. Sie fördern Krieg, Klimakrise, Luftverschmutzung. Jeder einzelne dieser Punkte ist Grund genug für einen Wandel weg vom Verbrenner und hin zu alternativen Antrieben, um grenzenlos sauber mobil zu sein. Wer ein E-Auto kauft, sollte sich auf die vorhandene Ladeinfrastruktur eben verlassen können. E-Ladesäulen müssen europaweit verfügbar und zuverlässig sein. Nutzerfreundliche Bezahlung muss Standard werden, nach dem Motto: Laden so leicht wie Tanken.

Und noch mehr: Wir brauchen den Wandel nicht nur auf der Straße. Nur etwas mehr als die Hälfte der Schiene ist heute elektrifiziert in Europa, und die Schiene kann noch mehr. 100 % Ökostrom und 100 % elektrisch – europaweit. Zwei Hindernisse hin zu sauberen Infrastrukturen müssen wir noch am Mittwoch korrigieren. Erstens: Kleinere Flughäfen außerhalb der TEN-T-Korridore haben ihren Beitrag zu leisten. Erst recht Besitzer und Besitzerinnen von Business- und Privatjets haben genug in der Tasche, um ihren Anteil zu begleichen, und müssen ihre Infrastruktur ebenso elektrifizieren. Reiche dürfen nicht aus der Verantwortung genommen werden.

Das zweite Hindernis ist der Ausbau von LNG für Lkws und im Seeverkehr. Saubere Mobilität sieht da anders aus. Lasst uns das Spiel umdrehen: Nicht dort, wo Nachfrage ist, sondern nur dort, wo keine Alternative ist, sollte LNG möglich sein. Die Antriebswende geht mit der Verkehrswende Hand in Hand.

Philippe Olivier (ID). – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, si le sujet n'était pas si sérieux, nous pourrions nous amuser de vous voir débattre de vos contradictions. La proposition de règlement sur l'utilisation de carburants plus écoresponsables pour le transport maritime est évidemment louable et nous la voterons. Mais comment ne pas souligner les incohérences, non pas simplement de votre démarche, mais de votre modèle?

Vous vous agitez pour trouver des substituts au fioul lourd, le pire carburant du monde, qui est le carburant des super-cargos, alors même que votre modèle économique induit la généralisation de ce type de transport. Il y avait, selon Equasis, 57 700 cargos sur les mers en 2018. Il y en a près de 100 000 aujourd'hui. On constate les limites de l'exercice consistant à vouloir concilier mondialisme et écologisme, concilier votre principe théologique de libre circulation effrénée avec la juste protection de la planète.

Le contraire de la mobilité n'est pas l'immobilité, mais la proximité. Vos vertueuses propositions de réglementation écologique ne seront crédibles que si, dans le même temps, vous avez la lucidité de revoir votre logiciel mondialiste, qui est par nature écocide.

Beata Mazurek (ECR). – Panie Przewodniczący! Pani Komisarz! Szanowni Państwo! Musimy postawić sprawę jasno: unijny rynek elektromobilności jest bardzo zróżnicowany i wszelkie plany infrastrukturalne muszą te różnice uwzględnić. To, że użytkownicy pojazdów elektrycznych będą mogli korzystać ze stacji do ładowania i tankowania wodoru odpowiednio co 60 i 100 kilometrów, brzmi wspaniale, ale reprezentując Polskę, która jest na początku swojej drogi ku elektromobilności, stanowczo domagam się wydłużenia *vacatio legis* umożliwiającego przygotowanie się do realizacji celów określonych w projekcie.

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Rozwój infrastruktury paliw alternatywnych musi być powiązany ze wzrostem liczby pojazdów zasilanych takimi paliwami. Budowanie wielu stacji dla stosunkowo niskiej ilości pojazdów jest ekonomicznie nieuzasadnione i będzie niosło za sobą wydatki publiczne mocno obciążające budżety krajowe. Szczególnie teraz, w momencie, w którym mierzymy się z kryzysem energetycznym i wysoką inflacją. Zadajemy sobie również pytanie: ile rodzin z mniej zamożnych państw członkowskich stać aktualnie na zakup takich aut? Realizacja ambitnych celów transportu zero i niskoemisyjnego? Tak. Ale połączona z realną sytuacją na rynku pojazdów elektrycznych i poszanowaniem krajów znajdujących się na różnym etapie rozwoju elektromobilności. Mam nadzieję, że podczas negocjacji z Radą uda się wypracować bardziej sprawiedliwy kompromis wydłużający czas wdrażania przepisów.

Έλενα Κουντουρά (The Left). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κυρία Επίτροπε, η Ευρωπαϊκή Πράσινη Συμφωνία προβλέπει μείωση των εκπομπών τουλάχιστον κατά 90% μέχρι το 2050 για τον τομέα των μεταφορών. Η μετάβαση στην ηλεκτροκίνηση και τη βιωσιμότητα έχει πολλαπλά οφέλη για το κλίμα, το περιβάλλον αλλά και για την υγεία των ανθρώπων. Βασική, λοιπόν, προϋπόθεση για τη μείωση αυτή και για να συνεχίσουν οι πολίτες να μετακινούνται απρόσκοπτα είναι η διαθεσιμότητα σταθμών φόρτισης εκεί που χρειάζεται στην καθημερινότητά τους: στους δημόσιους δρόμους, σε επαγγελματικούς χώρους, σουπερμάρκετ και εμπορικά κέντρα. Σημασία επίσης έχει να διαθέτουν πρόσβαση σε θέσεις φόρτισης και τα ταξί στα σημεία που περιμένουν για επιβάτες, γιατί κάνουν δεκάδες χιλιάδες χιλιόμετρα κάθε μέρα.

Τέλος, θα ήθελα να τονίσω ότι για να πετύχει η πράσινη μετάβαση πρέπει να είναι δίκαιη. Να δοθεί επαρκής ευρωπαϊκή και εθνική χρηματοδότηση για τις υποδομές, τα οχήματα να έχουν προσιτό κόστος και —πάνω απ' όλα— να μην ξεχνάμε ότι ο βασικός πυλώνας της μετάβασης θα είναι τα μέσα μαζικής μεταφοράς, στα οποία δυστυχώς μέχρι σήμερα δεν δίνεται η προσοχή που τους αρμόζει.

Maxette Pirbakas (NI). – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, ces modifications du règlement visant à introduire des carburants renouvelables et alternatifs dans le transport maritime sont très importantes pour nos régions ultrapériphériques puisque celles-ci ne sont reliées au continent et entre elles que par la mer ou par l'air. Tout ce qui influe sur le prix du fret maritime est donc considéré avec inquiétude dans les cinq départements français d'outre-mer.

Or, ces nouvelles règles, malgré des aménagements spécifiques aux régions ultrapériphériques, vont inmanquablement faire grimper les prix du transport. La proposition parle de 90 milliards d'euros de surcoûts à absorber. Dans ces territoires où le pouvoir d'achat et l'économie locale dépendent pour partie du coût du fret, vous comprendrez bien qu'il nous faudra des compensations pécuniaires si nous ne voulons pas creuser l'appauvrissement des populations et des entreprises ultramarines. La neutralité carbone, oui, mais à condition qu'elle se double d'une neutralité pouvoir d'achat.

Ceci étant dit, Madame la Commissaire, nous voyons avec intérêt se profiler une vague d'investissements dans les installations portuaires, notamment pour les électrifier. Mais je vous rappelle que c'est grâce notamment à l'outre-mer français que l'Union européenne dispose de ports dans les Caraïbes, dans l'océan Indien, dans le Pacifique, qui sont autant de bases avancées pour notre puissance commerciale et pour la conception décarbonée des transports que nous portons souvent. Nous n'en faisons rien ou peu. Ces ports se sont épuisés et sont bien loin des hubs régionaux que certains pourraient devenir si on les y aidait.

Mes chers collègues, grâce aux investissements verts, nous aurons demain l'opportunité d'investir dans nos outre-mer, dans leurs installations portuaires et dans leur transition écologique. Faisons-le vraiment massivement, aidons les régions ultrapériphériques à se développer et l'Europe ne s'en portera que mieux.

Henna Virkkunen (PPE). – Mr President, Madam Commissioner, Rapporteur and colleagues, in order to reach our climate targets, we must work to decarbonise the transport sector, as we know it is the only sector where emissions have increased. At the same time, it is important to remember that the maritime sector, like aviation, they are global industries, so unilateral changes that could hinder the competitiveness of European companies must be avoided.

There are also challenges, as we know, regarding the availability of renewable maritime fuels. As such, I am glad that the Parliament's position here is ambitious but also realistic. It is vital that we progressively increase the share of low-carbon fuels, respect technology neutrality and ensure necessary incentives for funding research and development in this area.

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While we are creating these Europe-wide regulations, we must take the special conditions of Member States also into account. For Finland, this included the compensation formula for ice navigation. I commend the rapporteur and my colleagues for taking this into consideration and including it in the final report.

Εύα Καϊλή (S&D). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, κυρία Επίτροπε, θα ήθελα να συγχαρώ όλους τους εισηγητές για τη συνεργασία μας και για το θετικό αποτέλεσμα της δουλειάς αυτής. Οι διαπραγματεύσεις δεν ήταν εύκολες, αλλά ψηφίζουμε πλέον για νέες δικλίδες ασφαλείας στον κλάδο της ναυτιλίας, ενώ λαμβάνονται υπόψη και οι περιφερειακές ιδιαίτερες ανάγκες, όπως πιθανές εξαιρέσεις νησιωτικών περιοχών για τις οποίες η μόνη βιώσιμη αλλά και προσιτή λύση —προς το παρόν τουλάχιστον— έρχεται από τη ναυτιλία.

Είναι επίσης εξαιρετικά σημαντικό το ότι αναγνωρίζεται η ανάγκη συντονισμού με τον Διεθνή Ναυτιλιακό Οργανισμό, τον IMO, και παρότι εμείς μπορούμε και παραμένουμε πιο φιλόδοξοι. Σημαντικό είναι επίσης ότι ενισχύθηκε η αρχή «ο ρυπαίνων πληρώνει».

And I will continue in English because I think it's very important to reject plenary amendments that wish to water down the requirements of the RFNBO sub-targets. In fact, while the 2% minimum use target set for 2030 is a good start, but we could aim even higher for the following years as we are going to have reviews of this regulation and then we can also increase that.

There are good examples, like renewable hydrogen from non-biological sources like solar panels, that is expected to play a key strategic role in the decarbonisation of the generally hard-to-decarbonise transport sector.

José Ramón Bauzá Díaz (Renew). – Señor presidente, señora comisaria, este debate se produce en el mismo instante en que miles de gasolineras en Francia se encuentran totalmente desabastecidas debido a una huelga que amenaza con paralizar el país. Y lo que pone de manifiesto, una vez más, es la enorme dependencia de los combustibles. Cuando no hay combustible accesible y a un precio razonable, nuestras economías se contraen y aumenta la tensión social.

Por eso mismo, señorías, deberíamos hacernos dos preguntas. Una: ¿está Europa preparada para renunciar hoy a los combustibles fósiles por completo? Es evidente que no. Y dos: ¿debería Europa desarrollar un mercado de combustibles alternativos a gran escala para complementar la oferta y, en un futuro, sustituir al petróleo? Por supuesto que sí. Pero ese mercado no se crea de la noche a la mañana y electrificar nuestro parque móvil tampoco.

Por eso mismo, hay que dejar de buscar culpables y encontrar soluciones. Necesitamos inversión, necesitamos seguridad jurídica y necesitamos tiempo. Por eso mismo, señorías, actuemos con prudencia o, si no, nos quedaremos solos. Nos quedaremos solos y, lo que es peor, a quienes estaremos afectando, y de primera instancia, será a nuestros ciudadanos, y supuestamente deberíamos preocuparnos por ellos. Además, los que más padecerían eso mismo serían los que tienen menor capacidad económica, y eso no es justo. Así que, señorías, actuemos con prudencia y seguro que actuaremos bien.

Karima Delli (Verts/ALE). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, mes chers collègues, vous le savez, 90 % des marchandises en Europe passent par la mer. Le maritime, c'est 13 % des émissions de CO₂ des transports et une nuisance sans précédent lorsqu'on parle de qualité de l'air. Et de plus en plus de villes, comme à Marseille, à Ajaccio et partout en Europe, se mobilisent contre ces super-paquebots qui polluent l'air.

On a des solutions, je vous demande de les voter. Ne pas faire du gaz et du GNL une énième énergie de transition. Nous n'atteindrons pas nos objectifs de neutralité carbone avec du fossile. C'est facile: sortons du gaz, notamment du mix énergétique. Nous devons miser sur l'hydrogène, vu que la Commission européenne s'est donné une grande ambition en ce qui concerne l'hydrogène vert et aussi l'ammoniac.

Mais misons enfin sur l'avenir: les bateaux à voile. Oui, le vélique. On le sait désormais, nous avons énormément de savoir-faire en Europe. Et pour l'air que nous respirons: l'obligation pour les navires de croisière de se brancher quand ils sont à quai – et j'insiste, l'obligation –, sous peine d'être interdits dans les ports en 2030. Aussi, j'ai déposé un amendement pour étendre cette application à tous les bateaux à partir de 2035. Parce que ces bateaux géants émettent autant que 30 000 voitures roulant à 30 kilomètres-heure. Il est donc grand temps de passer à l'électrique, car ce n'est plus possible de faire subir les fumées de ces bateaux, notamment, aux populations.

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Je vous le dis, l'Europe a tout pour être le grand leader au niveau mondial dans la décarbonation du secteur maritime. L'heure n'est plus à de simples mesurette. Alors nous allons prendre tous ensemble ces mesures et nos responsabilités, et demain le vote donnera justement une belle et grande orientation à ce secteur maritime.

Sylvia Limmer (ID). – Herr Präsident, verehrte Kollegen! Im Zuge von *Green Deal*, Klimagesetz und Fit-für-55-Paket möchte Brüssel nun also auch darüber bestimmen, welche Kraftstoffe für den freien Personenverkehr in Zukunft erlaubt sein sollen. Das jüngste ökosozialistische Klima-Ei, das kurz vor dem finalen Legen in Brüssel steht, ist das EU-weite Verbot von Verbrennungsmotoren. Ende Oktober soll es eingetütet werden. Und weil es nach wie vor an einer geeigneten Infrastruktur fehlt, schiebt man nun eine Verordnung hinterher, die das regeln soll. Aber selbst Deutschland, der derzeit leider unrühmliche Weltmeister grüner Idiotie, scheitert. Man floppt jämmerlich beim jährlichen nötigen Zubau von Ladestationen. Dabei entfallen auf die Niederlande und Deutschland knapp 60 Prozent aller Ladepunkte in der EU. Die geforderten eine Million Ladestationen EU-weit bis 2025 sind daher schon jetzt ein Witz.

Im Übrigen führt jeder zusätzliche Strombedarf zu einem Mehrbedarf an fossilen Energieträgern bei der Stromproduktion. Nicht nur deshalb ist die emissionslose Fortbewegung ein grünes Lügenmärchen. Aber der Bürger soll sowieso kein eigenes Auto mehr besitzen, er soll Fahrrad fahren oder öffentliche Verkehrsmittel benutzen. Daher: Die Abschaffung der sozialen Marktwirtschaft durch politische Verbote und staatliche Subventionierungen lehne ich kategorisch ab. Denn nichts anderes ist die Einmischung Brüsseler Technokraten in die persönlichen Eigentumsrechte der Bürger und die Innovationskraft unserer Wirtschaft.

Maria Spyrali (PPE). – Mr President, Commissioner Vălean, dear colleagues, today we make an important step forward for a quick and efficient facilitation for the decarbonisation in the shipping sector. And according to my opinion, I strongly believe that we have managed to propose a piece of legislation that focuses on reducing shipping's climate impact while encouraging and accelerating investments in that direction.

What is of utmost importance is that the report now recognises the structural role of the commercial operators in the shipping sector. Needless to say that we focused on this aspect during our internal negotiation, and I would like to thank once again my colleague Warborn for his excellent collaboration.

The commercial operator, which can be the ship-owner, which can be the charterer or any other entity, is the entity responsible for making the choice on the compliant fuels used by this ship. The current approach now fully reflects the 'polluter pays' principle, which was established under the Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union, constitutes the fundamental stone of our EU environmental legislation.

Therefore, the application of the polluter pays principle shall not be subject of contractual negotiations, but an unquestionable EU environmental principle that must be respected by all relevant stakeholders.

We also aim to achieve consistency between this regulation in line with ETS and the MRV legislation. This report also reflects to the shared responsibility between the commercial operator and the fuel supplier to a very satisfying degree. An obligation on fuel suppliers is provided to compensate shipping companies for the payment of penalties if they fail to deliver compliant fuels pursuant to a contractual arrangement.

It is a balanced approach. It has been secure and I believe that this report should also work as a solid base for the trilogue discussion with the Commission and the Council. Once again, thank you very much all co-rapporteurs and the rapporteur.

Alessandra Moretti (S&D). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, questo in discussione è un regolamento estremamente importante.

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Infatti, la disponibilità di infrastrutture di ricarica e rifornimento in primis per auto, veicoli commerciali leggeri e camion, ma anche per il settore marittimo e dell'aviazione è un parametro chiave per determinare la quota futura di mercato di veicoli a basse e zero emissioni in Europa negli anni a venire. Più punti di ricarica ci saranno, più sarà interessante per consumatori e operatori passare a tecnologie di propulsione più pulite, come i veicoli elettrici e a idrogeno.

Ci troviamo oggi davanti a un bivio: con questo atto legislativo definiremo il percorso per i prossimi decenni nel settore della mobilità, ed è un passo importante per arrivare a un'Europa autonoma da un punto di vista energetico, grazie a fonti rinnovabili verdi. Avere punti di ricarica in numero adeguato, efficienti e facili è il modo più corretto per rendere davvero praticabile e concreta la nostra volontà di raggiungere gli obiettivi della *Climate Law* e di REPowerEU.

Per un'Europa pulita, un'Europa autonoma energeticamente, un'Europa più forte.

Nicola Danti (Renew). – Signor Presidente, signora Commissaria, onorevoli colleghi, il cammino per la decarbonizzazione del settore marittimo è ancora lungo e incerto.

Il regolamento sui combustibili per la navigazione delinea una traiettoria di riduzione delle emissioni realistica e graduale e permette di dare slancio agli investimenti in ricerca e sviluppo, rispettando il principio della neutralità tecnologica.

Alcuni scommettono infatti sull'idrogeno, altri su ammoniaca e metanolo, o ancora sui biocarburanti o sulle batterie, senza dimenticare il ruolo che il gas naturale liquefatto potrà avere in una fase di transizione, garantendo una prima e immediata riduzione di CO₂.

Proprio perché all'orizzonte non si profila un'unica scelta vincente sulle altre, tutti gli attori del settore dovranno dare il proprio contributo, dagli operatori, a cui si applicano obblighi stringenti, ai porti, che dovranno installare le infrastrutture per l'alimentazione da terra, ai fornitori di carburanti sostenibili, passando per la cantieristica navale, a cui è richiesta creatività e innovazione.

Il compromesso che ci apprestiamo a votare rappresenta, a mio avviso, un buon equilibrio tra gli opposti estremismi, tra chi non considera costi e impatti sociali e chi invece sembra trascurare la crisi climatica.

Cari colleghi, non dimentichiamoci infine che questa è una sfida che potremo vincere solo se sapremo agire anche nei consessi internazionali. Questo è un elemento essenziale per evitare la concorrenza sleale di operatori e porti di paesi terzi e garantire al contempo la decarbonizzazione del settore marittimo a livello globale.

Aurélia Beigneux (ID). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, alors que la France est paralysée par les blocages des stations-service et des pénuries, vous nous proposez aujourd'hui de mettre dans le même sac le fret maritime et les automobilistes du quotidien. Un porte-conteneurs rejette autant d'oxyde de soufre qu'un million de voitures. Alors, comment pouvez-vous demander des efforts aux automobilistes alors que ces super-cargos continuent de sillonner les océans? Le fret maritime est le bras armé de la mondialisation que vous avez promue et qui finit de détruire notre industrie. La voiture, de son côté, est le premier moyen de transport pour nos citoyens, en particulier les plus modestes.

Dans le second dossier, vous nous parlez de carburants alternatifs dans l'automobile, mais encore une fois, vous manipulez les Européens. Votre rapport fait l'exploit de considérer que le seul carburant alternatif est l'électrique. Preuve que les technocrates ne sont manifestement pas des ingénieurs. À l'heure où le prix de l'électricité explose, où est le bioéthanol? Où est l'essence de synthèse? Vous nous promettiez l'Europe de la recherche et des nouvelles technologies. Mais vous nous apportez l'Europe du travail des enfants dans les mines de lithium. Alors que la crise énergétique s'aggrave de jour en jour, vous avez choisi votre idéologie face au salut des Européens.

Радан Кънев (PPE). – Г-н Председател, г-жо Комисар, колеги, на първо място искам да приветствам доклада, който ни е предложен и да поздравя докладчика и докладчиците в сянка за постигнатия, знам от опит като докладчик в сянка на ЕНП в Комисията по околна среда, много, много труден компромис.

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На второ място обаче съм длъжен да предупредя за рисковете, които видях и в работата в комисията, виждам и в днешния дебат. Преди всичко рискът, който произтича от факта, че в предложения текст се предлага твърде малко свобода на пазара да определи технологиите, по които ще постигнем чиста и устойчива мобилност.

Трябва да си даваме сметка, че ние дължим всички технологични пробиви, на които се радваме днес и които в огромната си част водят към по-чиста и по-устойчива среда за живот, именно на пазара на частната инициатива, на творчеството на откривателите и предприемачите, и не на последно място на пазарната конкуренция.

Catherine Chabaud (Renew). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, chers collègues, il y a deux semaines, nous avons voté une résolution appelant l'Europe à se tourner vers la mer. Et ce soir, je rappelle que nous pouvons en faire la championne des navires verts et permettre leur construction en Europe. En effet, le texte que nous allons voter sur les carburants alternatifs pour le transport maritime est une opportunité pour accélérer toutes les solutions de décarbonation émergentes, qui peinent à se développer faute de cadre législatif et de soutien politique.

Ce texte est une opportunité d'atteindre nos objectifs climatiques. Il souligne l'intérêt du Fonds pour les océans tel que prévu dans le cadre de la directive SEQE-UE, qui soutiendra les innovations, mais qu'il faut renforcer. Nous devons mieux prendre en compte la contribution de la propulsion vélique – à la voile – par un facteur de récompense proposé par mon collègue Pierre Karleskind et en faire le moteur de la relance de l'industrie navale européenne, comme le propose l'amendement que j'ai déposé. Nous devons élargir la portée de manière à couvrir la quasi-totalité des émissions et à pouvoir expérimenter les solutions sur les bateaux les plus petits. Nous devons inclure un sous-objectif supplémentaire pour l'utilisation des carburants alternatifs d'origine non biologique: 6 % pour 2035. Enfin, nous devons fixer un objectif de 100 %, au lieu de 80 %, de réduction des émissions de gaz à effet de serre en 2050.

Je vous invite à aller voir l'exposition proposée par Pierre Karleskind dans l'espace Emilio Colombo, qui vous en apprendra beaucoup plus sur la propulsion vélique.

Ljudmila Novak (PPE). – Spoštovani predsedujoči, spoštovana gospa komisarka!

Državljeni se morajo čutiti varne, ko kupujejo nova prevozna sredstva na alternativna goriva, še posebej, če veliko potujejo izven vsakdanjih poti in poznanega območja. Če jih bo skrbelo in bodo v dvomih, ali bodo s svojim vozilom prišli pravočasno na cilj, se bodo težje odločali za nakup takšnega vozila.

Zato podpiram ta predlog in strategijo za pravočasno in zadostno izgradnjo polnilnic za alternativna goriva.

Čeprav je na razpolago vedno več infrastrukture za prevozna sredstva na alternativna goriva, pa je vprašanje, ali bodo vse države zmogle v predvidenem času zagotoviti dovolj polnilnic na svoji cestni infrastrukturi.

Ob tem naj še spomnim na načrtovano ukinitve uporabe vozil z motorji z notranjim izgorevanjem. Tudi na tem področju znanost napreduje, zato bi morali upoštevati tudi predloge strokovnjakov in omogočiti še naprej uporabo tovrstnih vozil vsaj v nekaj odstotkih.

Jan-Christoph Oetjen (Renew). – Sehr geehrter Herr Präsident, Frau Kommissarin! Die Dekarbonisierung des Verkehrssektors ist sicherlich eine der spannendsten Aufgaben, der wir uns gerade zu stellen haben, denn sie ist notwendig, wenn wir die Klimaziele erreichen wollen. Aber gleichzeitig ist sie wirklich schwierig, diese Aufgabe, denn wir müssen auf der einen Seite ein Gleichgewicht halten zwischen der Wettbewerbsfähigkeit unserer Wirtschaft, zwischen den Preisen, die die Verbraucher zu zahlen haben, und gleichzeitig ambitionierten Klimazielen, die wir erreichen wollen. Ich finde, dass wir im Großen und Ganzen eigentlich ein gutes Kompromisspaket hier auf dem Tisch haben, das wir auch unterstützen.

Ich möchte allerdings gerne zwei Gedanken hier an dieser Stelle äußern. Das eine ist: Wir setzen sehr, sehr stark auf die Elektrifizierung. Beim Auto ist das allen bewusst und auch schon irgendwie in das Selbstverständnis der Bürgerinnen und Bürger übergegangen. Aber auch für den maritimen Bereich wird der Strom eine große Rolle spielen, wenn es darum geht, in Häfen beispielsweise die Schiffe tatsächlich mit Strom zu versorgen. Wir haben allerdings Netze, die darauf nicht ausgelegt sind. In ganz Europa haben wir diese Netze nicht, die darauf ausgelegt sind. Ich bin fest davon überzeugt, dass eine der schwierigsten Herausforderungen nicht ist, Ladesäulen zu bauen, sondern die Netze für den Strom darauf auszurichten, dass diese Stromkapazitäten auch tatsächlich zur Verfügung stehen.

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Das zweite ist: Für den maritimen Bereich wissen wir noch nicht, welches die beste Lösung sein wird. Und wir werden verschiedene beste Lösungen je nach Nutzungssituation, je nach Schiffsgröße, je nach Anwendung, je nach Region bekommen. Ich glaube, dass wir darauf aufpassen müssen, dass wir technologieoffener an diese Geschichte rangehen. LNG wird eine wichtige Rolle spielen, aber natürlich auch Wasserstoff und andere alternative Kraftstoffe. Und dafür müssen wir wahrscheinlich auch noch ambitioniertere Ziele setzen.

Cláudia Monteiro de Aguiar (PPE). – Senhor Presidente, Senhora Comissária, caros colegas, votamos esta semana duas propostas de regulamento, quer o Marítimo, quer as infraestruturas que são centrais para atingirmos as metas climáticas de 2050. O transporte marítimo será, porventura, um dos setores com maiores exigências neste processo de transição. Consciente desta necessidade, a Comissão tem revelado ambição nos textos que nos apresenta, sustentada em estudos de impacto e na sua devida quantificação.

Apesar disso, o Parlamento, em quase todos os pacotes «Fit for 55», reiteradamente tem escalado o nível de ambição para valores que consideramos irrealistas. Dou como exemplo o aumento da potência instalada dos postos de carregamento, da distância entre eles, o aumento das datas para a sua implementação ou também o sistema de ar condicionado nas cabines das aeronaves. Em todos eles tem faltado aquilo que julgo basilar no nosso trabalho como legisladores, o princípio da proporcionalidade. Contudo, e como em ambos os textos foram atingidos compromissos muito importantes, como as derrogações e as isenções para países periféricos como Portugal e também para as regiões ultraperiféricas, algo que não constava do texto inicial da Comissão, hoje saudamos e estamos em melhores condições para apoiar estas propostas.

Izaskun Bilbao Barandica (Renew). – Señor presidente, señora comisaria, quiero expresar mi apoyo a estas iniciativas porque el despliegue de una infraestructura de recarga y repostaje de combustibles alternativos suficiente, visible y accesible es condición imprescindible para la descarbonización del transporte.

Obliga a la industria a innovar en la producción de vehículos y combustibles. Pero también los legisladores debemos ofrecer seguridad jurídica a la industria y garantías a profesionales del transporte y a la ciudadanía sobre la red de puntos de recarga. Hay que priorizar el despliegue de estas infraestructuras en la red principal de las RTE-T y también garantizar medios de pago más sencillos y homogéneos que los que existen hoy, especialmente para la movilidad eléctrica. La actual dispersión desincentiva tanto como la escasez de puntos de recarga.

En cuanto a la normativa sobre combustibles renovables bajos en emisiones para el sector naval, apuesto nuevamente por hacer la transición con y no contra la industria. Los ahorros que se nos anuncian por costes indirectos asociados a la contaminación y mejoras operacionales deben aplicarse a la innovación. Se abre una inmensa oportunidad para que la construcción naval europea consolide nuestro liderazgo mundial en soluciones sostenibles para este modo de transporte. Tenemos la obligación de aprovecharla.

Por último, quiero llamar la atención sobre la sensibilidad que debemos en este tema a las regiones ultraperiféricas. Son especialmente dependientes del transporte marítimo. Justifiquemos bien las excepciones, pero admitamos la especificidad de estos territorios.

Benoît Lutgen (PPE). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, chers collègues, ce règlement apporte des réponses, des balises, des objectifs pour le secteur aérien, pour le secteur maritime, pour le secteur routier aussi, notamment pour le transport de poids lourds et pour les véhicules légers. Mais reconnaissons que pour les automobilistes et par rapport à leurs inquiétudes – notamment celle de ne pas avoir de bornes en suffisance –, ce texte ne va pas suffisamment loin: il ne concerne que le réseau transeuropéen. Il sera urgent d'apporter une réponse rapide pour toutes les zones, pour l'ensemble des réseaux, pour que les obligations aussi permettent d'atténuer les craintes de la population.

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Les craintes sont nombreuses. Est-ce que je pourrai me payer un véhicule électrique? Est-ce que je pourrai en payer le fonctionnement? Est-ce que je pourrai avoir suffisamment de stations de recharge près de chez moi? C'est un enjeu, bien sûr, pour les citoyens, pour leur emploi et pour leur travail. C'est un enjeu économique, touristique. Et donc rapidement, je pense qu'on devra ajouter toute une série d'obligations, notamment pour que le réseau soit suffisant partout sur l'ensemble des routes européennes.

Je terminerai en disant que le tout à l'électrique tel qu'il est décidé – je n'ai pas voté ce tout à l'électrique – est pour moi une folie, notamment de dépendance à l'égard de la Chine. La stratégie européenne et l'innovation notamment ont eu beaucoup à perdre avec cet objectif fixé pour 2035 de 100 %. Un objectif de 90 % aurait permis d'avoir cette flexibilité pour le marché, pour de nouvelles technologies également.

Elżbieta Katarzyna Łukacijewska (PPE). – Panie Przewodniczący! Pani Komisarz! Szanowni Państwo! Elektryfikacja i dekarbonizacja transportu jest kluczowym elementem planu na zieloną Europę. Musimy jednak pamiętać, że żaden operator transportowy i żaden konsument nie zainwestuje w pojazd nisko- lub zeroemisyjny, jeżeli nie będzie miał pewności, że jest w stanie eksploatować go zgodnie ze swoimi potrzebami, co oznacza możliwość szybkiego naładowania. Jeśli więc chcemy przekonać obywateli Europy do przejścia na e-mobilność, ładowanie samochodów powinno być tak łatwe jak dzisiaj tankowanie. Gdy popatrzymy na statystyki i liczbę punktów ładowania, widzimy, że mamy wiele do zrobienia.

Musimy też pamiętać, że są kraje, gdzie nadal większość energii elektrycznej pochodzi z węgla. Dlatego sprostanie tym regulacjom przy dzisiejszej społeczno-ekonomicznej i politycznej sytuacji może okazać się bardzo problematyczne. Ale musimy tę sytuację wziąć pod uwagę. Dlatego też zgadzam się, popieram sprawozdanie i gratuluję panu sprawozdawcy. Zgadzam się z Panią Komisarz, która powiedziała, że potrzebujemy celów bardzo ambitnych, ale możliwych do realizacji i do osiągnięcia.

Intervenções «catch the eye»

Mick Wallace (The Left). – Mr President, the proposed regulation sets a number of mandatory national targets for the deployment of alternative fuels infrastructure in the EU.

Alternative fuels: we talk about electricity, we talk about hydrogen, we talk about LNG. For the life of me I don't really understand at this stage how LNG can be considered still an alternative fuel, given that the process of everything to do with it is filthy. Most of it comes from fracked gas, water tables are destroyed. There is huge methane emissions during the transport process, and we're talking about buying into contracts with the US for years to come. A lot of it won't even come on stream for a few years.

I think the EU has gone down the wrong path in buying into long-term contracts for LNG. It's not the way forward.

Pierre Karleskind (Renew). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, il est gratuit. Il est vraiment renouvelable. Il est réellement décarboné. Il ne provoque pas de marées noires. Il n'y a pas de risque d'explosion au moment de son chargement. Cela fait 8 000 ans qu'on l'utilise pour transporter des marchandises et des personnes. Ce carburant alternatif très innovant, c'est – vous l'avez compris – le vent.

Si je vous parle du vent, vous allez imaginer peut-être ces caravelles du XV^e siècle, ces flûtes du XVI^e siècle ou bien ces jonques qui ont été utilisées et qui sont encore utilisées. Et pourtant, comme l'a dit ma collègue Catherine Chabaud tout à l'heure, vous pouvez aller voir cette exposition juste à la sortie de l'hémicycle qui présente des projets. Des projets qui, dès aujourd'hui, proposent le transport de marchandises dans le même laps de temps, à la même vitesse, pour le même emport et avec des gains d'émissions de gaz à effet de serre et de consommation de 45 % – 45 %, c'est moins de carburant et moins d'émissions, c'est plus de profits, c'est plus d'investissements et c'est plus d'investissements également pour les autres carburants alternatifs.

Clare Daly (The Left). – Mr President, these are the first main files of the 'Fit for 55' package that we've had to deal with in the TRAN Committee and I have to say, looking on them, I'm not that hopeful that we will meet our environmental goals.

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I mean, shipping emits 3% of global CO₂ emissions, yet the International Maritime Organisation has so far failed to adopt global reduction measures in this field. We, of course, see the same problems with the International Civil Aviation Organisation, which again fails to regulate an international sector, which is aviation.

Europe has to take a lead in this area with strong regulation but yet we seem happy to bend the knee to the market, expecting industry to deal with this and eat its own profits, if you like. It is not going to happen. At the same time, we see a major U-turn on alternative fuels to include LNG. This is an absolute sick joke. It is against energy independence and environmental preservation. It makes a mockery of what we're trying to do. The future of humanity depends on us doing a lot better.

(Fim das intervenções «catch the eye»)

Adina-Ioana Vălean, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, colleagues, honourable Members, for a very interesting debate. I think I addressed at the beginning some of the amendments and questions you have around these two files. The debate was very interesting also. It shows that we are in the make of two very important legislative files.

Some have doubts. Some would like more ambition. But I think we have to keep in mind that this is for the first time that we are acting on maritime decarbonisation. We have to keep in mind that both files have an industrial angle to it, and I hope that we will be able to create the right market for alternative fuels to be taken up in our sectors.

So this being said, I would encourage the plenary to support these two files, solid compromises, and have, why not, a pragmatic approach to these two files, keeping in mind that of course, depending on how it goes, it can revise. The Commission stands ready to support you in the negotiations with the Council, as usual, and I am very confident that we will deliver together something very good for both sectors in transport and for our citizens.

Jörgen Warborn, *föredragande*. – Herr talman! Fru kommissionär och ärade kollegor! Jag tycker att det känns betryggande att få höra ett så starkt stöd för den färdplan som vi har tagit fram mellan transportutskottet, industriutskottet och miljöutskottet. Visst, som kommissionären säger, det finns några få negativa röster, men totalen känns övervägande positiv.

Vi har tyvärr fått vänja oss vid förhandlingar, globalt sett, som har mynnat ut i väldigt storslagna målsättningar men sedan gett tomma löften. De stora förändringarna i verkligheten har uteblivit, men förslaget vi har på bordet är något helt annat.

Europa tar med aktiv handling täten i omställningen av sjöfarten. Det här är världens, utan motstycke, mest ambitiösa lagstiftning på klimatområdet för sjöfarten. Det är den enda heltäckande, genomförbara och riktigt konkreta planen för att dramatiskt minska sjöfartens klimatavtryck. För det handlar inte bara om att ställa ut de mest storslagna löftena, om man inte samtidigt kan leva upp till dem i verkligheten.

Här har vi gjort just detta. Vi har pekat med hela handen vartåt vi ska. Vi garanterar sektorn långsiktiga spelregler och förutsägbarhet, så att de kan våga investera. Vi utformar reglerna så att rederierna och hamnarna kan fokusera sina resurser på de åtgärder som ger störst klimatnytta och mest "pang för pengarna".

För det är så vi klarar klimatmålen snabbt och effektivt. Det är så vi säkerställer att europeiska konsumenter inte ska bära hela världens klimatkostnader. Det är så vi skyddar jobben för sjömännen, för hamnarbetare och alla anställda i exportindustrin. Det är så vi blir ett föredöme för andra länder att följa.

Kompromissförslaget som vi har förhandlat fram har stöd av fem politiska grupper och utskotten ITRE, ENVI och TRAN. Jag tycker att det talar sitt tydliga språk om vilken bra balans vi har hittat. Jag vill uppmana kollegerna att stödja det här kompromissförslaget på bordet.

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Ismail Ertug, Berichterstatter. – Herr Präsident! Ich glaube, es ist noch einmal deutlich geworden, dass es wichtig ist, dieses Dossier zu unterstützen, auch deshalb, weil wir zum einen die Infrastruktur brauchen, um eben dieses sogenannte Henne-Ei-Problem zu lösen. Ich glaube, dass wir das in der Elektromobilität geschafft haben. Das sieht man auch am Hochlauf der verschiedenen Technologien und an den Verkaufszahlen der Fahrzeuge.

Aber dasselbe muss uns auch bei der Wasserstofftechnologie gelingen. Auch hier stehen wir jetzt an einem Punkt, wo die Industrie zum einen zurückhaltend reagiert, weil sie zwar investieren will, aber die Infrastruktur noch nicht sieht, und die Infrastrukturbetreiber aus denselben Gründen auch nicht tätig werden. Ich glaube, mit diesem ambitionierten Ansatz, dass wir die Ziele der Wasserstofftechnologie verglichen mit dem Kommissionsvorschlag jeweils drei Jahre nach vorne ziehen und auch die Abstände zwischen den verschiedenen Infrastrukturen reduzieren, geben wir einen großen Anreiz dahingehend, mit einem Aufbau eines redundanten Systems in die nächsten Jahre zu gehen.

Warum brauchen wir in meinen Augen beide Systeme – sowohl die Elektrifizierung als auch den Aufbau der Infrastruktur? Erstens, weil es genannt worden ist: Wir haben nicht überall das Netz zur Verfügung, das eben problemlos alles elektrifizieren kann. Dort, wo wir letztendlich das Netz auch ausgleichen können, da bedarf es nach meiner Auffassung einer guten Wasserstoffnutzung. Das wäre zusammengekommen tatsächlich der Mix, der uns in Zukunft in der Europäischen Union helfen wird, unsere Mobilität, unseren Mobilitätssektor zu dekarbonisieren.

Dass wir genug Elektrifizierung und Energie brauchen, ist vollkommen unbestritten. Deshalb wird uns das auch nicht alleine gelingen. Wir werden auch Importe aus anderen Regionen dieser Erde machen müssen. Aber das müssen wir mit REPowerEU – und das werden wir nach meiner Auffassung auch gut können – noch einmal verfolgen. Unterstützen Sie meine Änderungsanträge.

Presidente. – O debate conjunto está encerrado.

A votação realizar-se-á na quarta-feira, 19 de outubro de 2022.

Declarações escritas (artigo 171.º)

Eugen Jurzyca (ECR), písomne. – Európsky parlament bude hlasovať o povinnosti, aby boli elektrické nabíjacie stanice pre automobily k dispozícii aspoň každých 60 km pozdĺž všetkých diaľnic a rýchlostných ciest najneskôr do konca roku 2025. Predkladatelia pritom nepreukázali, že na trhu je previs dopytu po kapacitách elektrických nabíjacích staníc nad ponukou, a už vôbec nie, že súkromný sektor je natoľko paralyzovaný, že by nedokázal z vlastnej iniciatívy vybudovať stojany na nabíjanie tam, kde je po nich dopyt. Budem hlasovať proti, lebo to považujem za zlú cestu boja proti emisiám skleníkových plynov. Ak ňou pôjdeme ďalej, budeme centrálné nariaďovať napríklad aj hustotu výrobcov elektrických nabíjacích staníc a komponentov do nich. Oveľa lepším riešením by podľa mňa bolo, keby štát predražil negatívne externality (emisie skleníkových plynov) a trh by zabezpečil zvyšok (výrobu a nákup áut na alternatívne pohony, ich nabíjanie, výrobu toho nabíjania ...). Trh (teda vlastne občania) by lepšie rozhodol o tom, či sú elektromobily efektívnejším nástrojom boja proti emisiám skleníkových plynov než práca z domu, bicykle, kolobežky či napríklad pružnejšie sťahovanie sa za prácou. A teda aj o tom, kde sú nabíjacie stanice potrebné každých 20 km a kde stačia každých 200.

Ελισάβετ Βόζεμπεργκ-Βρυωνίδη (PPE), γραπτώς. – Η προτεινόμενη νομοθεσία σχετικά με τη αύξηση της χρήσης ανανεώσιμων πηγών καυσίμων και καυσίμων χαμηλών εκπομπών άνθρακα στις θαλάσσιες μεταφορές στοχεύει εκτός από την προώθηση των βιώσιμων καυσίμων στη ναυτιλία και στην εισαγωγή ειδικών ρυθμίσεων για τα πλοία που φτάνουν ή αναχωρούν από λιμένες της ΕΕ. Είναι ζωτικής σημασίας να αυξήσουμε σταδιακά το μερίδιο των καυσίμων αυτών σε όλους τους τομείς των μεταφορών, να σεβαστούμε την τεχνολογική ουδετερότητα αλλά και να εξασφαλίσουμε τα απαραίτητα κίνητρα για τη χρηματοδότηση της έρευνας και της ανάπτυξης στους εν λόγω τομείς. Προκειμένου να διαφυλαχθεί η ανταγωνιστικότητα της ευρωπαϊκής ναυτιλίας, επιχειρείται μια παγκόσμια προσέγγιση για τη σταδιακή μείωση των εκπομπών αερίων του θερμοκηπίου στις θαλάσσιες μεταφορές.

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Στο Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο καταλήξαμε σε ένα ισορροπημένο συμβιβαστικό κείμενο, φιλόδοξο και ρεαλιστικό, όπου δίνουμε ιδιαίτερη έμφαση στην περιβαλλοντική αρχή «ο ρυπαίνων πληρώνει», που αποτελεί τον ακρογωνιαίο λίθο του περιβαλλοντικού δικαίου της ΕΕ. Σε αυτόν τον τομέα προβλέπονται συγκεκριμένες συμβατικές υποχρεώσεις μεταξύ πλοιοκτητών και παρόχων εμπορικών υπηρεσιών. Παράλληλα, το κείμενο ενσωματώνει σε ικανοποιητικό βαθμό την υποχρέωση των προμηθευτών καυσίμων να παρέχουν καύσιμα που πληρούν τις απαιτούμενες κοινοτικές προδιαγραφές στους λιμένες των κρατών μελών της ΕΕ και αποτελεί τη σωστή βάση για την έναρξη των διαπραγματεύσεων για την τελική νομοθεσία.

15. Richtsnoeren voor het werkgelegenheidsbeleid in de lidstaten (debat)

Presidente. – Segue-se o debate sobre o relatório da Deputada Alicia Homs Ginel, em nome da Comissão do Emprego e dos Assuntos Sociais, sobre a proposta de decisão do Conselho relativa às orientações para as políticas de emprego dos Estados-Membros (COM(2022)0241 - C9-0199/2022 - 2022/0165(NLE)) (A9-0243/2022).

Alicia Homs Ginel, ponente. – Señor presidente, comisario Schmit, antes de empezar, me gustaría agradecer el trabajo de todas las personas implicadas en este informe. Cuando empecé a trabajar en él el pasado mes de junio, nos marcamos tres objetivos principales: el primero, proteger a los trabajadores y trabajadoras; también fortalecer, por supuesto, el Estado del bienestar; y el tercero, garantizar que las transiciones verde y digital fueran socialmente justas y que no dejaran a nadie atrás.

La pandemia de COVID-19, la emergencia climática, la guerra de Putin y el aumento exponencial del coste de la vida piden que pongamos en marcha políticas progresistas que aseguren una recuperación democrática, inclusiva y socialmente justa.

El futuro de Europa pasa por crear empleos de calidad y blindar la inversión social. A diferencia de aquellos que apuestan por dismantelar el Estado social y volver a políticas de austeridad draconianas, los socialdemócratas defendemos que quien tenga mayor capacidad económica contribuya en mayor medida. La fiscalidad justa y progresiva es la principal herramienta para luchar contra la desigualdad y contra la pobreza.

Reforzar el escudo social no es una opción, sino que es una obligación, y más en tiempos de crisis. Y no lo digo solo yo: el propio Fondo Monetario Internacional se mostraba contrario hace unos días a las bajadas de impuestos generalizadas y demandaba a los Estados miembros desplegar políticas inclusivas y justas con el foco puesto en las clases medias y trabajadoras, que están ahora mismo en dificultades. Políticas como las que incluimos en estas orientaciones y con las que algunos grupos parecen tener ciertas dificultades. Y hablo en concreto de crear un paquete de resiliencia social que asegure la financiación de los ERTE, que tanto han ayudado a trabajadores y trabajadoras, y un mecanismo de rescate social para los más vulnerables. Tenemos que seguir avanzando. Esto ya fue adoptado en resoluciones pasadas del Parlamento Europeo y no podemos ir hacia atrás. Tenemos que seguir hacia adelante.

También hablo de activar esquemas de renta mínima en todos los Estados miembros a través de una directiva. Y hablo también de asegurar la universalidad en el caso de los sistemas de salud y los cuidados de calidad, que tan necesarios han sido durante la pandemia.

Se acabó también el trabajar gratis. Europa debe estar al lado de sus ciudadanos y ciudadanas y, sobre todo, de los de hoy, pero también de los de mañana. Por eso nos vamos a asegurar de que todos aquellos jóvenes que realicen unas prácticas reciban una remuneración justa, tengan condiciones de trabajo dignas y accedan al sistema de seguridad social. A mí, personalmente, me hubiera gustado ir un paso más allá prohibiendo las prácticas no remuneradas, una acción que me parece una explotación laboral para nuestros jóvenes. Pero, una vez más, a la derecha le ha faltado no sé si decir compromiso o valentía. Y por eso pedimos también en estas orientaciones sobre el empleo hasta 20 000 millones de euros para la Garantía Infantil Europea, con el fin de sacar a cinco millones de niños y niñas de la pobreza o la exclusión social de aquí a 2030.

Putin ha provocado una guerra en Ucrania y los europeos y europeas estamos viviendo las consecuencias de esta guerra. Ante esa situación, es más necesario que nunca reforzar el escudo social, tener interiorizado qué significa la igualdad de oportunidades.

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Por todo ello, pido al resto de grupos, no ya compromiso o valentía, sino un poco de sentido común a la hora de respaldar el informe tal y como salió de la Comisión de Empleo y Asuntos Sociales.

President. – I regret to inform you that we cannot have ‘catch the eye’ in this debate. We are just starting this debate and, afterwards, we still have another topic on our agenda with 27 one-minute speeches.

Nicolas Schmit, Member of the Commission. – Mr President, first let me thank the rapporteur, Ms Alicia Homs Ginell, and the shadow rapporteurs for delivering this important report. We very much welcome the broad support expressed for the Commission proposal on the updated guidelines for the employment policies of Member States.

Against the background of the current crisis and the economic uncertainty ahead of us, let me underline the importance of adequate labour market skills and social policies for navigating the crisis and accompanying the transitions while preserving jobs and ensuring social protection.

This year, we targeted the narrative of the employment guidelines for the post-COVID-19 environment and the war in Ukraine. But we also focused on the implementation of the European pillar of social rights and the new EU 2030 headline targets on employment, skills and poverty reduction. Additionally, we brought in new elements related to fairness in the green transition to make sure that it will be a just transition. And we added policy elements in the context of Russia’s war of aggression against Ukraine, including increasing energy costs.

We see that all these new elements were also very much welcomed by Parliament. We acknowledge and appreciate the contribution provided by Parliament’s report. We agree on the further integration of the Sustainable Development Goals into the European semester. And we also agreed that in order to effectively eradicate risks at work, both mental and physical health should be protected. You will debate the important topic of mental health in this plenary session.

We cannot but agree with a strong focus on the involvement of social partners also and especially during times of crisis, notably to address the impact of the increasing cost of living. We agree that new forms of work should be compliant with labour law and social protection.

Dear President, honourable Members, the Treaty-based employment guidelines are of key importance for economic and social governance. They provide detailed guidance for the Member States when drafting their employment skills and social policies. They ensure that they make steady progress towards their national targets in terms of employment, skills and poverty reduction, set with the European pillar of social rights action plan.

The employment guidelines are the core of the European semester, defining its social dimension. Promoting coordinated employment and social policies across the EU has to go hand-in-hand with economic and fiscal policies. We have to address job preservation, especially in those sectors, industrial sectors mainly, that are most affected by soaring energy prices. It is also important to tackle labour market shortages through inclusive employment policies that promote skilling, reskilling and upskilling. We have to target 9 million young people called NEETS for whom we should open job opportunities and good education if needed.

A balanced coordination of economic and social policies is necessary to ensure upward social and economic convergence and to enhance the resilience of the EU, in particular in times of crisis. Such coordination has to be at the heart of the semester process. The updated employment guidelines will provide further steering on how to modernise labour market institutions, education and training, social protection and health systems. We want to make them more effective, more inclusive and fairer.

The guidelines will also help Member States address emerging social challenges, including increasing energy poverty, in a context of a dramatic rise in energy prices. They also provide a framework to guide wage-setting in the currently high inflation context, in full respect of national practices and of the role of social partners, with the aim to preserve purchasing power and reflect the current socio-economic conditions.

The guidelines foster the acquisition of skills and competences throughout people’s lives, which is necessary to respond to current and future labour market needs and ensure a successful twin transition. The upcoming European Year of Skills will further reinforce efforts towards these goals.

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Finally, we should not forget the importance of protecting the most vulnerable, notably women, young people and children, who are among the most affected in the current cost of living crisis, after already being hit by the COVID-19 crisis.

Very importantly, this also refers to Ukrainian people that had to leave their country following Russia's criminal war of aggression against their country. In that regard, the guidelines reiterate that Member States should offer them an adequate level of protection through adequate job opportunities and social services, in line with the Temporary Protection Directive.

We welcome and appreciate that Parliament shared the approach chosen by the Commission. We are on the same page when it comes to providing the right solutions to all citizens in a spirit of social justice.

Helmut Geuking, im Namen der PPE-Fraktion. – Sehr geehrter Herr Präsident, sehr geehrter Herr Kommissar, sehr geehrte Frau Homs Ginell! Vielen Dank für die gute Zusammenarbeit. Es war eine richtige Fleißarbeit von Ihrer Seite her, und Sie haben da ein Werk geschaffen, was jetzt auf dem Tisch liegt, was wir debattieren müssen. Ich hatte Ihnen bei den Verhandlungen gesagt, dass da ganz viele Sachen drinstehen, die eigentlich in so einen Bericht nicht reingehören.

Es ist ein Leitfaden, ein Leitfaden für Beschäftigungspolitik. Sie haben da zum Beispiel Sachen reingesetzt, wo mir eigentlich als Sozialpolitiker und als Bundesvorsitzender der Familienpartei Deutschlands natürlich das Herz aufgeht, wenn ich das mit den Kindern lese, mit den 20 Millionen, was Sie angesprochen haben – keine Frage. Allerdings – mal ganz ehrlich: Gehört das in diesen Bericht rein? Ist das nicht eigentlich zu schade, dieses wichtige Thema als einen Nebenaspekt in so einem Leitfaden für Beschäftigungspolitik mal eben nebenbei mit abzuhandeln? Da sage ich Ihnen ganz ehrlich: Das ist eine Herzensangelegenheit von meiner Seite her, und das gehört da garantiert nicht rein. Da bedarf es eines eigenen expliziten Berichts, der dem auch gerecht wird, gerade in der heutigen Zeit – der Kommissar hat es angesprochen –, anhand von Pandemie und anhand des Krieges, wo die Familien und die Kinder so sehr darunter leiden in ganz Europa.

Wir dürfen da pfiffige Ideen haben, und daher dürfen wir dies nicht in solchen Berichten verschwenden. Das ist das Problem, was wir allgemein haben. Nichts gegen Sie, Frau Homs Ginell, aber das ist hier im Parlament mittlerweile Usus, dass man Berichte fasst und man versucht, alles da reinzupacken, alles, was gar nicht dazugehört. Es ist völlig egal, Klimawandel, Klimaschutz, *Green Deal* – alles muss in die Berichte rein. Man möchte dann Begriffe wie zum Beispiel *universal* festzurren – Begriffe, die überhaupt nicht justiziabel sind anstatt effektiv. Dafür werden die Berichte mittlerweile missbraucht.

Ich appelliere an die Konferenz der Präsidenten, hier einmal tätig zu werden und mal klarzustellen, wofür Berichte überhaupt da sind. Die einzelnen Themen, die da behandelt werden, sind wichtig, die sind gut und viel zu schade, um als Beiwerk in einem Bericht mal ebenso erwähnt zu werden oder da rein zu finden. Deswegen haben wir ein Problem mit der EVP, hier um Zustimmung zu ringen. Wir geben uns Mühe, ich appelliere zumindest, 42 und 14/2 abzulehnen, damit wir ... (*Der Präsident entzieht dem Redner das Wort.*)

Agnes Jongerius, namens de S&D-Fractie. – Voorzitter, mijnheer de commissaris, de arbeidsmarkt van vandaag is niet meer de arbeidsmarkt van twee jaar geleden. Er is een hele hoop veranderd. De COVID-crisis heeft de digitalisering in een stroomversnelling gebracht en de Russische invasie in Oekraïne zet vandaag een enorme druk op werknemers en bedrijven.

Die situatie vraagt om actie. Europa moet werknemers in nood steunen en zorgen voor fatsoenlijke arbeidsomstandigheden die de realiteit van de arbeidswereld van vandaag de dag beter weerspiegelen. Ik roep vanaf deze plek de lidstaten op om te voldoen aan de Europese fatsoensnorm. Dus: verhoog de minimumlonen, verbied de nulurencontracten en reguleer AI op de werkplek. Verleng SURE en maak er een permanent steunprogramma van. Zo kunnen we de werkgelegenheid op peil houden en gaan bedrijven niet kopje onder. Ik denk dat we echt steun moeten bieden om werkgelegenheid te behouden. We willen niet dat mensen kopje onder gaan. We willen ook niet dat bedrijven nodeloos kopje onder gaan. En als we de groeiende ongelijkheid willen tegengaan, dan moeten de sociale vangnetten in Europa sterker zijn dan ze nu zijn.

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Max Orville, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire Schmit, face aux conséquences sociales de la pandémie de COVID-19, de la guerre en Ukraine et de la hausse du coût de la vie, il est plus que jamais nécessaire de coordonner nos politiques sociales et de l'emploi.

Les lignes directrices que nous proposons et le cycle du Semestre européen permettent d'allier une bonne gouvernance économique et une relance plus juste, plus durable, qui accompagne les transitions verte et numérique. Elles permettent de fixer un cap pour la réalisation des trois grands objectifs de l'Union européenne pour 2030 en matière d'emplois, de compétences et de réduction de la pauvreté. La poursuite des réformes et des investissements judicieux par les États membres sera fondamentale pour soutenir les créations d'emplois et renforcer la justice sociale.

Nous avons le devoir de soutenir les générations futures par la mise en œuvre efficace de la garantie européenne pour l'enfance. Nous avons l'obligation de moderniser nos marchés du travail pour qu'ils soient plus résilients et plus inclusifs. Nous devons assurer des formations de qualité, l'investissement dans les compétences et l'apprentissage tout au long de la vie.

Dans le contexte actuel d'incertitude accrue, des mesures de soutien en faveur des ménages vulnérables sont indispensables. J'appelle solennellement le Conseil à tenir compte des demandes du Parlement afin d'assurer des politiques sociales et de l'emploi inclusives, protectrices et tournées vers l'avenir, qui ne laisseront aucun citoyen au bord du chemin.

Rosa D'Amato, *a nome del gruppo Verts/ALE*. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, innanzitutto grazie all'on. Alicia Homs Ginel per il lavoro proficuo e per la collaborazione con gli altri colleghi, con cui abbiamo lavorato veramente bene.

Con queste linee guida per le politiche occupazionali degli Stati membri proponiamo di contrastare l'inflazione e il suo impatto sociale. Ce la possiamo fare. Serve un piano europeo per la formazione e riqualificazione dei lavoratori, che si investano risorse nei *green job*. È la transizione ecologica che crea più e nuovi posti di lavoro. Chi lo perderà (per esempio in una acciaieria che chiude) potrà ritrovarlo in un'azienda che installa pannelli solari, idrolizzatori per l'idrogeno verde, ma va formato.

Aumentiamo di 20 miliardi il fondo per la garanzia europea per l'infanzia, garantiamo a tutti i bambini un accesso equo ed efficace alla sanità e all'istruzione, alloggi adeguati e una sana alimentazione.

Il patto di stabilità e crescita, poi, va quantomeno sospeso. Ricordiamoci la Grecia, l'austerità, le politiche «lacrime e sangue» dei falchi del rigore ammazzarono almeno 700 bambini. L'equilibrio di bilancio non vale la vita delle persone.

I governi poi introducano un salario minimo, contrastino lo sfruttamento del lavoro e garantiscano un reddito minimo. Lo dico anche a chi è a destra in questo Parlamento, ai meloniani, ai salviniani e ai renziani che ostacolano questo progetto e queste proposte, qui come nel mio paese, in Italia.

La battaglia è unica: tutela dei diritti sociali e tutela dell'ambiente.

Dominique Bilde, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, l'Union européenne ne manque jamais d'imagination quand il s'agit de gaspiller du temps et de l'argent sur des textes inutiles. Et quel meilleur exemple que ces lignes directrices? Presque chaque année, les institutions bruxelloises perdent leur temps à établir ces lignes non contraignantes, juste là pour orienter sur des sujets qui ne relèvent, en général, même pas de leurs compétences.

Pensez-vous donc que les États membres sont si incompetents, si incapables de prendre seuls des décisions? Êtes-vous allés si loin dans vos illusions fédéralistes que vous vous sentez obligés de dire quoi faire à nos gouvernants? Quel que soit le sujet sur la table, vous n'avez qu'une seule réponse: plus d'UE. Vous la rêvez toute puissante et présente dans tout. Et dans les quelques domaines que nous avons encore réussi à préserver, malgré vos assauts, vous vous permettez conseils et orientations.

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Cela vous surprendra peut-être, mais nous n'avons pas besoin de vos conseils. Nous élisons démocratiquement nos gouvernements et, qu'on les soutienne ou pas, c'est à eux que revient la charge de nous gouverner. Nous rejetons fermement cette ingérence européenne qui donne des leçons alors qu'elle devrait se taire. Nos États membres sont les mieux placés pour savoir seuls de quoi ils ont besoin.

En cette période troublée faite de crises à répétition, la décence voudrait que vous laissiez les pays faire ce qu'il faut pour sortir leur population de la crise. Les peuples ont le regard tourné vers vous, chers collègues, et les récentes élections révèlent la défiance qu'ils ont vis-à-vis de l'Union européenne. Il serait temps de les écouter.

Beata Szydło, w imieniu grupy ECR. – Panie Przewodniczący! Panie Komisarzu! Szanowni Państwo! Nie da się ukryć, że rewizja warunków, wytycznych dotyczących zatrudnienia jest konieczna, ponieważ zmieniły się realia po pandemii, a przede wszystkim wojna na Ukrainie weryfikuje naszą rzeczywistość gospodarczą i społeczną. Musimy sobie zadać pytanie: co powinno być naszym celem? Czego obawiają się w tej chwili najbardziej Europejczycy? Rosnące ceny energii i paliw, inflacja, obawa o to, że nie będzie ich stać na to, żeby przetrwać nadchodzącą zimę, obawa o utratę miejsc pracy, przedsiębiorcy, którzy martwią się, że będą musieli zamykać swoje firmy – to jest rzeczywistość, z którą się mierzymy, i powinniśmy przede wszystkim zrobić wszystko, żeby realnie i racjonalnie móc pomóc Europejczykom.

A więc trzeba przede wszystkim zastanowić się, z czego wynikają te problemy. Trzeba wyciągnąć wnioski i zweryfikować również te plany, które są aktualnie realizowane w Unii Europejskiej, dotyczące np. polityki klimatycznej, ETS. Trzeba zająć się problemami związanymi właśnie z tymi programami, projektami *Fit for 55*. To jest podrażnianie kosztów europejskiej gospodarki i tworzenie rzeczywistości, kiedy ona staje się niekonkurencyjna, a życie Europejczyków staje się bardzo drogie. A więc powinniśmy przede wszystkim odstąpić od planów, które powodują dzisiaj wiele, wiele problemów dla Europejczyków.

José Gusmão, em nome do Grupo The Left. – Senhor Presidente, o relatório que vai ser votado sobre as orientações para as políticas de emprego tem alguns acordos importantes que melhoram a proposta da Comissão ao nível das condições de trabalho, dos salários, dos serviços públicos e do combate à pobreza. E tem também outras formulações interessantes sobre o papel do Parlamento neste processo e, nomeadamente, sobre a equiparação do Parlamento Europeu ao Conselho em tudo o que diz respeito ao Semestre Europeu.

Mas é nas divergências em torno deste relatório que encontramos os debates mais esclarecedores e é de facto esclarecedor ver como a direita e a extrema direita europeias se opõem a que o Parlamento detenha um papel equiparável ao do Conselho Europeu e como defendem, por exemplo, que empresas que beneficiem de apoios públicos no âmbito do PRR ou do orçamento comunitário, possam pegar nesses dinheiros públicos e transferi-los diretamente para os acionistas, sem sequer terem que assegurar a manutenção do emprego e das condições de trabalho dos seus trabalhadores.

Portanto, a direita europeia quer que os dinheiros públicos sirvam para financiar empresas que despedem trabalhadores e que pegam nesse dinheiro e o transferem diretamente para os acionistas sem passar na casa de partida.

E é também a direita que mais se tem batido por formulações altamente equívocas no que diz respeito às pensões de reforma, como as que se centram no envelhecimento ativo e que encerram de forma muito mal disfarçada os projetos de aumento da idade da reforma, ou seja, de imputação aos trabalhadores dos custos que esta crise tem gerado e que, de facto, não têm chegado a todos, nomeadamente aos seus responsáveis.

Livia Járóka (NI). – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! Kevés égetőbb és fontosabb kérdés van a jelenlegi gazdasági kilátások mellett az Unió számára, mint a tagállamok foglalkoztatáspolitikája. És sokkal rosszabb a helyzet a legeslegszegényebbek között is, akiknek az elmúlt években sikerült valamennyire fölhúzniuk magukat, hisz a Covid-válság és az orosz–ukrán háború gazdasági bizonytalanságot, napi harcokat hozott, és nagyon nehéz megvédenünk azokat a munkahelyeket, amelyeket teremtetünk. Magyarországon 2010-ben egymillió munkahelyet ígértünk, abból 700 ezret tudtunk eddig megvalósítani. 3,8 millióan dolgoztak akkor, most 4,5 millióan dolgoznak. Mégis óriási feladat most az, hogy ezek a munkahelyek megmaradhassanak, ezeknek a családoknak a biztonsága megmaradhasson. Ezért Önöknek is javaslom, hogy ahogy mi akkoriban változtattunk, Önök is változtassanak. Segélyezés helyett alternatívát kell adni, nem minimumjövedelmet vagy különböző segélyeket a legkiszolgáltatottabbnak, hanem munkahelyet. Ez most a legeslegfontosabb, és ne felejtsek el, hogy ezekre a legszegényebb csoportokra erős forrásként tekintsenek, integrálásuk GDP-hozadékot hoz.

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Sara Skyttedal (PPE). – Herr talman! Varje år beslutar Europaparlamentet om ett sådant här medskick om riktlinjer för medlemsstaternas arbetsmarknadspolitik. Poängen är att samordna vår ekonomiska politik. Kommissionens förslag inför årets beslut fokuserar av uppenbara skäl på konsekvenserna av Rysslands krig i Ukraina, inte minst den pågående energikrisen.

Rätt rekommendationer i EU:s planeringstermin har potentialen att skapa förutsättningar för fler jobb – och i längden ett mer konkurrenskraftigt och välmående Europa. Därför är det så trist att år efter år se hur Europaparlamentets inspel i denna fråga kidnappas av vänstergrupperna i parlamentet, som i stället väljer att uppmana EU-kommissionen att ta över allt fler av medlemsstaternas kompetenser.

I morgon röstar vi bland annat om en skrivning som efterfrågar ett nytt direktiv om minimiinkomster, alltså en ny gemensam socialbidragsnorm. Det är illa nog i sig, men dessutom riskerar gemensamma normer i nästa steg att leda till att det efterfrågas gemensam finansiering av dessa normer. Det sista unionens ekonomi behöver just nu är transfereeringar mellan medlemsländernas socialförsäkringssystem.

Det är beklagligt att vänstergrupperna vägrar att hålla fokus på vad de här medskicken är tänkta att handla om. Vi hade kunnat fokusera på rekommendationer för att stärka konkurrenskraften inför de tuffa åren som väntar. Men i stället dominerar vänstersidans destruktiva linje som snarare skadar planeringsterminen.

Marc Angel (S&D). – Mr President, dear Commissioner, dear colleagues, we need to invest in our workforce. And when it comes to the digital and environmental transition, our human capital must be at the heart of all our action.

For my political family, the Socialists and Democrats, this is self-evident. But all too often, curiously, we find that others seem to backtrack or to oppose such policies.

What more noble cause is there than to invest in the people that make up our society and work for our common prosperity? And that means investing in all our citizens, women and men in all their diversity, persons with disabilities, minorities, vulnerable groups and people who were granted temporary protection.

And there will be no better moment to invest in our human capital than in these challenging times. Delaying our action will lead to a loss of trust, not only into our common European project, but also in politics at national level. It is therefore crucial that the excellent report of our S&D colleague Alicia Homs calls for minimum income, universal access to health care, affordable housing, the implementation of the child guarantee, the prolongation of SURE, the social rescue facility and fair and progressive taxation.

These are concrete actions to support our human capital in these difficult times. We cannot afford to leave anyone behind. Until now, our citizens have been resilient. It is time to learn from them, to truly listen to them, and to make our proposals a reality for all.

Sylvie Brunet (Renew). – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, cher Nicolas, chers collègues, je veux redire ma conviction qu'il est urgent de mettre en place un semestre structurellement plus social. À cet effet, je voudrais souligner quelques points.

Il faut apporter des réponses sociales aux grandes crises que nous traversons, hélas! – que ce soit la pandémie, que ce soit la guerre – et je pense notamment au programme SURE, qu'il est absolument important de rendre permanent pour accompagner le chômage partiel.

Il est également indispensable de lutter contre la grande pauvreté, de continuer à lutter contre la grande pauvreté. Nous nous sommes donné comme objectif de réduire de 15 millions le nombre de personnes pauvres d'ici à 2030. Je me demande où nous en sommes en ce qui concerne ce grand objectif; je n'ai pas personnellement de chiffres.

Par ailleurs, il est aussi important d'instaurer des objectifs de création d'emplois de qualité, bien rémunérés, décents, par la coordination des politiques sociales et de l'emploi.

Enfin, puisque 2023 sera l'année des compétences, il faut continuer à investir en matière de formation pour ces compétences et pour les transitions numérique et verte.

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Margarita de la Pisa Carrión (ECR). – Señor presidente, señor comisario Schmit, 22 % de desempleo en 2030: este es el objetivo que nos propone la Comisión Europea en estas orientaciones. Es vergonzoso.

Uno de cada cuatro trabajadores en paro. ¿Esto es todo lo que nos puede ofrecer la Unión Europea? ¿Uno de cada cuatro de nosotros en la calle? Pero, al mismo tiempo, la Agenda 2030 habla de pobreza cero. ¿Pobreza cero? ¿Cómo?

Se ven claras las intenciones: cultura del subsidio. Se provoca pobreza y luego se mercadean las ayudas. Cambiemos el rumbo, el empleo es la mejor política social. Hablemos de crear riqueza, competitividad, un mercado de prosperidad donde podamos ganarnos dignamente, con nuestro esfuerzo, el sustento de nuestras familias y ser libres (y no, como aquí se propone, dependientes de ningún Gobierno).

Κώστας Παπαδάκης (NI). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, η έκθεση αποτελεί οδικό χάρτη νέων σκληρών αντεργατικών μέτρων με πρόσημα την πανδημία και τον ιμπεριαλιστικό πόλεμο στην Ουκρανία. Στο όνομα της άκρως ανταγωνιστικής αγοράς εργασίας, επιδιώκει να θωρακίσει τα ευρωπαϊκά μονοπώλια στον διεθνή ανταγωνισμό, μπροστά στη διαφαινόμενη καπιταλιστική κρίση. Πίσω από διακηρύξεις χωρίς κανένα αντίκρισμα και κατοχύρωση για αξιοπρεπείς μισθούς και συλλογικές διαπραγματεύσεις κρύβονται οι τρομακτικές αντεργατικές μεταρρυθμίσεις με τη βούλα της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, όπως ο νόμος Χατζηδάκη στην Ελλάδα, προωθείται η διάλυση του ημερήσιου χρόνου εργασίας, προτείνεται ο καθορισμός μισθών ως και στο ελάχιστο με κριτήριο το καλάθι προϊόντων νοικοκυριού για εξαθλιωμένους, η γενίκευση της τηλεργασίας και των εργολαβικών δουλεμπορικών, η κινητικότητα των εργαζομένων, καθώς και η χαριστική βολή στην κοινωνική ασφάλιση.

Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, κλιμακώνονται οι διώξεις κατά των εργαζομένων που αγωνίζονται για τα δικαιώματά τους, όπως αυτές κατά των απεργών συνδικάτων βάσης στην Ιταλία, τα «διαδηλωτοδικεία» στην Ελλάδα, η επιστράτευση εργαζομένων σε διυλιστήρια στη Γαλλία. Η αντιλαϊκή πολιτική Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης-κυβερνήσεων-μονοπωλίων είναι αιτία πολέμου για τους εργαζόμενους και είναι αναγκαία η κλιμάκωση της πάλης με την πανεργατική απεργία στην Ελλάδα στις 9 Νοέμβρη.

Anne Sander (PPE). – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Commissaire, notre débat arrive dans un contexte difficile en France, puisqu'un conflit social menace notre économie tout entière, entraînant une pénurie de carburant. C'est un véritable coup de massue pour les travailleurs et les entreprises, déjà en proie à la crise énergétique et à l'inflation.

Dans la situation actuelle, en France, mais aussi ailleurs en Europe, soutenir l'emploi est essentiel et constitue notre premier levier d'action pour lutter contre la pauvreté. Cette dernière année, en Europe, les chiffres du chômage ont connu une légère baisse. Toutefois, les jeunes demeurent, ici encore, les plus touchés et peinent à s'insérer dans la vie active. Il est donc plus que jamais impératif de mettre l'accent sur la formation pour développer les compétences des travailleurs d'aujourd'hui et de demain. L'adéquation entre la formation et les besoins des entreprises est vraiment essentielle au bon fonctionnement du marché du travail: c'est le meilleur moyen pour lutter contre le chômage.

Alors que le spectre de la récession plane sur l'Europe, nous devons redoubler d'efforts.

Tatjana Ždanoka (NI). – Mr President, dear colleagues, the Commission is putting forward the document like only the existing challenges are to be solved: gender pay gap, tackling undeclared work, youth employment, etc. But being previously the Rapporteur on guidelines, I agree that these are certainly important issues, but these are not the main challenges the employment market will face in the upcoming period.

In-work poverty: this will become a real disaster and not only for poorer EU Member States like mine, Latvia, but also for western and central European countries. The problem of uncontrolled employment of third-country nationals will become screaming very soon. And finally, of course, drastic job loss.

We have to look for new solutions. We may come up with an ambitious proposal for a minimum income directive, not only the Minimum Wage Directive. We also have to start discussions about unconditional basic income. One thing is absolutely clear: in an unusual situation, the usual solutions will not work.

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Eugen Tomac (PPE). – Domnule președinte, domnule comisar, stimați colegi, cred că în această perioadă este absolut esențial să cuplăm agenda europeană la nevoile cetățenilor europeni.

Criza generată de război, criza energetică, inflația au pus pe masa decidenților europeni provocări uriașe.

Tocmai de aceea, cred că politicile pe care le pregătește Comisia trebuie să răspundă acestor așteptări, pentru că oamenii au facturi foarte mari, au ore de muncă în plus, însă venituri mult mai mici raportat la necesități.

Tocmai de aceea, cred că este esențial să înțelegem că putem combate sărăcia și proteja locurile de muncă prin investiții și politici adaptate la nevoile societății de astăzi.

Nicolas Schmit, Member of the Commission. – Mr President, I agree with you that in the current cost of living crisis, we need to support workers; we have to help companies and ensure decent working conditions for all. Strengthening the social shield is more necessary than ever. The updated employment guidelines are, in this respect, a very important element and can serve as guidance for Member States to overcome the crisis we are facing and especially to improve social cohesion.

This afternoon, we had a very important debate on poverty eradication. Well, to eradicate poverty, the first and best way to do so is good-quality jobs with decent wages. Yes, we have to invest in our economy, but we also have to invest in people – investing in people, in their skills, but also investing in gender equality, in diversity, which is a decisive element of inclusive labour markets.

All that starts with children – because if children are lost, if children do not get the right opportunities, well, what happens then? Once they are older and they try to get into the labour market, they will not be able to find good jobs. They will not have decent wages. And we are going in the direction of more exclusion, of more inequality. This is an important part of good labour market policies: start with children. Without that, there are no inclusive labour markets and Europe will not be able in the coming years and decades to build a green and digital economy. Yes, digital skills are key. And where and when should you learn digital skills? Yes, certainly, lifelong learning, but the best is to learn when you are young, when you are at school, and to give older children the right opportunities.

Labour markets are changing and there is a broad understanding that equality and fairness, but also good working conditions, are essential for a strong, innovative European economy that benefits all.

Alicia Homs Ginel, ponente. – Señor presidente, señor comisario, no puedo coincidir más con la conclusión que acaba usted de hacer. Estamos de acuerdo en que, en estas guías de empleo, hemos tenido en cuenta las transiciones verde y digital, y muchos otros temas que afectan de manera directa o indirecta el mercado laboral. ¿O me van a decir, los señores de la derecha, que los niños que se encuentran en riesgo de exclusión y de pobreza no es porque sus padres y sus madres tienen trabajos precarios y, por tanto, se ven obligados a que sus hijos vivan en esa situación? ¿O me van a decir también, los señores de la derecha, que hay otras, de las tantas propuestas que hemos hecho en este informe, que no afectan de manera directa o indirecta a los trabajadores de los cuales estamos hablando? ¿O también me van a decir que estamos revisando las guías de empleo cada año? Llevamos sin revisarlas desde antes de la COVID-19. ¿De qué estamos hablando?

No queremos que la Comisión quite competencias a los Estados miembros. Eso no lo hemos dicho en ningún momento dentro de este documento. Lo que es terrible es que la derecha esté del lado de los más privilegiados, como hace siempre, y no de los más vulnerables, que es a los que tenemos que proteger. Otros hablan de la cultura del subsidio. Yo les digo que ayudamos a los más vulnerables porque merecen las mismas oportunidades que todos los ciudadanos y ciudadanas. Y así lo avalan tanto el FMI, como el BCE, como la OCDE. Por tanto, yo no veo error en la línea que estamos siguiendo para proteger a los trabajadores, a la clase trabajadora y a los más vulnerables. Y tampoco veo error en todas esas políticas progresistas de ayudar a los que más lo necesitan. Yo creo que deberían hacer una reflexión y mirar si, quizás, los que estén equivocados sean ustedes, que defienden siempre a los más privilegiados.

Presidente. – O debate está encerrado.

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A votação realizar-se-á na terça-feira, 18 de outubro de 2022.

Declarações escritas (artigo 171.º)

Sandra Pereira (The Left), *por escrito*. – Não é possível fazer este debate sem ter presente que as orientações para as políticas de empregos dos Estados-Membros se inserem no processo do Semestre Europeu, que usurpa competências soberanas dos Estados, que impõe, condiciona e controla as opções políticas democráticas e soberanas no plano da política orçamental, mas também da política social e laboral, processo que funciona como controlo de execução do Pacto de Estabilidade e Crescimento e do Tratado Orçamental.

Esta íntima relação e as ameaças, incluindo de sanção, que dela emanam são responsáveis por anos de estagnação económica, da desregulação e regressão de direitos laborais e sociais, do aprofundamento de desigualdades, da limitação do investimento público ou da liberalização de sectores estratégicos.

Da nossa parte, não isentamos a responsabilidade que a União Europeia e as suas políticas têm tido na degradação das condições laborais e sociais, no aumento da exploração, do desemprego e da pobreza, na redução de salários, caminho que, aliás, a direita deste Parlamento quer seguir neste relatório.

16. Spreektijd van één minuut over kwesties van politiek belang

Presidente. – Seguem-se as intervenções de um minuto sobre questões políticas importantes (artigo 172.º do Regimento).

Maria Walsh (PPE). – Mr President, we cannot begin to understand what the community in Donegal has been going through for the past ten days since the explosion in a service station and an apartment block. The tragedy in Creeslough stole ten precious lives from a very small rural community in the north west of Ireland. No words can comprehend what the families and those who are still working tirelessly on the front lines have gone through and are continuing to go through in the process.

And it is important we honour the lives lost and share our support, solidarity and hope from the European Parliament to the community in Donegal. A book of condolences will be placed outside the EPP Group meeting room here in the Parliament for all colleagues, staff and friends as we stand together as a European community with heartfelt sympathies. I want to thank for the support shown to the people of Creeslough and Donegal, and I also share my thanks to the President of our European Parliament, Roberta Metsola.

Κώστας Μαυρίδης (S&D). – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, η ρωσική εισβολή στην Ουκρανία ανέδειξε την κατεπείγουσα ανάγκη η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση να αποκτήσει γεωπολιτικό ρόλο στη γειτονιά της και στον κόσμο. Ζούμε στην εποχή όπου αυταρχικά καθεστώτα επιτίθενται στις δημοκρατικές κοινωνίες μας. Οι πολεμοχαρείς παραβάτες του διεθνούς δικαίου δεν αντιμετωπίζονται με *soft power*. Ο Πούτιν και ο Ερντογάν δεν αντιμετωπίζονται με ανακοινώσεις ανησυχίας. Δεν θα διασφαλίσουμε την ενεργειακή μας ασφάλεια, τους οικονομικούς, περιβαλλοντικούς, τεχνολογικούς στόχους μας, χωρίς δικό μας γεωπολιτικό ρόλο, με κοινή άμυνα και ασφάλεια.

Η ρωσική εισβολή στην Ουκρανία, όμως, ανέδειξε και μια τεράστια υποκρισία. Υπάρχει ένα καθεστώς που εργαλειοποίησε τους μετανάστες, που φυλακίζει διαφωνούντες και Κούρδους, που κατέχει έδαφος της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης στην Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία, που επεμβαίνει στη Λιβύη, στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο, στο Αιγαίο. Δεν μπορεί να το χαϊδεύουμε με ανακοινώσεις ανησυχίας, αλλά πρέπει επιτέλους να προχωρήσουμε σε κυρώσεις.

Billy Kelleher (Renew). – Mr President, production of green hydrogen is inextricably linked to the availability of large quantities of renewable electricity. In an Irish context, that means implementing an ambitious offshore wind energy strategy with urgency.

Green hydrogen will be the clean fuel that drives our long-distance public transport systems, our marine transport and heavy goods vehicles, and it will not only be electric batteries due to the discharge requirements and recharging capabilities. We need to ramp up our offshore wind electricity generation to give us the ability to electrolyse water to give us the green hydrogen our economy needs.

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Ireland sadly suffers from regulatory inertia, and this often stops us from being first movers. The EU adopted its own hydrogen strategy in 2020, with updates since then, but Ireland has consistently lagged behind. Similar to anaerobic digestion, Ireland doesn't need any more pilot projects. We don't need any evidence base anymore. We just need to ensure that we use the technologies that are already there and evidence-based by use across the European Union.

Ireland easily has the capacity to generate over 30 gigawatts of wind-powered electricity, if it can get its act together with regard to wind energy and planning. Our target of five gigawatts by 2030 is relatively low, and we must aim to do an awful lot better.

Grace O'Sullivan (Verts/ALE). – Mr President, in May of this year, Israeli soldiers shot and killed journalist Shireen Abu Akleh. The EU condemned it. A month later, President von der Leyen flew to Tel Aviv and signed a multi-million euro deal for Israeli gas. Last month, Israel raided Palestinian civil society organisations, which are funded by the EU. The EU condemned it.

In the last few days, a city the size of Cork has been besieged by the Israeli army. Josep Borrell said the situation was just 'worrisome'. Now he must tell us how many human rights violations are permitted before facing consequences from the EU. How many more journalists murdered? How many schools and neighbourhoods demolished? How many internments? How many sieges before the EU acts on apartheid?

Gunnar Beck (ID). – Herr Präsident! Die deutsche Regierung hat den Deutschen Rekordenergiepreise beschert und will sie nun mit 200 Milliarden Euro entschädigen. Widersinnig, aber nicht ungerecht. Sofort jedoch klagt Italiens Noch-Premier und Goldman-Sachs-Banker Mario Draghi, Deutschland verstoße gegen Wettbewerbsrecht und den Binnenmarkt. Das ist Unsinn. Draghi lässt nur gerne die Deutschen – und ich will hinzufügen: die Nordeuropäer – für alle Finanz- und Staatskrisen zahlen. Dennoch versprach Kanzler Olaf Scholz sogleich Draghi, den Francesco Cossiga einst einen elenden Finanzknecht nannte, mehr Geld für Italien und die EU, obwohl Deutschland noch den 750 Milliarden schweren EU-Coronafonds hauptfinanziert.

Die Deutschen haben Niedrigrenten und das geringste Privatvermögen im Euroraum. Nur ihre Regierung leidet am Helfersyndrom. Sie zeigt sich reich und spendabel, weil sie den Deutschen seit Jahren mit beiden Händen das Geld aus den Taschen zieht.

Cristian Terheş (ECR). – Mr President, dear colleagues, Ursula von der Leyen must immediately and unconditionally resign from her position as President of the European Commission due to the fact that her actions are currently criminally investigated by the European Public Prosecutor's Office.

The EPPO just announced few days ago that it is investigating the way the contracts were signed between the European Commission and the producers of vaccines. And this is what the Court of Auditors just stated in a report released a few days ago, and I quote: 'the Commission had signed up to November 2021, EUR 71 billion worth of contracts on behalf of the Member States to purchase up to 4.6 billion COVID-19 vaccine doses'.

That means that she purchased 10 doses of vaccines for every EU citizen, based on contracts that were never released to the public. This is how the contracts that she signed with these pharmaceutical companies were released to the public. How is this possible in a European Union that is called on to be transparent with the way it is using people's money?

So I'm asking again and calling again for immediate and unconditional resignation.

Sandra Pereira (The Left). – Senhor Presidente, em Portugal, este fim de semana, dezenas de milhares de trabalhadores, jovens e reformados saíram à rua em Lisboa e no Porto. Não aceitam a degradação dos salários, a degradação das pensões, o ataque aos serviços públicos, a especulação nos preços dos bens essenciais e energéticos. Gritaram bem alto que o custo de vida aumenta e o povo não aguenta.

Ao mesmo tempo, verifica-se uma acumulação de milhares de milhões de euros nos lucros dos grupos económicos, da alimentação, da energia, da grande distribuição comercial, das multinacionais.

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Em nenhuma circunstância é aceitável o aumento das injustiças sociais e menos ainda nesta situação concreta. Daqui, saudamos os trabalhadores e os seus sindicatos por mais esta iniciativa de força, que é simultaneamente um sinal de esperança, de confiança, da possibilidade de um outro caminho. E reafirmamos o nosso compromisso com os trabalhadores e a sua luta pela defesa e melhoria das suas condições de trabalho e de vida.

Dino Giarrusso (NI). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, l'iniziativa «Good Food Good Farming» ci dice che quasi un cittadino europeo su tre ha i capelli contaminati da pesticidi: dato allarmante, che rivela l'enorme contaminazione di terreni e acque.

Le strategie Farm to Fork e sulla biodiversità per il 2030 indicano una riduzione del 50 % entro il 2030, ma molti Stati sono indietro nell'accogliere la proposta di regolamento che fissa vincoli per gli Stati membri. L'Italia ha un piano nazionale scaduto dal febbraio 2019 e il governo Draghi sembra non aver colto l'importanza della transizione ecologica, che passa anche da una rivoluzione culturale riguardo coltivazioni e allevamenti. Abbiamo il dovere di spiegare ai cittadini quanto e come sia importante ripulire la nostra agricoltura e dunque le nostre acque, il nostro sangue, i nostri capelli dai pesticidi e da ogni tipo di veleno.

È una transizione che porterà benefici per tutti e che può essere anche un business e rilanciare l'agricoltura anziché affossarla, come dice chi non vuole cambiare nulla. Però servono coraggio, visione e risorse. L'Europa li possiede? Vuole spenderli?

Eugen Tomac (PPE). – Domnule președinte, stimați colegi, eu sunt profund dezgustat de modul cum defilează prin acest Parlament personaje, de altfel nulițiți politice, care își permit să disemineze minciuni și dezinformări care probabil îi sunt pe plac lui Putin.

Recent, în această sală, un domn, pe numele său Reil, de altfel o nulitate politică, și-a permis să spună că România și Bulgaria nu merită să fie acceptate în Schengen.

Mi se pare un afront de neacceptat, pentru că noi suntem o națiune puternică, o națiune europeană, și probabil acel domn, atunci când a vizitat țara noastră, s-a plimbat noaptea pe cel mai frumos drum din lume, cum este Transfăgărășanul, și evident că nu a văzut nimic.

Însă suntem o națiune care știm ce vrem și merită să ne luptăm mai departe pentru a fi acceptați în spațiul Schengen. Și, evident, nu vom cădea în capcana populismului și demagogiei pe care unii le practică în acest Parlament.

Елена Йончева (S&D). – Г-н Председател! Накъде ни водите, дами и господа, накъде тласкате Европа, тази Европа, за която се бориха поколения, за да живеем всички ние в мир? Защо чуваме всеки ден призови за въоръжаване, а не за дипломатически преговори? Защо говорите за възможна ядрена катастрофа, а не за европейска стратегия за спиране на братоубийствения конфликт? Нима вече имаме европейски комисар на войната?

Да, недопустимо е да падат бомби на европейския континент. Но какво направи Брюксел, за да не допусне кошмарът в Украйна? Минските споразумения бяха ваша отговорност, сега мирът е наша отговорност. Кажете ни кой е вече европейският комисар на войната и защо не чуваме неговата загриженост за това кой и защо взриви Северен поток? Кой се опитва да унищожава Южен поток? Кой обстрелва най-голямата ядрена централа в Европа?

България е само на няколко километра, няколкостотин километра от войната и утре пожарът може да се пренесе и при нас, защото сме мълчали, когато е трябвало да говорим. Ние сме длъжни да спрем саморазрушаването на Европа и днес са необходими не танкове, а мъдрост и смели решения.

Izaskun Bilbao Barandica (Renew). – Señor presidente, hoy traigo a este Pleno el SOS de los atuneros cañeros europeos en Senegal, que pueden acabar en el desguace si la Comisión Europea no desbloquea el pago de las ayudas que necesitan para sobrevivir. Tenían licencias en vigor. Pagaron por ellas. Una decisión imprevisible, arbitraria e injusta del Gobierno de Senegal les dejó cinco meses amarrados a puerto y sin derechos de pesca.

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Las pérdidas acumuladas, sumadas a la inflación que afecta a muchos de sus costes, y la mala campaña en los dos meses que han podido trabajar les han puesto en una situación crítica. Puede revertirse. Basta con aplicar las previsiones que el Fondo Europeo Marítimo, de Pesca y de Acuicultura contempla para el cese de actividad por causas de fuerza mayor.

Están en juego centenares de empleos de europeos y senegaleses. Está en juego que barcos con una trayectoria artesanal y sostenible acaben en el desguace. El comisario Sinkevičius no contesta ni a sus cartas ni a las peticiones reiteradas de muchos diputados. Si de verdad defiende la pesca sostenible que practica el sector europeo, escuche este SOS y resuelva este asunto de inmediato.

Ana Miranda (Verts/ALE). – Senhor Presidente, a redução da atividade agrícola no meu país, Galiza, é uma das principais causas do declínio demográfico do campo galego. O abandono das terras agrícolas, o aumento dos preços da energia, a alta dependência de insumos do mercado externo, como o aumento dos preços, faz com que muitos produtores passem por uma situação tremendamente complicada, sem que o governo galego se preocupe.

Em vez de ter milho para os animais, temos eucaliptos, o que impede a possibilidade de cultivo de cereais a preços competitivos.

De Estrasburgo, quero expressar a nossa solidariedade para com os agricultores, os produtores e os ganadeiros da minha terra, que sofrem com os preços especulativos dos insumos. Custa mais produzir e são necessárias medidas estruturais para reduzir a dependência de outros mercados.

Um país que ama as suas áreas rurais deve colocar quem produz no centro da recuperação do sistema agrícola e não substituir os produtores da terra por macroempresas especulativas.

Gianantonio Da Re (ID). – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, l'articolo 3 del trattato sull'Unione europea stabilisce che l'Unione europea «promuove la coesione economica, sociale e territoriale, e la solidarietà tra gli Stati membri».

Il principio è lodevole e condivisibile, però vale solo sulla carta. Ultimamente di solidarietà tra gli Stati membri ne abbiamo vista poca. Basti pensare al fallimento della gestione dei flussi migratori e dell'ostruzionismo dei paesi frugali sull'adozione del Recovery Fund.

Ancora oggi, di fronte alla grave difficoltà economica in cui si trovano i cittadini europei a causa del caro energia, assistiamo all'ennesimo spettacolo di un'Europa divisa e ipocrita. Il principio di solidarietà viene invocato infatti solo quando risponde agli interessi dell'élite europea e non quando è necessario per i reali bisogni delle famiglie e delle nostre imprese, per le quali sono indispensabili adeguati e immediati aiuti economici, più coraggio e determinazione.

Ladislav Ilčić (ECR). – Poštovani predsjedavajući, poštovane dame i gospodo, izbori u Bosni i Hercegovini su održani prije petnaest dana, a još uvijek nisu prebrojani svi glasovi.

Izgleda da su neki članovi biračkih odbora glasali umjesto birača koji nisu izašli na izbore, a jedan je čak sebe više puta potpisao umjesto birača za koje je glasao. Osim toga, Željko Komšić, koji je izabran za hrvatskog predstavnika, je u sredinama gdje žive Hrvati dobio manje od jedan posto glasova.

Ne zanima me kako se on po nacionalnosti izjašnjava niti njegova krvna zrnca. On je izabran glasovima Bošnjaka i zato samo njih može predstavljati. Tako sad Bošnjaci imaju dva predstavnika u tročlanom predsjedništvu, Srbi jednog, a Hrvati nijednog.

Za sve su to krive europske institucije i visoki predstavnik koji ne samo da podržavaju već i potiču ovakve udare na demokraciju. Ne možemo očekivati demokratski razvoj BiH ako su izbori tako nedemokratski.

Dakle, treba nam promjena izbornog zakona koji će jamčiti legitimno predstavljanje konstitutivnih naroda i povećanje tehničkih sredstava poput uvođenja otiska prsta jer BiH ima pravo na demokratsku i europsku perspektivu.

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João Pimenta Lopes (The Left). – Senhor Presidente, a sistemática e brutal agressão de Israel à Palestina e ao seu povo, que prossegue impune, e a recorrente violação do direito internacional, só são possíveis com a conivência e o apoio dos Estados Unidos da América e da União Europeia.

Daqui denunciamos e condenamos a escalada de provocações, violência e destruição de propriedade palestinos, promovida pelo governo israelita e a expansão de colonatos, a estratégia de anexação de Jerusalém Oriental de Israel, com as tentativas de expulsão das populações palestinas, nomeadamente no bairro de Sheikh Jarrah, as incursões sionistas ao redor da mesquita Al-Aqsa, o recurso à prisão administrativa, o agravamento do bloqueio a Gaza, território que vive uma das mais graves crises humanitárias do mundo, uma agressão persistente de Israel, que procura minar as deliberações de relevantes resoluções da ONU e o caminho para a construção do Estado palestino independente, com as fronteiras de 1967, com capital em Jerusalém Oriental.

Toda a solidariedade para com a luta heroica do povo palestino e os seus inalienáveis direitos nacionais.

Tomislav Sokol (PPE). – Poštovani predsjedavajući, pandemija COVID-19 otkrila je strukturne nedostatke koji otežavaju da se na krize odgovori brzo, učinkovito i koordinirano.

Prisjetimo se samo prizora praznih polica u trgovinama s početka pandemije. Takve scenarije želimo u budućnosti izbjeći. Zato je važno da je Komisija predstavila dugoočekivani instrument koji jamči funkcioniranje jedinstvenog tržišta u kriznim situacijama. Njegovim aktiviranjem državama članicama zabranit će se uvođenje ograničenja izvoza proizvoda u druge države članice.

Nažalost, Komisija je predvidjela izuzeća od primjene ove uredbe za medicinske proizvode i uređaje te medicinske protumjere, što ne pridonosi izgradnji otpornog jedinstvenog tržišta u uvjetima krize.

Sjetimo se da su države članice u kojima je koncentrirana proizvodnja zaštitne opreme, kao što su maske i rukavice, početkom pandemije ograničile izvoz zaštitne opreme u druge države, prouzročivši tako njezinu nestašicu, a upravo takve situacije želimo izbjeći.

Stoga pozivam Vijeće i Parlament da u svoj pregovarački okvir uključe i primjenu uredbe na medicinske proizvode i protumjere. Solidarnost među državama članicama nikad više ne smije biti dovedena u pitanje.

Tudor Ciuhodaru (S&D). – Domnule președinte, sunt medic, medic de urgență în Iași, România, în Spitalul Clinic de Urgență Nicolae Oblu.

Am ascultat cu uimire și revoltă declarațiile reprezentanților unor companii farmaceutice în Comisia COVID. E oficial! De acum, întreg eșafodajul politico-juridic și economic legat de introducerea pașaportului verde digital și achiziționarea a miliarde de doze de vaccinuri s-a prăbușit și de aceea vă solicit astăzi, încă o dată, am și votat împotriva pașaportului verde digital de fiecare dată, să renunțați de urgență la acest act aberant, care nu arată decât că te-ai vaccinat, în rest, poți transmite boala, iar pe de altă parte să suspendați imediat aceste contracte de miliarde de euro, România are un miliard de euro dat pe astfel de vaccinuri, care nu mai corespund normelor, și aceste contracte să fie renegociate.

E de importanță majoră și sunt convins că mă veți susține în acest demers, pentru că astfel de erori nu trebuie să se mai repete.

Charlie Weimers (ECR). – Herr talman! Jag skulle vilja ta tillfället i akt och uppmärksamma alla de modiga män och kvinnor från våra länder som rusat till Ukrainas försvar, och särskilt de som betalat det högsta priset för att försvara det lilla landets rätt att freda sig från imperialismens klor.

En av dem som offrat sina liv för Ukraina är min landsman, löjtnant Edward Selander. Han stupade den 18 juli. En av dem som tjänat under honom i den svenska armén har detta att säga, och jag citerar: "Löjtnant Edvard Selander var den bästa officer jag arbetat med. Han förkroppsligade alla värden vi som försvarsmakt står för. Ingen var mer angelägen om att skapa dugliga krigare än honom, och han levde efter en ofelbar moralisk kompass."

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Kära kollegor, jag skulle vilja be er att ägna en tanke åt alla dem av våra medborgare som offrat sina liv för Ukrainas och Europas säkerhet.

Clare Daly (The Left). – Mr President, the European Parliament will soon award the Sakharov Prize, although obviously the decision does not rest with MEPs, but rather with the Conference of Presidents. And, of course, Sakharov was a dissident in his hemisphere, and in recognition of that, we award a prize in his name every year.

The Sakharov Prize should be for the exercise of intellectual freedoms, and it is in that way we seek to oppose those freedoms everywhere. But, of course, instead we have traditionally used this as a stick to appease our so-called enemies.

So this year, for once, why don't we do something for what it's really supposed to be about? Today, freedom of thought is under threat at home. Julian Assange is a dissident in our own hemisphere. He's persecuted not by our so-called opponents, but by our like-minded partners for upholding the essential responsibilities of a journalist, holding power to account for exposing the war crimes in Iraq and Afghanistan.

If we recognise Assange with the Sakharov Prize, it can deliver a genuine victory for freedom of thought. Instead of harping on about human rights in places where we have no power, for once we have a chance to do something meaningful. So let's organise to have the award of the Sakharov Prize for Julian Assange.

Peter Pollák (PPE). – Vážený pán predsedajúci, dnes vôbec nie je neobvyklé prečítať si nenávistné odkazy na internete a v zmysle: treba zabiť všetkých cigánov, treba zabiť všetkých buzerantov, či treba zabiť všetkých Židov. Aj takéto nadávky na internete, žiaľ, mnohí dnes tolerujú.

Aj vrah zo Slovenska je príkladom toho, ako mnohí dokázali tolerovať a podceňovať nenávisť voči Židom, LGBT či Rómom. Ak by tento bratislavský vrah velebil Bin Ládina, dávno by bol v base. No keďže jeho ideálom bol len Hitler či Breivik, všetci toto prehliadali. Skončilo to teroristickým činom, masakrom dvoch ľudí v centre Bratislavy.

Poviem vám vlastnú skúsenosť. Keď sa rasisti vyhrážali, že znásilnia moju cigánsku manželku a po jednom zabijú moje negerské deti, a pod oknami nás niekto sledoval, napriek vyspelým technológiám páchatel'a nevypátrali.

Ako je možné, že keď sa niekto vyhráža menšinám smrťou, tak hovoríme, že je to sloboda slova? No ako je možné, že terorizmus je pre nás červenou čiarou, no fašizmus spoločnosť toleruje? Nenávisť voči inakosti, Rómom, Židom či LGBT nie je sloboda slova. Fašizmus je rovnakým zlom ako aj terorizmus. A k tým, ktorí fašizmus šíria, sa musíme postaviť rovnako razantne ako k tým, ktorí šíria terorizmus.

Иво Христов (S&D). – Г-н Председател, критичното мислене и свободата на словото са два от стълбовете на Европа. За руската дезинформация тук се говори постоянно. Уви, тревога буди и пропагандната война, в която нашите медии и институции са инструментализирани отвън. В наши позиции и медии четем, че Русия едновременно е окупираа Запорожката атомна електроцентрала и сама я обстрелва, че Путин първо е построил, а после сам е взривил Северен поток.

Какво ни предлага председателят фон дер Лайен със своя призив за война до победен край срещу една ядрена сила? Ядрената война и удавянето в пропаганден конформизъм са два пътя към самоунищожението, а европейците очакват мирни инициативи от Брюксел. Мирът е смисълът на европейския проект. Когато приемаме да финансираме войната, да ретранслираме пропагандата, ние жертваме авторитета, принципите и бъдещето на съюза.

Michiel Hoogeveen (ECR). – Mr President, freedom of speech is precious. Without it, democracy would not exist. With social media, the marketplace of ideas has been enhanced in an unprecedented way. However, this comes with responsibility.

Disinformation and fake news are a threat to the freedom of speech. There is a difference between information and affirmation. We can debate about differences of opinion, and in many cases there are different sides to a story. But there is a difference between facts and opinions.

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It is not because we have strong convictions that we should resort to disinformation, or worse, start believing in conspiracy theories. Freedom of speech is a cornerstone of Western civilisation. Let us use it wisely and responsibly.

Mick Wallace (The Left). – Mr President, tens of thousands of people from Haiti have been protesting against the US-installed regime of Ariel Henry. Now the puppet leader is calling for foreign military intervention to crush the protests and the US have been looking for backing at the UN Security Council for the same.

The last thing the people of Haiti need now is another foreign military intervention called in by a despised leader that doesn't even have a proper mandate to govern. The people of Haiti had their own solution to the crisis – it's called the Montana Agreement. A commission was set up in August last year by a wide range of civil society groups and they signed an agreement, and it was to be implemented beginning in February. But the US and the UN and others blocked it.

The Haitian people need an end to foreign interference. They've been interfered with for 200 years. They're not allowed to think independent. The West has destroyed the place. They've done everything to cripple the place for years. And now they certainly need an end to foreign interference, not more foreign boots on the ground. We said we were interested in sovereignty when Ukraine was invaded by Russia. Are we not interested in sovereignty when it comes to Haiti? Does that not count because it doesn't suit US imperialism?

Stanislav Polčák (PPE). – Pane předsedající, stojíme nepochybně na prahu potravinové krize nejen v Evropě, ale zejména v afrických státech a dalších chudých státech po celém světě. Chybí potravinové zdroje, a to v celosvětovém měřítku. A důsledek energetické krize je ten, že se tato potravinová krize ještě dále prohlubuje. Zdražují základní lidské potřeby, služby, výrobky a samozřejmě také potraviny. Máme zde nedostatek hnojiv, nedostatek všech podpůrných ošetřujících prostředků. A právě energetická krize ještě tento nedostatek prohlubuje, protože výroba těchto hnojiv je energeticky velmi náročná. Toto jsou důsledky Putinovy války. Myslím si, že je naší povinností co nejvíce pomáhat Ukrajině tak, aby tato Putinova válka co nejdříve skončila Putinovou porážkou.

Presidente. – Este ponto da ordem do dia está encerrado.

17. Agenda van de volgende vergadering

Presidente. – A ata da presente sessão será submetida à aprovação do Parlamento amanhã ao início da tarde.

18. Goedkeuring van de notulen van deze vergadering

Presidente. – A ordem do dia já foi publicada e encontra-se disponível no sítio Web do Parlamento Europeu.

19. Sluiting van de vergadering

(A sessão é encerrada às 23h20)