

Streda 19. októbra 2022

**DOSLOVNÝ ZÁPIS Z ROZPRÁV 19. OKTÓBRA 2022**

(2023/C 196/03)

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## DOSLOVNÝ ZÁPIS Z ROZPRÁV 19. OKTÓBRA 2022

**PRESIDENZA: ROBERTA METSOLA**

*President*

### 1. Otvorenie rokovania

*(The sitting opened at 9.01)*

### 2. Rokovania pred prvým čítaním v Parlamente (článok 71 rokovacieho poriadku) (ďalší postup)

**President.** – In relation to the decisions by several committees to enter into interinstitutional negotiations, pursuant to Rule 71, paragraph 1, announced at the opening of the session on Monday 17 October, I have received no request for a vote in Parliament by Members or political groups reaching at least the medium threshold.

The committees may therefore start the negotiations.

### 3. Príprava zasadnutia Európskej rady 20. – 21. októbra 2022 (rozprava)

**President.** – The next item on the agenda is: Council and Commission statements – Preparation of the European Council meeting of 20-21 October 2022.

**Mikuláš Bek**, *President-in-Office of the Council.* – Madam President, President von der Leyen, honourable Members, tomorrow and Friday, leaders will meet in Brussels for the October European Council, starting with the usual exchange with European Parliament President Metsola.

Leaders will discuss Russia's escalatory war of aggression against Ukraine and its consequences, including the situation in global food security or the impact on energy prices and on our economy. They will also address relations with China and with ASEAN.

Less than two weeks ago, leaders met in Prague for an informal European Council meeting to discuss these topics and prepare the ground for the debates that will take place in Brussels this week.

The steep increase in energy prices touches all European citizens and businesses and is, therefore, high on the agenda of the European Council. As we know, Russia is weaponising energy in an attempt to weaken the resolve and economic power of the European Union. We will not let this happen.

Building on the discussions in Prague, as well as yesterday's Commission proposal, leaders will speak a strong common European response to the high gas and electricity prices. There is a broad agreement on key areas of action to lower prices, but there are still some divergences on the 'how', that will be for leaders to discuss. I can nonetheless already share some key messages.

First, we will not allow Russia's weaponising of energy to weaken the resolve and economic power of the EU. Second, key areas for action will include efforts to reduce demand, to ensure security of supply and to lower energy prices.

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Leaders will also address the latest developments in Russia's escalating war of aggression against Ukraine, which is putting European and global peace and security at risk. This includes Russia's missile attacks against civilians and civilian infrastructure in Kyiv and across Ukraine, its actions at Ukraine's Zaporizhzhia nuclear facility and the illegal annexation by Russia of Ukraine's Donetsk, Luhansk, Zaporizhzhia and Kherson regions.

Leaders will reiterate their unwavering support for Ukraine's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Ukraine has the right to liberate and regain full control of all occupied territories within its internationally recognised borders.

As already stated by leaders on 30 September, the European Council unequivocally condemns and rejects Russia's illegal annexation of Ukraine's Donetsk, Luhansk, Zaporizhzhia and Kherson regions. The European Council will call for Russia to immediately, completely and unconditionally withdraw all of its troops and military equipment from the entire territory of Ukraine and refrain from hybrid attacks on Ukraine.

There is growing evidence of war crimes committed in Ukraine. We have also seen the continuous destruction of civilian infrastructure in the country. These are gross violations of international law. Leaders are expected to call for holding Russia to account.

As you know, the European Union will stand with Ukraine for as long as it takes. It will continue to provide political, military, financial and humanitarian support to Ukraine. Leaders are expected to call for the speedy adoption of the remaining EUR 3 billion in micro-financial assistance for Ukraine. Ahead of the conference in Berlin on 25 October 2022, the European Council will discuss the governance and financing of reconstruction efforts.

Russia's war of aggression has sparked a global food crisis, driving up world food and fertilisers prices. The EU will continue to facilitate the export of Ukrainian agricultural products via the EU solidarity alliance and global access to agricultural products and fertilizers for the countries most in need.

The European Council will also discuss recent acts of sabotage against critical infrastructure, such as those against the Nord Stream pipelines. We will meet any deliberate disruption of critical infrastructure or other hybrid actions with a united and determined response and continue to strengthen our preparedness.

Rising energy prices have a big economic impact on the EU. We are committed to coordinating closely our policy responses. Our priority is to protect the most vulnerable in our societies, while preserving Europe's global competitiveness and maintaining the level playing field and the integrity of the single market.

Another pressing crisis is climate change. The European Council will discuss preparations for the upcoming COP 27 in Sharm el-Sheikh, and leaders are expected to stress the extreme urgency of strengthening the global response to address the climate emergency in the face of increasingly intense and frequent extreme weather events.

Ahead of the 15th Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity in Montreal, the European Council will also call for the adoption of an ambitious, comprehensive and transformative post-2020 global biodiversity framework to halt and reverse biodiversity loss.

In the field of external relations, leaders are expected to have a strategic discussion on China. They will also look ahead to the upcoming EU-ASEAN commemorative summit on 14 December, which will be an opportunity to further deepen the EU's strategic partnership with ASEAN.

**Ursula von der Leyen**, *President of the Commission*. – Madam President, dear Roberta, dear Minister Bek, honourable Members, yesterday we saw again Russia's targeted attacks against civilian infrastructure, and this is marking a new chapter in an already very cruel war.

The international order is very clear. These are war crimes, targeted attacks on civilian infrastructure, with a clear aim to cut off men, women, children from water, electricity and heating with the winter coming – these are acts of pure terror, and we have to call it as such.

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This is a moment to stay the course, and we will back Ukraine for as long as it takes. And we will protect Europeans from the other war that Putin is waging – this is his war on our energy.

I know that Europeans are concerned: concerned about inflation, concerned about their energy bills, concerned about the winter. The best response to Putin's gas blackmail is European solidarity and European unity. And in this spirit, the Commission agreed yesterday on a strong legislative framework to address the energy crisis. So let me outline the main points to you.

The first one is as logical as important. Instead of outbidding each other, Europeans should buy gas together, very simple. So for this, we will purchase together gas at EU level. Aggregation of demand will be mandatory for at least 15% of the volumes needed to fill gas storages. And the companies involved may form a 'gas purchasing consortium'.

We do this because we've learned the lesson. We literally saw in August of this year, at the height of the filling season, how Member States were outbidding each other and thus driving really up the prices. So we definitely can be smarter on that one. Pooling our demand is a must.

My next point is about sharing gas in Europe. We know that some Member States are more directly exposed than others to Russian gas. The situation is especially challenging for landlocked countries in central Europe. But in the end, if you look at our single market with highly integrated supply chains, a disruption in one Member State has a massive impact on all Member States. So sharing gas is absolutely critical.

Member States have already, since five years, an obligation under EU law to conclude solidarity agreements with their neighbours in the region where they are located. However, if you look at what has been concluded so far, of 40 possible solidarity agreements, only six have been concluded. So this is simply not enough in times of a crisis like this one. And this is why we will put in place default rules for Member States.

These rules will be binding as long as Member States do not conclude individual solidarity agreements. Energy solidarity is a fundamental principle of our Treaties, so let's bring that to life. It is very simple.

Honourable Members, these three measures – pooling, saving, sharing – will have a positive impact on the prices. But of course more needs to be done. More needs to be done to address the price spikes and to address the Russian manipulation of the energy market.

Just to give you two figures: compared to September 2021, if we look now at September 2022, Russia has cut 80% of its pipeline gas supplies since then. But Europe has been able to compensate all that. We have diversified towards our trusted partners, like, for example, Norway and the United States.

We have increased the savings, and it is good — we have in September a saving of -15%. We have filled our storages up to 92%. So we did not give in to this blackmail. We made it. And I think we can be proud of that.

We resisted – that's important. But we also see that resisting the Russian energy coercion comes at a price. European families have seen their gas bills skyrocketing. And our companies are struggling to keep up competitiveness. It is not about the competitive in the single market only – that's also important – but it is also about the competitiveness globally that our companies are fighting for.

You might recall that in March we proposed to the Council the option to cap gas prices. At that time, this did not gain any traction. But today we're coming back to this. So what is the model?

The current benchmark determining gas prices is TTF. TTF is only focused on pipeline gas. What we see now is that the market has really changed from a pipeline gas market to an LNG market, so we need a new specific price benchmark for LNG. The Commission will now develop this complementary benchmark together with the European regulator, but this takes time. So in the meantime, as a stopgap measure, we will limit prices at TTF. We call this the market correction mechanism.

Yesterday, we proposed guiding principles as a first step, and on this basis, we will prepare the operational mechanism in a second step. This is concerning the price cap at wholesale level.

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But gas also drives electricity prices up, and here the Iberian model comes into play. It really merits to be considered at EU level. There are still questions to be answered, but I want to leave no stone unturned. So let's face that, let's look at that and let's work at that.

Honourable Members, we live in times of high economic uncertainty. And I am, as I said, concerned about the competitiveness of our economy, not only where the single market is concerned, but also where the global competitiveness of our economy is concerned. So all our actions have to take this into account. All our actions have to take the competitiveness of our SMEs and our industry into account. And this includes that we will introduce a standard competitiveness-check in our regulation. I think it is time to do that.

In addition, we have to speed up investments all over Europe. And if I speak about investment, it is infrastructure, it is energy efficiency and it is renewables. And this brings me to REPowerEU.

When we proposed REPowerEU in March, keep in mind the situation was as such: there was a huge dependency on Russian gas. At that time, we anticipated that it would take several years to replace the Russian gas. Fact is, today it took us eight months only to replace two thirds. In other words, we have massively accelerated the diversification to other suppliers of gas from abroad. But this comes at a high price.

So the actual solution to maintain our competitiveness is to invest into home-grown sources of energy, especially renewables. And that has to happen in all of Europe. However, only Member States with sufficient fiscal space can undertake these critical investments. So this will inevitably unlevel the playing field of our single market.

Therefore, we do not only need REPowerEU now, so we have to accelerate it, but we have to boost it. We have to increase its firepower and we will come with a proposal on that because it will give every Member State the same opportunity to prepare for the future. This is not only about energy. This is about our global competitiveness and it is about our sovereignty. Long live Europe.

**Manfred Weber**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, President von der Leyen, Mr Bek, on Monday morning, Russia attacked Kyiv again with nearly 30 drones, killing innocents, including a pregnant woman. This happened only days after Putin said there would be no more massive strikes on Ukraine.

Not a day goes by without terrible news and lies from Putin and his regime. Having all victims in mind, we are not getting tired in saying Putin is a war criminal, Putin must lose, and Europe will never stop supporting Ukraine. Never. This message unites us. We know how to answer the military war against Ukraine and the Ukraine soldiers are the real heroes of today.

We have an answer to the military challenge, but let's be honest, we don't have currently a common understanding how to answer the energy war against the European Union. This week's European Council cannot anymore escape. We had a lost summer, a Prague summit without conclusions, a lot of talks. Now we need solutions and the list of challenges is obviously long. Our Commission President presented them.

We have wasted already enough time. And after a summer of missed opportunities, we need now a winter of solutions, a winter of actions, and we need, first of all, a winter of solidarity. And we, the EPP, we are asking for an ambitious approach.

Energy was one of the founding elements of the European Union. Just think about the European Coal and Steel Community and the European Atomic Energy Community. For our founding fathers, De Gasperi, Schuman and Adenauer, it was crystal clear: Europe needs energy and only together we can make it. Is it easy? Was it easy for Adenauer and De Gasperi to combine the coal industry? Not at all. It was historic what they did.

And today we are occupied by the details of the electricity market architecture. The French President tells us a gas connection to Spain is not necessary. And the German Chancellor today is totally happy that he prolonged the work of one nuclear power plant for another three months. Wow. Great result of the energy planning there.

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We risk to fail in the eyes of history, dear friends. Europe has much energy, if we create a real energy union, and that's why my group is supporting the proposals from the European Commission. And I want to ask the European socialists and greens to help us, especially in Berlin. Remember the last big crisis? It was about COVID. Chancellor Merkel, EPP, made the proposal of a recovery plan together with other friends. She made the proposal together with the Commission to make a European procurement on vaccines. She did it the European way.

And now, today, Chancellor Scholz and the German Government are spending EUR 200 billion without even asking and consulting the European Commission and the neighbours about the impact of this. Is this the European way? I would call it a national ego trip, if I see the results of this. Where is the European spirit of the Social Democrats and the Greens in Germany? We need a European answer. That is what we need. Europe needs more the Merkel approach and less the Scholz approach, if I may say it as an EPP speaker, more EPP and less socialists.

And, dear colleagues, let me also mention another undiscussed crisis in front of us. Europe again is challenged by migration. The Balkan route is open again. Until September 2022, Frontex averted more than 200 000 illegal entries in the territory of the European Union, half of them on the Western Balkan route. This is the highest figure since 2016 and we all know what happened in 2015 and 16. We must strengthen Frontex. Their officers on the ground must know that we count on them, we support them.

And we have to deliver on the legislative files. The Czech Presidency – imagine for a second – the Czech Presidency, after years of waiting for the Council, is now ready to start the trilogue. Council is ready for the trilogue on Eurodac, on other files on the legislative train, and we as Parliament are not capable to deliver for the moment, due to, I must say, the ideological behaviour of some parts of this House, that we are not ready to even agree on very technical files like Eurodac. So, dear friends, if you want to stop populism, then we have to give a legislative answer on migration and it is now the time to do so.

And finally, a third point. Sometimes the European level is, I have to say this, too far away from our citizens. When we speak with SMEs currently, when we speak with our farmers, they have really a lot of pressure. Our farmers should produce food, should deliver food even on a global level. Next year we will have even more problems. After the energy crisis, we will arrive at a food crisis and the Commission, under the lead of Frans Timmermans, is now presenting new legislation, for example, on pesticides. And the impact assessment tells us that this will lead to 20% less food production in Europe. That is what the impact assessment tells us, which means that we have to import more food from Africa, from South America, at the cost of the most vulnerable.

Shall we remind everyone that we are in wartime? Since 24 February, something happens. Some Commissioners behaving as nothing has happened. The machinery is simply continuing their work. And as EPP, we are asking really urgently for a legislative emergency brake for additional burdens for our farmers and for our SMEs.

Madam President, it is good that you postponed, for example, in the Commission work programme, the idea of a REACH revision. That is a good thing. We asked for this and now it is part of the Commission work programme. But we as EPP, we think that is not enough. The Commission must understand that we are risking to lose our industry. We are in front of a recession and that's why it's great that you expressed today that we have to care about competitiveness, we have to create jobs again in the European Union.

Commission must act now. We must together act now. So let's go to Brussels today and tomorrow and let's deliver binding energy solidarity, real energy market in Europe, and a moratorium for additional burden.

**Iratxe García Pérez**, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señora presidenta, esta semana nos hemos vuelto a despertar horrorizados tras la incesante tormenta de misiles rusos que golpearon varias ciudades en Ucrania: civiles inocentes asesinados en el centro de Kiev, misiles impactando en zonas infantiles, terror y sufrimiento. Ese es el verdadero rostro de la crueldad y el ensañamiento de Putin. Esta es su nueva estrategia de terror a la que no debemos acostumbrarnos.

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Estimados colegas, esta semana el Consejo Europeo deberá abordar muchas de las consecuencias y retos de esta guerra, que es también una ofensiva contra Europa. Una ofensiva chantajista que busca dividir a la ciudadanía, que quiere exasperarnos, amenazar a nuestra industria y sembrar el descontento social.

La Unión Europea necesita una respuesta contundente, con medidas sociales reforzadas y un nuevo instrumento que proteja a los sectores más vulnerables, que les ayude a afrontar la alta inflación y el aumento del coste de la vida. Por eso es necesario, además, que la Unión implemente un mecanismo de solidaridad para redistribuir los exorbitantes e injustos beneficios de las compañías energéticas y atajar esa inaceptable situación de especulación. Pero esto no será suficiente si no abordamos los precios energéticos o el aprovisionamiento de energía, porque para ganar esta guerra tenemos que progresar en la autonomía energética.

Las medidas que ayer presentó la Comisión son positivas, pero poco ambiciosas. En primer lugar, hay que actuar rápidamente para desacoplar el precio del gas de la electricidad. La propia presidenta von der Leyen ha hablado de la excepción ibérica, que puede ser extendida al conjunto de la Unión, pero debemos hacerlo de forma inmediata.

En segundo lugar, hay que avanzar con determinación en topar los precios del gas importado. La propuesta presentada es insuficiente en el tiempo, tres meses, e imprecisa en sus criterios.

En tercer lugar, hay que establecer un mecanismo conjunto para la compra de energía más económica y el Parlamento Europeo ha de estar en esa negociación. No cabe la interpretación restrictiva del artículo 122, colegas. Es inaceptable. El Parlamento tiene que estar en las negociaciones y pedimos a la Comisión que rectifique. Si lo hicimos con las vacunas de la COVID-19, ¿por qué no vamos a hacerlo ahora? Claro que podemos.

Miren, esta semana los líderes de Europa no van a tener otra opción que acordar cómo salir adelante. No podemos hacer un copia y pega de los consejos de marzo y de junio. Necesitamos poner en marcha medidas contundentes y con un calendario inmediato.

Por último, esta será la última reunión en la que Italia estará representada por Mario Draghi. Las razones las conocemos, sobre todo las conoce el Partido Popular Europeo. El señor Weber y el señor Berlusconi repiten que Forza Italia será la garantía de un gobierno proeuropeo, atlantista y que defienda los valores de la Unión. Déjenme que lo cuestione. Forza Italia ha pasado de ser el pilar de la centroderecha en Italia a la muleta del posfascismo.

Y déjenme que lo cuestione a tenor de las nuevas mayorías. Señor Weber, la presidencia del Senado la ostenta Ignazio Benito La Russa, un nostálgico del «ventennio fascista». Él es ahora la segunda autoridad del Estado. La presidencia de la Cámara de Diputados la ostenta el antiabortista pro Putin, Lorenzo Fontana, euroescéptico, homófobo y bien conocido en esta Cámara. Él es ahora la tercera autoridad del Estado.

Habla de la nostalgia de los tiempos de Merkel, Señor Weber. En los tiempos de Merkel no había alianzas con la extrema derecha. Déjenme que cuestione lo que el Partido Popular dice que va a garantizar. El gran desafío de este momento es la unidad en Europa. Señor Weber, vuelvo a tenderle la mano. Vuelva al camino que construimos las fuerzas políticas proeuropeas.

**Stéphane Séjourné, au nom du groupe Renew.** – Madame la Présidente, Madame la Présidente de la Commission, Monsieur le Ministre, nous serons forts à l'extérieur de nos frontières si nous sommes solides à l'intérieur de nos frontières. Le Conseil doit montrer la même détermination sur les sujets intérieurs qu'il met dans la mue géopolitique de l'Union européenne. Notre énergie doit être totale pour mettre en place des politiques pour assurer la prospérité, pour que les factures baissent, pour que nos petites entreprises survivent.



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Solidarité et unité doivent être, pour mon groupe, le maître-mot et la base de ce sommet européen. Serons-nous à la hauteur de ces deux dernières années ou allons-nous reproduire les hésitations et les querelles des années 2010 face à la crise des dettes souveraines et à la crise migratoire? Je ne veux pas polémiquer non plus avec M. Weber, mais dans ces années 2010, c'est le PPE qui était aux commandes, et l'Union européenne n'a pas brillé par la réponse qu'elle a pu apporter, elle n'a pas agi vite et fort dans les dernières crises. Donc plus de PPE, Monsieur Weber, je ne pense pas que ce soit souhaitable aujourd'hui, au vu des dernières crises que nous avons connues dans les années 2010.

Alors agissons-nous vite et fort, justement, ou trop peu et trop tard? Si nous agissons vite et fort, nous répondrons à l'angoisse d'un déclassé généralisé par l'emploi et la hausse du pouvoir d'achat. Si nous agissons vite et fort, nous répondrons par la hausse du pouvoir d'achat, et je pense que nos populations soutiendront de plus en plus nos efforts pour l'Ukraine. Malgré les différends, voire les divisions que nous avons quelquefois au Conseil sur certains sujets, nous savons aussi que les Vingt-sept peuvent être efficaces. Ce qui a été possible sur la taxe sur les superprofits, par exemple, doit être possible sur la crise énergétique et les réponses qui y sont apportées.

Ce Parlement, Madame la Présidente, vous le savez, comme à son habitude, a été assez clair sur les points qui pouvaient faire l'objet d'un consensus européen lors de ses dernières résolutions. Il y a une majorité pour un bouclier tarifaire européen, tel que Renew l'a proposé il y a maintenant quelques mois. Nous avons d'ailleurs identifié un certain nombre de solutions à la fois structurelles et conjoncturelles.

Les solutions conjoncturelles, nous les connaissons: le plafonnement du prix du gaz; un nouveau fonds de solidarité jusqu'à la fin de l'hiver 2024. Ce nouveau fonds de solidarité doit permettre d'aider les États qui sont incapables aujourd'hui de faire baisser les factures; des achats conjoints d'énergie – merci d'ailleurs pour vos propos à cette tribune. On l'a vu, cela a marché avec les vaccins, cela doit marcher avec le fonds, qui doit nous permettre, justement, l'achat de gaz en commun. Et j'espère, Madame la Présidente, que dans les prochaines semaines, vous serez en route pour Oslo pour négocier, au nom des Vingt-sept, avec nos amis Norvégiens. Voilà, d'un point de vue conjoncturel, comment nous devons faire baisser les prix, comment nous devons aider nos concitoyens et nos entreprises à payer leurs factures.

D'autre part, nous avons également des solutions structurelles: le découplage des prix de l'électricité et du gaz. C'est une aberration aujourd'hui que les prix de l'électricité décarbonée qu'on produit en Europe dépendent du prix du gaz fossile, qu'on importe via des pays extérieurs. S'il y a une majorité dans cet hémicycle, en tout cas, il y a probablement un chemin au Conseil. Nos demandes sont celles de nos entreprises, des économistes, de la société civile.

Mon groupe défend également un véritable plan européen d'investissement, en particulier dans les infrastructures électriques. Nous avons proposé un fonds de souveraineté. Il doit nous permettre de gagner notre indépendance, que ce soit sur le plan alimentaire, industriel ou énergétique. Je mets en garde toutefois: vingt-sept politiques nationales d'investissement, c'est bien, mais une politique européenne d'investissement ambitieuse, c'est mieux. Et ceux qui investissent massivement au niveau national et qui, en même temps, s'opposent à l'investissement européen mettent en danger la réponse européenne que nous devons mener.

Cela demandera naturellement – et vous le savez – que le cadre financier pluriannuel, notre budget européen, soit adapté et réadapté aux objectifs partagés de souveraineté et d'autonomie stratégique. En tout cas, Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Ministre, répondre aux aspirations populaires, voire les dépasser en période de crise, nous savons que l'Europe sait faire, nous savons que l'Europe peut faire. Alors le maître-mot pour mon groupe est très clair: maintenant, c'est aux Vingt-sept de faire.

**Terry Reintke**, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, Madam Commission President, Mr Minister, dear colleagues, I was born in 1987, two years before the fall of the Berlin Wall. My childhood and my youth were marked by an expansion of freedoms. Walls and borders fell, in 2004 we celebrated the eastern enlargement of the European Union. And over the last three decades, we strengthened the rights and freedoms of hundreds of millions of citizens through EU law.

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I grew up with a sense of self-evidence that everybody can clearly see that democracy obviously is the best form of government, that through education, public discourse and finding compromise, we will build stronger, more resilient and more equal democratic societies, and that this would work almost automatically. And I must admit, this sense of self-evidence is gone.

Latest, on 24 February this year: everyone could clearly see there is a brutal, a violent and a powerful authoritarian backlash ongoing, a backlash against democracy, against freedom and against equality. Now you could argue we have to stand with Ukraine in this brutal aggression for the sake of the brave Ukrainian people, and we certainly do.

But it goes far beyond this. We have to stand with Ukraine also for our own sake, for our own freedom and our own democracy, because we have seen in the past weeks and months, light as day, that our democracies are not untouchable.

And Vladimir Putin very well knows this, this is why he's funding the far-right. This is why he is using energy as a weapon against us. And this is why he's using every single opportunity to try to divide us.

And it is true that his initial strategy of dividing Europe, the West and all democratic countries who believe in a rules-based world order did not succeed. We reacted unitedly. We provided military aid to Ukraine. We adopted sanctions. We, finally, took very much needed measures to end our toxic dependence on Russian energy imports.

But, colleagues, politics is not a sprint; politics is a marathon. And we all know Putin's game plan right now: doing whatever it takes to spread fear to destabilise our democracies in Ukraine with state terrorism, drone and missile strikes on cities and in the rest of Europe by trying to fuel the fear of energy shortages and an explosion of prices.

And as it looks also for this, he is using whatever means necessary, whatever means necessary to create social hardships and divisions in our societies. And, Madam Commission President, a dynamic price cap on gas will not be enough to counter these injustices. We will need a bold and determined Commission also on tax and social issues, not to let the most vulnerable in our societies pay the price for this.

But he will also use whatever means necessary, threatening a global famine which will have to be prevented. But if you believe that food sovereignty can be achieved by agro-industries dependent on energy-intensive fertilisers or a global food system where massive amounts of crops are simply wasted in intensive livestock farming, you are wrong. We have to build a truly ecological, sustainable agricultural system that is also part of our commitment to the Paris goals.

And for all of this, and I'm very happy that we seem to have large unity, we will need a new common effort as Europeans. Just as with Next Generation EU, we will need to invest together a European solidarity fund with common balance to invest in through the renovation wave and the expansion of renewables, to counter Putin's escalation strategy, to become less dependent on autocratic regimes for our energy supply.

And I'm not only talking about Russia here, because also Azerbaijan is not a democracy, to fund the necessary measures to tackle climate change and to protect our citizens from economic and social hits because social equality is essential for democracy.

Colleagues, my nephew was born in 2021, I want us to fight for a Europe in which his childhood and his youth will again be marked by an expansion of freedom, by more rights and a strengthening of democracy. I'm standing in front of you today as the newly elected Co-Chair of the Greens/EFA Group here in the Parliament but I want to appeal to all democrats in this House. The next months are not going to be easy, we will all have to make difficult choices.

But let us work together as pro-European democrats and not be taken hostage or collaborate with the far-right. And especially to you, Mr Weber, because at the end of the day, what this is going to mean is that Vladimir Putin will win. He will win the division and weakness of a far-right in Europe instead of the stability and the strength of pro-European democracy.

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So let us work together, stand up to Vladimir Putin and draw a strong European Union for strong democracy.

**Marco Zanni**, a nome del gruppo ID. – Signora Presidente, signora Presidente von der Leyen, signor rappresentante del Consiglio, onorevoli colleghi, lasciatemi prima fare una riflessione.

Sentendo parlare alcuni dei colleghi prima, mi stavo domandando cosa possa pensare sull'unità europea chi oggi ha visto l'inizio di questo dibattito. Ne parliamo tanto, ma poi siamo i primi che, per motivi futili e ingiustificati, danno un'immagine di un'Europa divisa. Pensateci quando fate certi attacchi e abbiate più rispetto, voi che vi erigete a paladini della democrazia, per chi ha un'idea diversa, per chi democraticamente ha scelto un governo. Gli italiani sono benissimo in grado di scegliere per se stessi, smettetela. Se fossi nella leadership socialista, piuttosto, mi preoccuperei del fatto che il primo leader che andrà a rendere omaggio al dittatore cinese sarà proprio un leader socialista, il cancelliere tedesco Scholz. Quindi, riflettete su questo prima di dare lezioni di democraticità agli altri.

Per quanto riguarda il prossimo Consiglio e il pacchetto che la Commissione europea ha annunciato, prima di analizzare questo, lasciatemi però un momento per ricordare, per fare una preghiera per i cittadini ucraini che, di nuovo, di fronte a un attacco criminale, a un attacco ingiustificato, sono periti. Dobbiamo continuare a garantire il nostro sostegno per far sì che questa guerra finisca il prima possibile e finisca con un'Ucraina vincente.

Sul pacchetto, è ancora un pacchetto ovviamente *in fieri*, aspettiamo poi che gli Stati membri diano il loro semaforo verde, però mi permetta, Presidente von der Leyen, che questo pacchetto non è neanche lontanamente sufficiente e cerco di spiegarle i motivi per cui non lo consideriamo sufficiente.

Il primo motivo è che ci pare addirittura di aver fatto qualche passo indietro rispetto a quello che Lei due settimane fa era venuta qui in Aula ad annunciarci. È un pacchetto che, è vero, contiene una proposta sul *price cap* – l'ha ricordato Lei, ne parliamo da marzo e oggi finalmente c'è qualcosa sul tavolo – ma è un *price cap* che, per come è stato strutturato, difficilmente verrà messo in atto, ammesso che ci sia poi consenso nel Consiglio e tra gli Stati membri per portarlo avanti.

La solidarietà, che è un elemento molto importante, sarà un elemento molto importante non solo per affrontare l'inverno, ma per affrontare il prossimo anno che sarà forse ancora più difficile. È una solidarietà anche negli acquisti, che è importante, ma va giustamente a tutelare i piccoli Stati che, da soli, in un mercato competitivo, non ce la potrebbero fare, ma poco potrà fare per mettere in sicurezza gli acquisti, in un mercato che nel 2023 sarà ancora più competitivo e la competizione non sarà solo al nostro interno, ma sarà soprattutto con i *buyer* asiatici. E poi, la tutela della competitività delle nostre imprese, questo è un tema enorme, un tema che riguarda anche la politica industriale.

E poi, chiudo con due punti. Il primo: la parte rilevante di questo pacchetto sono il riutilizzo dei fondi di coesione 2014-2020. Sono 40 miliardi, quindi poco rispetto alla dimensione del problema, però sono la parte più rilevante. Credo che un ragionamento anche sul bilancio 2021-2027 la Commissione lo debba fare. Oggi c'è un'emergenza. È vero che il bilancio europeo è strutturato in maniera diversa, ma di fronte all'emergenza anche con il bilancio 2021-2027 dobbiamo dare una risposta.

E poi, chiudo con un punto: quello che davvero possiamo fare e l'Unione europea può fare è sedersi con i partner, con gli alleati della NATO, che oggi stanno guadagnando sulla pelle degli europei, e parlare chiaramente. Stati Uniti, Canada, Norvegia oggi stanno guadagnando sei/sette volte tanto i prezzi normali sul gas che ci mandano. Credo che se l'Unione europea vuole fare qualcosa di concreto, si debba sedere e parlare chiaro con tutti i partner, dobbiamo fare un accordo per bloccare il prezzo del gas che ci mandate, altrimenti l'Unione europea non sarà più in grado di garantire lo stesso sostegno all'Ucraina che abbiamo garantito fino adesso.

**Beata Szydło**, w imieniu grupy ECR. – Pani Przewodnicząca! Szanowna Pani Komisarz! Pani Przewodnicząca Komisji! Szanowni Państwo! Pani przewodnicząca von der Leyen mówiła przed momentem o solidarności i o jedności, której potrzebujemy w tej chwili, aby przetrwać ten wielki kryzys, przed którym stoimy wszyscy i o którym rozmawiamy już tak bardzo długo.

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Tygodnie, miesiące mijają, a my ciągle jesteśmy w tym samym miejscu. Ciągłe są plany i ciągle słyszymy słowa właśnie o solidarności i jedności. Potrzebujemy solidarności i jedności, ale, Szanowni Państwo, pytanie jest takie: na czym ona ma polegać? Czy będzie solidarność i jedność w Europie, w Unii Europejskiej, jeżeli będą podważane demokratyczne wybory i decyzje, które obywatele podejmują w swoich państwach europejskich? Zarówno decyzje wyborcze, jak i potem decyzje demokratycznie wybranych rządów? Podważane tylko dlatego, że nie podobają się większości, która tutaj siedzi dzisiaj, mówi o potrzebie zmiany polityk, energetycznej polityki między innymi, uchronieniu obywateli Europy przed kryzysem.

I bardzo często i lewa, i środkowa strona tej sali zapomina, że ta polityka i to życie w tej chwili w Europie wygląda między innymi dlatego tak, że takie, a nie inne decyzje zapadały tutaj, na tej sali. Po raz kolejny trzeba przypomnieć Nord Stream 2, chociażby ten projekt. Trzeba często podejmować ważne, odważne decyzje i umieć sprzeciwić się większości, kiedy to jest potrzebne i kiedy to ma służyć obywatelom Europy. Trzeba czasami umieć powiedzieć weto po to, żeby wzbudzić refleksję wśród większości.

Ja mam nadzieję, że Rada Europejska wreszcie podejmie odważne decyzje na tym najbliższym szczycie, bo tego potrzebują Europejczycy. Tego potrzebujemy my wszyscy, żeby przetrwać, żeby pokonać Putina i rozwiązać wreszcie ten kryzys. Europejczycy potrzebują dzisiaj wsparcia. Nie można prowadzić polityki klimatycznej kosztem jakiegokolwiek grupy społecznej. Musimy wreszcie racjonalnie zacząć podchodzić do spraw klimatycznych i energetycznych.

Jest jedna rzecz, którą możemy zrobić bardzo szybko, i to pomoże całej Europie. Trzeba wreszcie zawiesić patologiczny system ETS. O tym mówi między innymi polski rząd i myślę, że na tyle odwagi wreszcie wystarczy przywódcom europejskim na najbliższym szczycie.

**Martin Schirdewan**, *im Namen der Fraktion The Left*. – Frau Präsidentin! Die Probleme, über die wir hier reden, sind ja seit vielen Monaten die gleichen. Die Menschen ächzen unter den explodierenden Energie- und Nahrungsmittelpreisen. Doch anstatt schnelle Abhilfe zu schaffen, streiten sich fatalerweise die Regierungschefs im Rat seit Monaten, und auch die Kommission glänzte bislang eher durch zögerliches Handeln und unzureichende Vorschläge.

Das ist vor allem fatal für diejenigen Menschen, die nicht wissen, wie sie ihre Rechnungen bezahlen sollen. Das ist fatal für kleine und mittelständische Unternehmen, die unter den hohen Kosten leiden und nicht wissen, wie sie ihre Produktion aufrechterhalten sollen, und denen die Insolvenz droht. Das ist auch fatal für das Handwerk, für die Bäckerei, für die Tischlerin im Kiez, weil die Preise für Getreide und Holz sich in den letzten Monaten vervielfacht haben, und die Leute wissen einfach nicht mehr, wie sie ihre Betriebe durch die Krise bringen sollen. Die Regierungschefs müssen jetzt endlich in die Pötte kommen und den Mut finden, das Energiemarktversagen mit beherzter Politik in den Griff zu kriegen.

Ja, Frau von der Leyen, 15 Prozent gemeinsamer Gaseinkauf, das – finde ich – ist ein Schritt in die richtige Richtung. Aber die Frage ist dann doch ernsthaft: Warum denn nicht 100 Prozent? Warum denn nicht einen gemeinsamen Einkauf, der die Speicher wirklich füllt? Warum kein europäischer Gaspreisdeckel, der private Haushalte, das Handwerk und die kleinen und mittelständischen Unternehmen mit einem günstigen Grundkontingent versorgt und schützt?

Für eine gerechte Verteilung der Krisenlasten müssen endlich die Übergewinne der Konzerne und die Vermögen der Superreichen herangezogen werden. Geschätzter Herr Kollege Weber, die fünf reichsten Familien in Deutschland verfügen über das gleiche Vermögen wie die untere Hälfte der Bevölkerung. Es herrscht eine Ungleichheit wie zu Kaiser Wilhelms Zeiten. Das sind doch eindeutig Symptome einer an dieser Stelle kranken Gesellschaft. Nein, wir brauchen nicht weniger, wir brauchen mehr Sozialismus, und wir brauchen definitiv weniger Marktideologie. Um die Gesellschaft wieder zu heilen, müssen wir jetzt umsteuern in Richtung soziale Gerechtigkeit und Klimaschutz. Tun wir das nicht, werden am Ende autoritäre Kräfte Europa in einen neuen Faschismus stürzen.

Europäische Solidarität ist dagegen der Schlüssel. Wir brauchen jetzt einen europäischen Kraftakt, der alle angeschlagenen Staaten durch die Krise bringt. Wir brauchen die gezielte Unterstützung von Industrie, von kleinen und mittelständischen Unternehmen und von Handwerksbetrieben. Wir brauchen auch die Neuaufgabe des Kurzarbeitsprogramms SURE, um Arbeitsplätze in der Energiekrise dauerhaft zu sichern. Wir brauchen jetzt Investitionen in die Zukunft, um das Klima zu schützen und unsere Gesellschaft schnellstens aus der Abhängigkeit von fossilen Energieträgern zu befreien. Das ist auch eine der Maßnahmen im Übrigen, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, um Putins fürchterlichem Angriffskrieg die Luft ausgehen zu lassen und ihn an den Verhandlungstisch zu zwingen, nämlich um ihm klar zu machen, dass es auf die Erpressung am Gashahn eine klare, eine starke politische Antwort gibt, die heißt: Wir brauchen dein Gas nicht, weil wir in die Zukunft und in das Klima investieren.

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Wir fordern ein unverzügliches Ende des russischen Angriffskriegs und den Abzug der russischen Truppen aus der Ukraine. Wir müssen raus aus der Eskalationsspirale. Die Vereinten Nationen müssen in die Lage versetzt werden, einen dauerhaften Frieden zu vermitteln. Die europäische Außenpolitik scheidet in dieser Frage leider als Vermittler aus, weil in Brüssel immer nur an neuen Sanktionspaketen und Waffenlieferungen gearbeitet wird, aber nie an einem Friedensplan. Frau von der Leyen, Sie sind aber nicht mehr die deutsche Verteidigungsministerin, Sie sind die Präsidentin der Europäischen Kommission. Bitte konzentrieren Sie sich wieder auf Diplomatie, um diesen Kontinent in eine sichere Zukunft zu führen.

**Viktor Uspaskich (NI).** – Gerbiama pirmininke, Komisijos pirmininke, kolegos, Europa išgyvena precedento neturinčią energetikos krizę. Dvidešimt pirmajame amžiuje energetikos svarbą galima prilyginti orui, nes visi žmogaus gyvenimo aspektai yra kontroliuojami energetikos. Todėl nereikia dejuoti, o imtis kuo skubiau reikia priemonių. Todėl iš karto einu prie pasiūlymų. Gerbiamieji, energetikos tiekimas yra lengvai monopolizuojamas. Kai kurių energetikos kompanijų pelnai išauga ne procentais, o kartais. Absurdiškai atrodo ir socialiai neteisinga, kai energetikos kainos, lyginant su dabartiniu laiku, buvo ganėtinai žemos, žalioji energetika buvo subsidijuojama mokesčių mokėtojų pinigais, o dabar tie patys mokesčių mokėtojai turi jiems krauti pelnus, mokant dvigubai ar net trigubai daugiau už savikainą. Taip pat, mes turime kalbėti apie realų solidarumą tarp Europos Sąjungos šalių ir net Amerikos. Tai yra energijos šaltinių, tokių kaip anglies, dujų, naftos ir jos produktų išgavimo savikaina nepabrango. Saulės spinduliai ar vėjas nepabrango, todėl neturi būti pardavinėjami kelis kartus brangiau. Raginu Europos Komisiją ir Tarybą sukurti reglamentą, pagal kurį su energetika susijusių kompanijų veikla būtų griežtai reglamentuojama ir jų pelnai nebūtų viršyti 15 ar 20 procentų. Taip pat turi būti peržiūrėtos liberalizavimo sąlygos, nes akivaizdu kuriose afilijuotose kompanijose vykdomi flučeriniai užpirkimai ir po to nepagrįstai keliamos kainos.

**Esther de Lange (PPE).** – Voorzitter, Poetins oorlog speelt zich af op verschillende fronten. De meest onmenselijke natuurlijk in Oekraïne zelf, maar ook in onze nationale parlementen, waar zijn *useful idiots* – die paar, dat handjevol parlementariërs – het gif van Poetin spuiten. Daarnaast op onze energiemarkt, waar gas wordt ingezet als een wapen. Op het moment dat de markt niet meer functioneert, moet de overheid ingrijpen. De EU – met name de Commissie – heeft hiertoe al meerdere instrumenten op tafel gelegd, zoals het afroemen van de overwinsten van energiebedrijven. Daaruit wordt in Nederland de steun aan het energie-intensieve mkb, zoals de bakkers, betaald.

Nu ligt er een nieuw pakket voor, gericht op het gezamenlijk inkopen van gas, het aanpakken van prijspieken en het organiseren van onderlinge solidariteit in noodgevallen. Bij dat laatste mis ik nog één element. Bij solidariteit hoort ook verantwoordelijkheid. Verantwoordelijkheid om al het mogelijke te doen om je eigen energieproductie op peil te houden. In dat kader is het Duitse besluit om de drie kerncentrales iets langer open te houden natuurlijk te verwelkomen. Maar dit zal te kort zijn, want in april 2023 zitten wij net in de misschien nog wel moeilijkere fase waarin de gasvoorraden voor 2023/2024 moeten worden gevuld. We weten dat dat misschien nog wel moeilijker zal zijn dan de huidige opdracht.

Daarom zeg ik dus: hou die eigen energieopwekking nog maar wat langer open en zorg ervoor dat je je verantwoordelijkheid neemt voordat je solidariteit van anderen eist.

**Heléne Fritzon (S&D).** – Fru talman! Kommissionen, rådet! Demokrati, fred och frihet – det är tre självklara värden för vårt EU. Sedan Ryssland inledde sitt brutala krig mot Ukraina, har vår uppgift att försvara dessa värden blivit viktigare än någonsin.

Vi befinner oss i det allvarligaste säkerhetsläget på mycket, mycket lång tid, och det krävs att vi fortsätter med kraftfulla sanktioner mot Rysslands oacceptabla agerande och att vi fullt ut stöder Ukraina i både ord och handling. Samtidigt som vi också måste hantera den pågående energikrisen, måste vi klara av att tänka långsiktigt.

Demokrati, fred och säkerhet, liksom jämlikhet, jämställdhet och en hållbar utveckling för kommande generationer – det är mål och värden som håller oss samman och som EU aldrig, aldrig någonsin får tumma på, varken i akuta kriser eller i vårt långsiktiga arbete för framtiden.

**Nicola Beer (Renew).** – Frau Präsidentin, werte Kollegen! Putin eskaliert die Gewalt. Wir sind täglich Zeugen eines perfiden Drohnenkriegs, gegen Frauen, Kinder, Alte – kurz: gegen das Leben. Das macht uns noch entschlossener in der Unterstützung der Ukraine. Genauso entschlossen müssen wir sein bei unserer eigenen Widerstandsfähigkeit und beim Schutz unserer Bevölkerung. Der gemeinsame Einkauf von Gas – naheliegend, um Preise zu drücken, zu lange diskutiert – muss endlich umgesetzt werden. Er ist ein wichtiger Baustein europäischer Stärke.

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Nur: 15 % sind viel zu wenig, das wäre allenfalls eine energiepolitische Gymnastikübung, dafür ist keine Zeit. Wir brauchen sofort einen schlagkräftigen Einkauf, weit über 50 %. Damit wir Putin an die Wand spielen, heißt es: nicht kleckern, sondern klotzen. Klotzen heißt aber nicht, Preise künstlich selbst zu setzen. Dann wird das Gas schlicht woanders als in Europa verkauft. Diesen Vorschlag dürfen die Staats- und Regierungschefs morgen getrost ignorieren – er schadet, statt zu helfen. Echte Entlastung schaffen wir, wenn wir den Markt erhalten, ohne den Druck an Menschen und Unternehmen weiterzugeben. Also, Nein zu einem Brüsseler Gaspreisdeckel und Ja zu einer befristeten Gaspreisbremse.

**Jordi Solé (Verts/ALE).** – Madam President, for a growing number of Europeans, making ends meet is becoming a real headache. It is no longer simply paying skyrocketing energy bills, it is also dealing with a shopping cart, with climbing food prices and facing mortgage repayments as rates soar.

Putin now has to use energy as a weapon against our economy, and we should have been prepared for that. But we weren't, we chose to be shackled to Putin's gas and at the next European Council you will again have to discuss how to deal with the ongoing energy crisis.

But beyond discussions, it's time to take decisions. Time passes, social concern grows and winter is approaching. Yes, we will need to reduce demand while ensuring security of supply, but we will also have to take courageous decisions to contain energy prices. Joint purchases won't be enough. We need to both cap gas prices for a longer time and decouple them from electricity prices.

We need to impose windfall taxes on the energy companies, and all this without renegeing on our climate goals, whether for 2030 or 2050. We have to stay true to our commitments: phasing out fossil fuels – not just Russian ones – and speeding up renewables.

And finally, if each Member State does its own thing, if only the states with the greatest fiscal margin can afford to implement powerful social shields, then we will deepen again territorial inequalities.

We need coherent and coordinated action at EU level. We need solidarity and we need the European Commission to take the lead. Yesterday's proposals are welcome, but we will need to show much more determination.

**VORSITZ: KATARINA BARLEY**

*Vizepräsidentin*

**Jaak Madison (ID).** – Madam President, Commissioner, dear colleagues, first of all, I agree, of course, most of you were saying that we have to help Ukraine, Russia has to lose, there's no clue. You're absolutely right.

Also to comment, some socialist friends who are blaming about the elections in Italy, I have to say that they are a free democracy also in Italy and the people can choose whoever they want to, like it or not. And democracy can be like all different ways. They can choose from the right wing, from the left wing, and it can't be controlled, that it is a right democracy only if the socialists are winning.

And also for the good colleague from Germany, I have to remind that, unfortunately, Greens were together in the government in Germany with socialists, and that was your political choice to depend more and more on Russian gas. And that's the result now why we are in the problem. That's your choice. You were together on the 20s, together with the socialists, also with Gerhard Schröder in the government, and now we know that he was a Russian puppet.

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So don't blame our far right here, because, you know, I am also for you far right, but I'm the most anti-Russian guy also, here in this House. I'm conservative, I'm normal conservative, but you're also like the left wing. I don't like the left wing. I like normal conservative values, and I'm very different from you, but about the Russia policy, I am the most anti-Russian guy here, just to answer for you.

But about now the crisis, what we will see in this winter, the problem is that we can't win two wars at the same time – the war against Russia and a war against so-called climate change. Because the plans now from the Commission, what it is like, just to hope for the renewable energy, it means that for the sun and wind, the problem is that it will not work in the short term, probably also not in the long term.

So the problem is that we really need to support the nuclear energy. We really need to support like the normal energy technologies that we have, that we have used, to secure our own companies, our own people in Europe for this winter or for the next winters. That's the only solution for how to save our economy in Europe and how to win Russia.

**Roberts Zīle (ECR).** – Priekšsēdētājas kundze! Ministra kungs! Komisāra kungs! Šis ir laiks, kad Eiropadomei jāpieņem īstermiņa risinājumi ļoti strauji, ar lēmumiem. Un, ja nebūs šie īstermiņa risinājumi, tad nav ļoti liela jēga sagaidīt ilgtermiņa sasniedzamos mērķus un tāpēc tikai kā piemērus divus papildu uzdevumus Eiropadomes dienas kārtībā. Ja ir doma paredzēt stingru atbildi Krievijai, ja viņi lietos ķīmiskos ieročus vai atomieročus Ukrainā, tikpat stingrai atbildei jābūt jau tagad, jo tas, ko Krievija dara, iznīcinot Ukrainas infrastruktūru, faktiski ir iespējams, ar traģiskākām sekām, nekā pat, ja tā lietotu šos nekonvencionālos ieročus. Tāpēc atbildei jābūt ārkārtīgi stingrai jau tagad Padomes līmenī. Un otrs piemērs par speciālo tribunālu Krievijas noziegumiem Ukrainā. Ja tāds nebūs, tad arī pat tad, ja Ukraina atspiedīs Krieviju atpakaļ savās teritorijās, kas ir okupētas, tad tas būs nevis miers, bet iesaldēts karš. Bez šī speciālā tribunāla. Un par energopolitiku Komisija daudz ko ir izstrādājusi, un Padomei ir jāpieņem arī šie lēmumi. Lai varbūt viņi nav pilnīgi, bet, ja tie netiek pieņemti, tad nav jēgas runāt par Eiropas nākotnes konventu vai tamlīdzīgām tēmām, jo tam nav nozīmes, ja nevar pieņemt energopolitikas īstermiņa lēmumus.

**Idoia Villanueva Ruiz (The Left).** – Señora presidenta, tras ocho meses de guerra, los efectos del conflicto se dejan sentir en todo el mundo: subidas desbocadas de los precios de la energía y de los alimentos.

Hoy repetimos que la mejor solución para poner freno a la inflación es la apuesta decidida por la paz y por nuestra soberanía energética y alimentaria. El Consejo debe impulsar lo que es ya consenso: poner un tope a todo el gas, también al importado de Arabia Saudí o Estados Unidos, acabar con los beneficios caídos del cielo, reformar el mercado energético y acelerar el abandono de los combustibles fósiles.

«Esta guerra se ganará en el campo de batalla. Les aniquilaremos». Ayer me preguntaron si las declaraciones de Borrell son a título personal o son en nombre de la Comisión, y no supe qué responder. Díganmelo ustedes. Si son solo en boca del jefe de la diplomacia europea, debería de irse inmediatamente. Y, si son en nombre de toda la Comisión, ¿qué están haciendo? ¿A dónde nos lleva esto? Dejen de jugar a los señores de la guerra. Sean firmes, pero intensifiquen la labor diplomática. Llamen al alto el fuego, impulsen una mesa de negociación que ponga fin a un conflicto que está causando miles de muertes, millones de personas desplazadas y que está agravando el sufrimiento de tantas personas que no van a poder pagar la factura de la luz.

De un lado al otro de Europa, el sufrimiento puede volverse insoportable. ¿A qué están esperando?

**Márton Gyöngyösi (NI).** – Madam President, colleagues, Ms von der Leyen was right to stress the importance of unity and solidarity. But, as she probably realises, there are some saboteurs amongst our ranks that support sanctions in Brussels, but rail against them in their home country, undermining the credibility of our alliance.

While sanctions work and we are right to adopt each package so far, until this war ends EU leaders should explore new ways to limit Russia's ability to wage war, build its weapons arsenal, especially its high-tech military capabilities. This is the only way this war will end.

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Those proposals that target ordinary Russian citizens like a visa ban, are misguided and counterproductive. But sanctions that limit Russia's access to military technology will bring us closer to ending this war. In this respect, the EU should consider sanctioning each and every country that acquires Russian military technology or cooperates on military technology with Russian companies.

It's time to make it clear for Iran, China and India that their involvement in helping Russia circumvent Western sanctions is a red line.

**Siegfried Mureşan (PPE).** – Madam President, Commissioner, Minister, dear colleagues, it is clear that the people of Europe are expecting from us solutions to the problems that they are facing – energy insecurity, inflation, high prices. And the first thing that I would like to say is: timing is of the essence. Our solutions are only good if we manage to implement them fast.

This is why, Commissioner, we are welcoming the proposals put forward by President von der Leyen in the area of energy. But their fast implementation is of the essence, particularly when it comes to the common purchase and storage of gas. We have been asking for this as a Parliament since September 2021. Please work with the Council to push the Council Minister you as well to implement this fast. This will only help the people if implemented fast. My first point.

My second point. We have to support Ukraine in the short and medium-term, including financially. Europe has to be at the lead of the financial support to Ukraine. It would be a geopolitical damage to the European Union in the long-term if other corners of the world support Ukraine financially more than we do.

We as European Parliament have to be aware of the limited possibilities of the European budget. This is why, Commissioner, please work with the Member States that they also chip in and we should do from the EU budget as much as we can without damaging the other financial priorities of the Union.

**Tonino Picula (S&D).** – Madam President, Mr Commissioner, Russian aggression against Ukraine and its multiple consequences remains our focal point, as it should. The most urgent remains energy prices. Taxation of excessive profits, joint purchase, and reallocation of unused EU funding are valid proposals. We need fast, innovative, and common solutions.

But we should apply the same strategy and decisiveness to our foreign policy. Increased political, economic and military assistance is essential to help Ukraine and to tackle all other crises caused by Russian aggression too. Illegal referenda, annexation, and the latest attacks on civilians require a severe economic and political response with further sanctions.

The last point on the agenda is relations with China following the Communist Party Congress. The framework and definition of our relations with China will directly affect our future as it's the best test of our geopolitical ambitions for a strategically autonomous EU. A strong, resilient, and united Union is always the proper answer.

**Dita Charanzová (Renew).** – Madam President, Commissioner, Minister, my plea today on the energy crisis is very simple. One: speed up, move from words to action. This cannot be yet another summit to agree that we will agree in the future. Countering the volatility of gas prices, joint procurement are good proposals, but we have been debating these measures already for months. But these are still just proposals. We are still stuck in the technicalities.

Two: please ensure a fair level playing field for all European companies in the internal market. The German gas industry is affected by this crisis in the same way as the Czech gas industry is. However, we should not have a German or Czech plan on how to keep these sectors running. What we need is a European plan and we need it now.

**Ville Niinistö (Verts/ALE).** – Madam President, it is now time for self defence of democracy. We as a European Union cannot be side-tracked into inner division. But we must stand and face in solidarity aggression of Russia, both in supporting Ukraine, but also in the effect it has on our economies and our energy security.



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The Greens welcome the possibilities for joint gas purchases proposed by the Commission, but this is only a first necessary step needed to bring the energy prices down. Now it's up to the EU Member States also to unite Europe and jointly work on hastening the exit from dependency on imported fossil fuels and especially gas. We can still do more to reduce gas demand and increase energy savings this winter. This is the most meaningful action we can do to avoid the energy crisis.

Has the Commission counted how much fossil gas contracts and investments are still done in the EU, especially from Russia? We can do more to reduce this demand, and we also need to invest massively in renewables and energy efficiency. Therefore, we really need a large investment programme in delivering the REPowerEU, but, dear Commission, this time it solely needs to be on renewables and not on fossil investments. We cannot derail the green deal by continuing dependence on fossil gas.

Russian aggression and sabotage is not causing disruption only on the energy markets and economy, but also tries to create disorder and instability in our democracies. We have seen within Europe politics of threatening human rights, women's rights and environmental and climate action that would actually weaken our resolve in solving the energy crisis.

These are politics of division, and it's exactly what Putin wants. So progress does not happen automatically. We all must stay alert to protect our democracies. A lot is at stake.

**Harald Vilimsky (ID).** – Frau Präsidentin, meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren! Lassen Sie mich zunächst die Freude darüber zum Ausdruck bringen, dass in Italien ein Mitte-Rechts-Bündnis jetzt in die Zielgerade einer Regierung geht und damit auch unser politischer Freund Matteo Salvini, der als einer der Schutzherrn in Europa für die europäische Identität gilt, hier mit an Bord ist. Genauso freue ich mich, dass im Norden Europas, in Schweden, hier ein Mitte-Rechts-Bündnis nun eine Regierung formiert mit Unterstützung der Schwedendemokraten und auch im Norden Europas Normalität Einzug halten kann, genauso etwa wie in Ungarn jetzt Viktor Orbán.

Ich weiß, Sie hören das alles nicht gerne, aber es ist Realität, bedingt durch Demokratie in Europa. Wie in Ungarn mit einem Viktor Orbán in einer absoluten Mehrheit dort Politik betrieben werden kann, die gerichtet ist gegen viele Fehler, wie sie hier entstehen, und mit einem Erstarken der AfD in Deutschland oder der VOX-Partei in Spanien: Hier geht Europa immer mehr in eine Wenderichtung, und das ist gut so.

Ich frage mich, wieso bei den Sitzungen des Rates, wo hier Ukraine und Russland immer Thema ist, eine andere Thematik hier so unter den Tisch gekehrt wird, und das ist die illegale Migration. Wir haben dieses Jahr über 400 000 Asylanträge hier auf dem Boden der Europäischen Union, 68 % mehr, als es im Vorjahr der Fall war. Seit 2015 über 6 Millionen Menschen, die Asyl beantragt haben, was mehr als die Bevölkerung Irlands darstellt, obwohl wir wissen, dass zwei Drittel davon nicht den Status als Flüchtlinge erhalten werden, auch nicht humanitär oder subsidiär schutzberechtigt sind und trotzdem zu zwei Dritteln hier einfach auf europäischem Boden bleiben. Ich halte das für eine Gefahr. Mit dem Entstehen des europäischen Rechtsbündnisses besteht hier die Chance, die Tore Europas zu schließen und den Menschen vor Ort zu helfen, anstatt Europa immer mehr in Richtung Kollaps zu führen.

**Carlo Fidanza (ECR).** – Signora Presidente, Signor Commissario, signor Ministro, onorevoli colleghi, vorrei innanzitutto rispondere alle dure parole della presidente García Pérez sull'Italia, rassicurando Lei e quest'Aula perché, vedete, il nuovo Presidente del Senato italiano, Ignazio La Russa, ai tempi della Merkel, di cui si è molto parlato, era ministro della Difesa di un partito che esprimeva in quest'Aula 29 deputati di un gruppo che è il gruppo del Partito popolare europeo, e questo non ha causato nessun dubbio e nessuna minaccia per la democrazia europea. Quindi, quando parliamo dell'Italia, cerchiamo di conoscere i fatti, la verità, di rispettare il popolo italiano, la democrazia italiana e adesso anche le istituzioni italiane.

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Ma torniamo a noi. Servono risposte efficaci e non più rinviabili, dobbiamo andare più in fretta per avere meccanismi più efficaci, perché, vedete, non è più tempo di indugiare. Serve un meccanismo concreto di solidarietà, non possiamo accontentarci del fatto che si concedono maggiori margini sugli aiuti di Stato, perché questi non garantiranno il *level playing field* del mercato interno. Non possiamo accontentarci di meccanismi indefiniti e troppo in ritardo perché abbiamo già perso molto tempo. Oggi, in queste ore, i prezzi del gas sono bassi, ma presto torneranno a rialzarsi se noi non attueremo correttivi stabili che possano consentire ai governi nazionali di dare risposte concrete ai cittadini e alle imprese in difficoltà.

Non è più tempo di rinvii, è tempo di azione e di ambizione, visto che spesso si usa in maniera impropria questa parola in quest'Aula.

**Marc Botenga (The Left).** – Voorzitter, in Antwerpen stierven een moeder en dochter door CO-vergiftiging omdat ze met een barbecue in huis verwarmden. Ook in Brussel, hoofdstad van de Europese Unie, werden een moeder en twee kinderen met CO-vergiftiging naar het ziekenhuis afgevoerd omdat ze uit angst voor de hoge prijzen binnenshuis een barbecue gebruikten voor verwarming.

Wat hoor ik dan van de Europese instellingen, van vertegenwoordigers van de Raad, van de Commissie? Dat we de prijzen niet te veel moeten laten dalen, omdat dat mensen anders zou kunnen aanzetten om te veel, om meer te gaan consumeren.

Nee maar! In welke wereld leven jullie? Even serieus, wat is dat? Zijn dat die salarissen van 32 000 EUR waardoor jullie niet meer beseffen wat er in de wereld omgaat? Bakkerijen sluiten, slagerijen sluiten... De mensen zijn wanhopig! We moeten nu de prijzen naar beneden brengen en de multinationals – die voor jullie heilige multinationals– doen betalen. Dat is nu de kwestie!

**Francesca Donato (NI).** – Madam President, *(start of speech off microphone)* meeting the Council will reaffirm the EU military, humanitarian and financial assistance to Ukraine. The Commission could propose a more structural solution by granting Ukraine EUR 1.5 billion per month in 2023.

As for military aid, the EU has so far provided EUR 2.5 billion to Ukraine and the Foreign Affairs Council a few days ago agreed an additional EUR 500 million and a new EU military assistance mission for Ukraine with an envelope of EUR 106 million. How will this new expenditure be justified in front of the European Court of Auditors, which in its last audit report has issued an adverse opinion on EU budget expenditure, and on this precise chapter explicitly recommends the Commission to take appropriate action to reduce outstanding commitments in the long term?

Moreover, after adopting eight packages of sanctions on Russia, the European Council wishes to introduce additional sanctions that, as previous ones did, will just heavily harm EU citizens and assets. At the same time, the only concrete measures so far introduced to contain high energy prices is just rationing to curb demand, which will lead to further downturn in economic dynamics.

We are on the edge of an abyss. Shall we dive into it to understand that it will kill us?

**Frances Fitzgerald (PPE).** – Madam President, Commissioner, I welcome the moves towards a real energy union. The cost of living crisis is more than statistics. You are right, tackling the cost of living and the pressures all too real on businesses and families. Start with tackling the cost of energy.

I welcome yesterday's Commission proposal to further manage the cost of gas and to increase EU joint procurement of energy. We must, however, be ever alert to threats to competitiveness during this period and respond quickly. However, Europe can and must do more to alleviate the suffering of our most vulnerable citizens, right now. We need to urgently consider further integrating our energy grids to maximise energy sovereignty and protect EU citizens.

However, it is vital that any price cap does not lead to reducing energy supplies in Europe or deterring investment. The EU Council must make significant and careful progress in developing a full and effective response when it meets.

We must ensure that EU citizens are protected from the worst consequences of Putin's war and Putin's winter. He is a war criminal.

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**Agnes Jongerius (S&D).** – Voorzitter, het was niets onverwachts, maar teleurgesteld was ik wel in het nieuwe werkprogramma van de Commissie. Sociale wetgeving heeft duidelijk geen prioriteit, terwijl we in de grootste sociaal-economische crisis sinds tijden zitten.

Nu kan ik de Commissie daar wel de schuld van geven, maar u en ik weten natuurlijk allebei dat de Raad de grootste dwarsligger is als het gaat om sociale wetgeving. Zo is er een tijdelijke deeltijd-WW mogelijk geweest, maar de beloofde permanente regeling blijft uit. Er komt een voorstel voor meer sociale vangnetten, maar verder dan een aanbeveling gaat het niet.

Mijn oproep aan de Raad, morgen en overmorgen, is dan ook de volgende: verhoog de lonen, investeer meer in een sociaal klimaatfonds en hervorm de energiemarkt. Laat eindelijk nou eens een keer de mensen centraal staan en niet de markt.

**Frédérique Ries (Renew).** – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, c'est un Conseil européen crucial qui débute demain à Bruxelles. Il y a bien évidemment cette escalade de la guerre de terreur de Vladimir Poutine en Ukraine. Mais je veux parler ici de cette guerre sur l'énergie qu'il mène chez nous, des prix du gaz et de l'électricité qui s'envolent, de ces familles en Europe, de ces artisans, de ces bouchers, de ces PME, de ces collectivités qui n'y arrivent plus, qui en meurent.

Cette fois, les propositions sont sur la table et je pense en premier aux achats groupés – l'évidence absolue. Deux remarques toutefois, Monsieur le Commissaire: 15 %, vraiment 15 %? Alors que nous avons réussi cette solidarité d'achat massive avec les vaccins? Je ne compare pas l'un et l'autre, mais ça paraît dérisoire. Et surtout, surtout, pourquoi reporter cette mesure au printemps 2023? Elle a été mise sur la table il y a un an presque jour pour jour, par le premier ministre espagnol Pedro Sanchez – 18 mois, c'est une éternité; en temps de crise, c'est une faute. Idem pour le nouvel indice adapté à la réalité de notre approvisionnement, c'est-à-dire 30 % de gaz naturel liquéfié. Pourquoi, là aussi, attendre encore six mois?

Alors, on veut bien se rassurer: pour cet hiver, nos réservoirs sont pleins – 92 %, a dit M<sup>me</sup> la présidente. Mais à quel prix? Nous n'avons pas, nous n'avons plus le luxe du temps, Monsieur le Commissaire.

**Marie Toussaint (Verts/ALE).** – Madame la Présidente, c'est notre dépendance aux énergies fossiles qui nous a placés entre les mains de Poutine, qui a fait exploser les factures et qui détruit la seule planète que nous ayons. Alors ne répétons pas les erreurs du passé. Sous couvert de nous libérer du gaz russe, vous préparez aujourd'hui notre dépendance au gaz de schiste américain, au Qatar ou encore à l'Azerbaïdjan, au mépris de l'Arménie. Le tout en accélérant le dérèglement climatique, en fermant les yeux sur le fait que le coût de la vie augmentera inexorablement avec le déplacement des limites planétaires.

La solution réside dans la capacité des États membres à dégager ensemble les milliards nécessaires à la transition écologique. Ce dont nous avons besoin, c'est d'objectifs contraignants de notre réduction de consommation d'énergie et de la date butoir de 2035 pour nous libérer enfin du gaz tout court. Et de garantir aussi que ce seront les plus gros consommateurs et non pas les ménages qui fourniront les efforts nécessaires. Industrie, agro-industrie, jets privés ou encore tourisme spatial: certains ne consomment pas l'énergie, ils la consomment. Or, l'énergie la moins chère est celle que l'on ne consomme pas. Ce sont leurs efforts qui garantiront le droit à l'énergie des citoyennes et des citoyens.

L'enjeu n'est pas de savoir qui mettra un pull cet hiver, mais comment nous pouvons aller vers une sobriété juste qui permettra à chacun de vivre dignement.

**Robert Roos (ECR).** – Voorzitter, het leven wordt voor veel mensen in Europa onbetaalbaar. De EU wijt het allemaal aan Poetin. Zijn oorlog is schandalig, maar de inflatiecrisis is het directe gevolg van de ondoordachte energietransitie. We hebben niet geïnvesteerd in schone kernenergie, wel in onbetrouwbare zon en wind. Dat maakt ons afhankelijk van Poetin. De rest is geschiedenis.

Nu komt de Commissie met een prijsplafond. Lagere lasten zijn nodig, maar een prijsplafond is geen langetermijnoplossing. Het echte probleem is een gebrek aan aanbod van energie. Dát moeten we vergroten.

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Een voorbeeld van hoe het niet moet: naïef Duitsland besluit alle kerncentrales in april te sluiten. Dan een voorbeeld van hoe het wél moet: de nieuwe realistische Zweedse coalitie zet volop in op de bouw van nieuwe kerncentrales; het verbod op de herstart van gesloten kerncentrales wordt afgeschaft.

Als JA21-fractievoorzitter wil ik ook onze vrienden van Fratelli d'Italia feliciteren. Ik heb goede hoop dat ook Italië kernenergie gaat omarmen. Het toont aan dat conservatieve samenwerking loont. Daar blijf ik mij namens mijn partij voor inzetten.

**Milan Uhrík (NI).** – Vážená pani predsedajúca, vážený pán eurokomisár Šefčovič, pán minister – ten tu teraz nie je. 21. júla zaradila Rada na európsky protiruský sankčný zoznam občana Slovenskej republiky pána Jozefa Hambálka. Pán Hambálek sa tak stal jediným Európanom, ktorý je zaradený na proti ruskom zozname, keďže všetci ostatní občania na tom zozname sú, prirodzene, občania Ruskej federácie. Na základe tohto rozhodnutia boli pánovi Hambálkovi zablokované bankové účty, boli mu zhabané autá, bol odpojený od plynu, od elektriny, skrátka bol existenčne zlikvidovaný a navyše dostal zákaz pohybu a pobytu na území Európskej únie, čo je totálne právny nonsens, keďže je občanom Slovenskej republiky a toto sa ani nedá naplniť. Doteraz nikto nevyšvetlil, na základe akej požiadavky a akých argumentov bol pán Hambálek na protiruský sankčný zoznam zaradený. Slovenské orgány sa od toho distancujú, Rada mi už dva mesiace na otázky neodpovedá. Chcem Vás preto poprosiť, pán Šefčovič, aby ste sa na tento prípad pozreli, pretože v dvadsiatom prvom storočí považujem za neakceptovateľné, aby boli občania Európskej únie zaradovaní na nejaké politické sankčné zoznamy a následne existenčne likvidovaní bez možnosti verejného procesu, bez možnosti obhajoby a bez riadneho súdneho rozhodnutia.

**Paulo Rangel (PPE).** – Senhora Presidente, as vítimas da guerra de agressão da Rússia e dos ataques brutais dos últimos dias são, naturalmente, as cidadãs e os cidadãos ucranianos, mas em toda a Europa nós sofremos as consequências desta guerra e Putin vai explorar essas consequências.

Nós vemos como as classes mais vulneráveis, mas também as classes médias nos nossos países, estão a sofrer com a subida do preço da energia, dos combustíveis, com o aumento dos juros que, no meu país, em Portugal, é um problema gravíssimo, com o aumento da pobreza, que também tem vindo a ser um facto em Portugal.

E a pergunta que se faz é: o que fazem os grandes países europeus? O governo socialista, verde, liberal, alemão, estes três partidos, que se dizem solidários europeus, fazem um pacote de 200 mil milhões de EUR só para a Alemanha, distorcendo a concorrência e a competição no mercado interno. E, ao mesmo tempo, a França, em que o Sr. Presidente Macron diz que é o maior amigo da Europa, continua a boicotar a construção das interconexões energéticas entre a Península Ibérica e o continente europeu.

E isto não é solidariedade europeia, isto é o contrário do espírito europeu e, aqui, o Renew tem que dizer se está ao lado do Sr. Macron ou se está contra o Sr. Macron nesta atitude antieuropeia.

**Dan Nica (S&D).** – Doamna președintă, domnule vicepreședinte Șefčovič, aș vrea să salut (pentru că s-au anunțat câteva lucruri care sunt importante pentru toată lumea de către Comisia Europeană, cel puțin pe surse) și anume faptul că vom avea un mecanism comun de achiziție a gazelor, că vom avea un fel de mecanism care să prevină speculațiile și volatilitatea excesivă a prețurilor la electricitate și la gaze, că vom avea ceva și despre taxarea profiturilor excepționale, dar vreau să îi transmiteti un mesaj doamnei președinte Ursula von der Leyen: nu vorbește nimic de inflație, nu vorbește nimic de creșterea prețurilor. Și, ultima dată când am verificat, 80 % din inflație vine de la creșterea prețurilor din energie, iar măsura care trebuia luată era să nu existe aceste profituri excepționale. Și această măsură trebuie luată și acum, pentru că degeaba sau e bine că taxăm veniturile excepționale, profiturile excepționale, dar dacă ele se întâmplă în fiecare lună, de un an de zile, cum le mai putem numi excepționale? Nu cumva asta a devenit regula și faptul că cineva plătește acest tip de profituri excepționale? Fie că o brutărie care își închide porțile, fie o oțelărie, căci s-au închis vreo 40 de milioane de tone de capacitate de oțel din Uniunea Europeană, acest lucru nu cumva distruge și economia, și inflația pe cealaltă parte? Trebuie luată ideea acestei măsuri acum, când nu este prea târziu.

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**Nicola Danti (Renew).** – Signora Presidente, signor Vicepresidente della Commissione, signor Ministro, onorevoli colleghi, le soluzioni per affrontare con efficacia le sfide urgenti del presente sono sul tavolo da diversi mesi.

Da tempo infatti parliamo del tetto al prezzo del gas, di disaccoppiare i prezzi, di una riforma del mercato dell'energia elettrica, ma con difficoltà la Commissione e il Consiglio stanno riuscendo a farle proprie. Abbiamo le ricette, abbiamo gli strumenti, manca lo spirito, quello spirito che ha animato la lotta al Covid, quella volontà politica che, solo due anni fa, ha spinto l'Europa a imboccare la strada della solidarietà. Non sono le risorse a mancare, ma una politica che sappia guardare al domani e dare risposte concrete.

Davanti alle famiglie in difficoltà nel pagare le bollette energetiche, davanti alle imprese, costrette a fermare la produzione, davanti ai sindaci, che devono far fronte alla nuova povertà, non bastano buone intenzioni, serve l'unità che ci ha fatto vincere la pandemia e che domani ci permetterà di vincere gli egoismi che, nostro malgrado, rischiano di essere più pericolosi della guerra.

**Charlie Weimers (ECR).** – Madam President, the Recovery Fund, aka 'Death Generation EU', almost doubled the EU's expenses. That fund cures economic hangovers like vodka helps an alcoholic start his day. It sets a dangerous precedent – just impose the costs of the next crisis to the EU level.

You claim recovery, but all you did was pile more debt on already over-indebted economies and misallocated funds to Brussels pet projects. The Italian and French Commissioners are having a field day. They're already clamouring for the next round of handouts, or, to quote Ursula von der Leyen herself, 'more European funding'. You love to hear those words, don't you?

And who will pay for those new EU taxes to fund this debt-addicted party? Sven Svensson. Before you come back for another handout, you should cut inefficient subsidy programmes and redistributed funds, because if you don't, Sven Svensson won't only refuse to pay the next tab, he'll walk out the bar. And don't be shocked if Mette Nielsen and Juha Mäkinen walk out with him too.

**Jörg Meuthen (NI).** – Frau Präsidentin, werte Kollegen! Krieg in der Ukraine, Energiekrise und die höchste Preissteigerungsrate seit Jahrzehnten. Wir alle erleben Phänomene in Europa, die längst überwunden schienen, wo viele gehofft und geglaubt hatten, das kommt nie wieder – Krieg, Versorgungsengpässe, heftige Inflation. Die Politik muss in dieser Lage handeln, und es kommt mehr denn je darauf an, dass sie in dieser komplexen Lage richtig handelt.

Die Entscheidungsträger in der EU folgen allesamt meist dem Impuls, den Problemen mit Unmengen an Geld auf Pump zu begegnen. Diesem Impuls sollte man in der aktuellen Lage jedoch zwingend widerstehen. Es wäre ein schwerer Fehler, in Zeiten einer völlig aus dem Ruder laufenden Inflation um jeden Preis Wachstum generieren zu wollen. Ich warne mit Nachdruck davor, seitens der EU weitere milliardenschwere schuldenfinanzierte Programme aufzulegen, um noch mehr Geld, mit noch mehr Schulden, in den Markt zu pumpen. Das ist jetzt der völlig falsche Weg. So wird die Inflation nur noch weiter steigen. Wir brauchen nun schnell hohe Leitzinsen. Die USA haben das übrigens richtig erkannt. Die beste Medizin ist oft auch die bitterste. Wir müssen jetzt eine gewisse Rezession in Kauf nehmen, um die Inflation schnellstmöglich zu senken – im Interesse von Millionen Verbrauchern in Europa. Erst dann, danach, kann es wieder aufwärtsgehen.

**Željana Zovko (PPE).** – Madam President, Vice-President Šeřčovič, Minister Bek, ahead of the Council summit. I would like to praise the mediation efforts of President Michel between Armenia and Azerbaijan. It is a good example where the European Council plays a role in providing a platform for warring parties and supports the dialogue towards sustainable peace.

Unfortunately, similar European efforts of preventive diplomacy are lacking in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Actions such as high-level mediation are needed to stabilise the situation and conclude the final agreement on the necessary electoral reform.

The recent Commission recommendation labelled it as the 'utmost priority', and so it is for EU Member State Croatia and for European peace and security in general. We need to find this just solution for the electoral law that will take into account all three communities and other citizens of a country that went through a terrible war and is still the living consequences of this tragedy.

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We should not let our transatlantic partners do our job. Let us take our responsibilities and not leave this country up to an experiment and too cold winter for all of those who are left beyond the borders of European Union.

**Jens Geier (S&D).** – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Vizepräsident, Herr Minister! *Let's bring the bills down.* Lasst uns die Rechnungen runterbringen. Das sollte die Überschrift über der kommenden Ratstagung sein. Was hilft dabei? Maßnahmen zur Preissenkung und zur Eindämmung der Spekulation.

Ja, alternative Benchmarks sind ein Anfang, aber allein wohl kaum geeignet, nachhaltige Preissenkungen zu erreichen. Wir brauchen die Entkopplung der Preise von Gas und Strom, mindestens solange die Versorgungskrise anhält. Wir brauchen Preisgrenzen – ja natürlich – für Mindestkontingente von Energie. Das verbindet Verlässlichkeit für Verbraucherinnen und Verbraucher, Betriebe und energieintensive Industrien mit Sparanreizen. Wir brauchen die Finanzierung durch abgeschöpfte Zufallsgewinne. Damit kann der Schutz der Verwundbarsten erreicht werden.

Diese Gruppen brauchen die Sicherheit, dass sie im Verlauf der Energieversorgungskrise nicht von Gas und Strom abgetrennt werden. Es ist ein Baustein europäischer Solidarität, das SURE-Instrument über den Dezember 2022 fortzusetzen und die Resilienz der europäischen Arbeitslosenversicherung zu verlängern. Gemeinsame Beschaffung und der Ausbau der Infrastruktur, die Lückenschlüsse, die H2-ready sein sollten – das sollen die Antworten sein.

**Adrián Vázquez Lázara (Renew).** – Señora presidenta, mañana hará justo un año que se reunió el Consejo en octubre de 2021. Las prioridades de aquella reunión fueron el despliegue de las vacunas, la recuperación de los viajes y el reconocimiento de certificados para futuras emergencias sanitarias.

Ha pasado solo un año, pero parece que haya un mundo de diferencia: la guerra de Ucrania, la situación económica y social... La realidad ha cambiado mucho y ha cambiado muy rápido. Solo se repite en esa lista de prioridades la subida de los precios de la energía, que hace un año era una amenaza incipiente y hoy es una realidad que preocupa a millones de ciudadanos europeos a las puertas del invierno.

Vicepresidente, ha llegado la hora del pragmatismo y eso significa dar respuestas ya, no solo prometerlas; significa anteponer los resultados a la ideología y, sobre todo, anteponer el bienestar de los ciudadanos europeos a grandes ideas o ambiciones.

Llevamos casi un año de crisis energética y se han propuesto muchas cosas, pero la factura no ha dejado de subir. Hemos gastado mucho dinero en subsidios a energías que han ido a cualquier sitio menos a los hogares de los ciudadanos europeos. Es hora de que se tomen decisiones y de que realmente mostremos resultados.

**Geert Bourgeois (ECR).** – Voorzitter, onzekere economische tijden vergen ook oplossingen op lange termijn en de EU koppelde terecht structurele hervormingen aan het herstelfonds. Maar waar blijven de EU-hervormingen? Voor wanneer de voltooiing van de interne markt, die tot 9 % groei van het bbp zou kunnen opleveren? Voor wanneer de broodnodige nieuwe handelsverdragen die nieuwe markten toegankelijker kunnen maken en ons minder afhankelijk kunnen maken? Voor wanneer het actieplan voor onze kmo's en groei?

Zet dus volop in op onderzoek en ontwikkeling, innovatie en duurzame groei. Graaf daarbij geen nieuwe schuldenput die onze kinderen en kleinkinderen zullen betalen. Voer integendeel grondige hervormingen door die niets kosten maar duurzame groei verzekeren.

Wij rekenen op het Tsjechische voorzitterschap om de impasse te doorbreken.

**Angelika Niebler (PPE).** – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Vizepräsident der Kommission, Herr Minister, liebe Kolleginnen, liebe Kollegen! Seit Beginn des brutalen russischen Angriffskrieges gegen die Ukraine begleitet uns die Frage: Welche Maßnahmen können wir ergreifen, damit Energie in Europa bezahlbar bleibt und die Häuser im anstehenden Winter nicht kalt werden? Ich denke, unsere Menschen und Betriebe erwarten konkrete Antworten von uns.

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Ich freue mich, dass endlich Vorschläge der Kommission hierzu auf dem Tisch liegen, um Verbraucher und Haushalte zu entlasten. Einige von diesen Maßnahmen aber sind längst überfällig, beispielsweise der Vorschlag zum gemeinsamen Einkauf von Gas. Endlich ist er da – letztlich acht Monate zu spät. Aber wenn wir einen Überbietungswettbewerb beim Einkauf von Gas unter den Mitgliedstaaten verhindern wollen, dann brauchen wir da eine gemeinsame Aktion auf europäischer Ebene. Das Gleiche gilt für die Deckelung des Gaspreises.

Was aber jetzt auch noch ganz, ganz dringend kommen muss, ist, unsere Betriebe zu entlasten. Wettbewerbsfähigkeit soll gestärkt werden. Die Kommissionspräsidentin hat heute hierzu ja den einen oder anderen Vorschlag gemacht. Ich glaube, es ist wichtig, alles auf den Prüfstand zu stellen. Wir sind jetzt in einer Situation, in der wir in einer Art Kriegswirtschaft leben, und deshalb ist es wichtig, die wichtigen Dinge zuerst zu machen und das eine oder andere Dossier und Thema vielleicht auch erst nächstes Jahr anzugehen. Priorisieren ist das, was notwendig ist. Wir haben schon genug Zeit verloren, und ich denke nochmals: Unsere Menschen haben Antworten von uns verdient.

**Maria-Manuel Leitão-Marques (S&D).** – Senhora Presidente, quase todas as crises que conhecemos na história agravaram desigualdades e remeteram à pobreza até os que já se tinham livrado dela. Foi assim na crise financeira de 2008, à qual a União Europeia respondeu com austeridade e lembramo-nos todos dos efeitos dos efeitos nefastos que isso teve nos Estados-Membros e, sobretudo, na imagem da Europa.

Na crise pandémica recente, a União respondeu com solidariedade e isso reforçou a sua relevância perante todos os cidadãos. Nesta crise a resposta tem de ser a mesma, concreta, célere, solidária e criativa. É esta a orientação política que esperamos do Conselho Europeu e das restantes instituições, com olhos postos nos cidadãos. Precisamos de controlar os preços da energia e de a comprar de forma conjunta, como fizemos com as vacinas, de flexibilizar o uso dos fundos europeus, de serviços públicos reforçados, de transportes públicos baratos, em suma, de respostas sociais melhores, como estamos a fazer em Portugal.

O que não podemos permitir é que neste inverno haja famílias que sejam confrontadas com a escolha entre comprar comida ou manter a luz acesa.

**Dacian Cioloș (Renew).** – Doamna președintă, am văzut propunerile Comisiei privind limitarea prețului la gaze și achizițiile grupate de gaz și, dacă aceste măsuri vor fi puse în aplicare, cred că sunt un pas important înainte pentru a răspunde crizei provocate de Putin.

Vedem încă o dată că statele membre încep să înțeleagă încet-încet că individualismul nu funcționează în situații de criză și că e important să fim solidari. Solidaritatea aceasta nu poate fi decretată doar prin regulamente. Trebuie să o simțim, să o învățăm și să o aplicăm de acum înainte, de fiecare dată când astfel de situații sunt în fața noastră și cred că nu trebuie să ne limităm doar la noi, Uniunea Europeană. Trebuie să ne gândim și la vecinii noștri. Solidaritatea noastră trebuie să fie demonstrată nu doar cu Ucraina, ci și cu Republica Moldova, și cu zona Balcanilor. Nu doar din sentimentul de legătură cu aceste țări, dar și pentru că e interesul nostru să nu avem crize și acolo. Și mai trebuie să ne gândim și la gazul care este folosit de anumite sectoare industriale. Mă gândesc în primul rând la producția de îngreșăminte pentru agricultură. Pe termen scurt, cel puțin, trebuie să nu lăsăm ca această criză a gazului să creeze o nouă criză alimentară.

**Jan Zahradil (ECR).** – Paní předsedající, pane místopředsedo, pane ministře, tady je to jak v malém Československu. Ale já myslím, že české předsednictví jede dobře, že si tady děláme dobrou reklamu. Samozřejmě agendě dominuje Ukrajina a energetická krize.

Já mám k té nadcházející Radě dva body: jednak Írán – myslím, že se musíme bavit o Íránu, ať už jako formální bod na agendě, nebo neformálně. Nejenom proto, že touto zemí otrásají největší veřejné protesty za několik posledních let, ve kterých jde o ženskou rovnoprávnost a lidskou rovnoprávnost, ale také proto, že Írán začal dodávat zbraně Rusku proti Ukrajině. A to je věc, ke které nemůžeme mlčet, na kterou musíme reagovat. Jestliže jsme dokázali být tvrdí a principiální v případě Ruska, musíme být stejně tvrdí a principiální i v případě Íránu.

Druhá věc, za kterou bych se přimlouval – odložme, prosím, stranou záležitosti týkající se závěrů Konference o budoucnosti Evropy. Myslím, že není čas na to se teď hrabat v pravidlech a měnit je. Máme dost jiné práce, máme dost jiných problémů. Odsuňme to někam do budoucnosti.

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**Dolors Montserrat (PPE).** – Señora presidenta, hay que aumentar la autonomía energética, plantar cara a Putin y ayudar a Ucrania. Así debe seguir siendo, con firmeza, pero hoy quiero hacerles una pregunta: ¿estamos haciendo todo lo posible desde Europa para frenar la crisis económica y energética? Los ciudadanos no lo ven así, no pueden más, están utilizando todos sus ahorros para ayudar a sus familias. Las empresas y sus trabajadores viven con el agua al cuello por unos precios desorbitados que los arruinan.

Piensen en sus ciudadanos. Piensen en los fondos europeos, exijan transparencia, controlen que lleguen a la economía real, algo que hoy no ocurre. Piensen en países como España: mientras los españoles buscan en sus bolsillos cómo pagar su cesta de la compra, la hipoteca de su casa, la factura de la luz, su Gobierno recauda más impuestos que nunca y mantiene la estructura gubernamental más cara de la democracia.

Les pido urgencia y unidad en las medidas, una Europa fuerte energéticamente, conectada e integrada, y exigir a los Gobiernos que estén a la altura y devuelvan a sus ciudadanos el dinero que recaudan de más por la inflación.

**Pina Picierno (S&D).** – Signora Presidente, signor Vicepresidente, signor Ministro, onorevoli colleghe e colleghi, la resistenza coraggiosa del popolo ucraino, del suo legittimo governo, i nostri aiuti a Kiev, combinati alla pressione delle sanzioni stanno piegando il Cremlino, la sua economia, la sua forza militare violenta.

E la realtà, in maniera più chiara della propaganda di Putin, mostra ancora una volta che questa è la strada che dobbiamo percorrere e i leader europei devono agire con maggiore decisione in nome della nostra sicurezza collettiva, dei nostri valori, della nostra unità.

Saluto naturalmente con favore la proposta per il *price cap* e per l'acquisto congiunto di gas, obiettivi chiave per alleviare il peso della crisi energetica sulle famiglie e sulle imprese. Potevamo ambire sicuramente a misure più coraggiose, ma alcuni egoismi nazionali ci hanno costretto ad accettare il minimo piuttosto che pretendere il massimo. Allora, da qui mi rivolgo ai governi europei affinché definiscano quanto prima criteri per il funzionamento del *price cap* in nome di una piena solidarietà europea.

Da ultimo, Vicepresidente, voglio ringraziare da qui Mario Draghi e il suo governo perché senza la sua esperienza l'Europa in questi mesi sarebbe stata molto, molto più fragile.

**Βαγγέλης Μεϊμαράκης (PPE).** – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, η επικείμενη σύνοδος των Ευρωπαίων ηγετών οφείλει επιτέλους να δώσει γενναίες λύσεις· το χρωστάει στον Ευρωπαίο πολίτη, ο οποίος βλέπει την έκρηξη τιμών, την επισιτιστική κρίση, τον πληθωρισμό και αδυνατεί να καλύψει πλέον τις βασικές του ανάγκες. Προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση χαιρετίζουμε τη χθεσινή έκθεση της Ευρωπαϊκής Επιτροπής.

Όμως, έχουμε καθυστερήσει πάρα πολύ. Ακόμη πριν από το καλοκαίρι είχαμε επισημάνει το πρόβλημα και είχαν κατατεθεί στοχευμένες προτάσεις, ιδιαίτερα από την ελληνική κυβέρνηση, για τη μείωση των τιμών ενέργειας. Αφήσαμε, ωστόσο, ένα πολύ μεγάλο διάστημα να περάσει και φτάσαμε ήδη στον χειμώνα χωρίς να έχουμε λάβει κανένα μέτρο. Φανταστείτε πώς θα ήμασταν και πόσους νεκρούς θα μετρούσαμε αν είχαμε καθυστερήσει τόσο πολύ και με τα εμβόλια στο θέμα της πανδημίας. Πρέπει λοιπόν να κινηθούμε πολύ γρήγορα και στη σύνοδο κορυφής πρέπει να γίνει αντιληπτό ότι δεν υπάρχει άλλο περιθώριο. Πρέπει να βρούμε λύσεις «χθες» για να ανακουφίσουμε τον Ευρωπαίο πολίτη αυτόν τον χειμώνα. Η Ένωση πρέπει να επιβεβαιώσει τον ρόλο της κόντρα σε εθνικά και εγωιστικά συμφέροντα και να κάνει πράξη την ευρωπαϊκή αλληλεγγύη που περιμένει ο Ευρωπαίος πολίτης.

**Raphaël Glucksmann (S&D).** – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, un leader se bat pour le diamant, l'autre se bat pour le luxe, le troisième se bat pour l'uranium. Il y en a marre de ces négociations de marchands de tapis, de chefs de gouvernement qui agissent en VRP de secteurs privés. Cela affaiblit nos démocraties, cela affaiblit nos sanctions. Lorsque la guerre fait rage, il est vital pour la cité que l'intérêt général prime à nouveau sur les intérêts particuliers.

Alors, comment accepter que de grands groupes européens continuent à faire de l'argent avec le régime russe? Comment tolérer, par exemple, que Total tire des bénéfices astronomiques de ses parts dans Novatek, fournisseur de kérosène aux avions de l'armée terroriste de Vladimir Poutine? L'hiver arrive et les sacrifices nécessaires ne seront consentis que s'ils sont justes.



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Alors, le message aux dirigeants européens réunis en Conseil est clair: plafonnez les prix du gaz. Taxez les super-profits. Attaquez-vous aux profiteurs de guerre. Comblez les trous dans les sanctions. Montrez que la politique a repris la main. Et alors, alors seulement, l'Union européenne aura honoré son rendez-vous avec l'histoire.

**Luděk Niedermayer (PPE).** – Madam President, let me start on Ukraine. I fully share the statements of the Commission President: acts of Russia are acts of terror. Our reaction must be to show more commitment to all fronts to the fight of Ukrainians. At the same time, I believe it's time to formalise more our plans on how to support Ukraine reconstruction. We can go farther. We can appoint people, set up the structure and start work and do it now.

On energy, I believe we need more cooperation among the Member States. Energy plans that are based on subsidising the cost of energy to a mere fraction of the market price can undermine energy security, can create big political tensions, and at the same time can undermine the functionality of the market. These plans are not the way forward. We need more cooperation on this and sustainable economic support for our households and businesses.

**Matjaž Nemeč (S&D).** – Gospa predsednica, spoštovani visoki zbor. Svet je na razpotju in v krizi, politika pa zadnje mesece v rokah drži kompas, katerega magnetna igla kaže v smeri socialdemokratskih, ljudem naravnanih politik. Če je politika iskrena v svoji nameri prebroditi energetska krizo in draginjo, se bo ravnala po tem nezmotljivem kompasu.

Evropski socialisti in demokrati v tej smeri sledimo odločno in iskreno, z jasnim načrtom spopadanja z izzivi, ki tarejo ljudi in gospodarstvo. Imamo načrt za nižje in pravične cene energentov. Zahtevamo cenovno kapico na zemeljski plin in oblikovanje cene elektrike neodvisno od cene plina. Od predloga Komisije sem pričakoval korak v to smer, a se to žal ni zgodilo. Prav tako pa jasno pozivam evropske voditelje, da čim prej, še pred koncem leta, Bosni in Hercegovini podelijo status kandidatke za članstvo v Evropski uniji. Čaka nas še veliko delo in ob odločni politiki za dobro ljudi nas čakajo tudi uspehi.

**Ivan Štefanec (PPE).** – Madam President, due to the Russian invasion and therefore emergency situation on the energy market, we are in an extraordinary situation and therefore we need extraordinary measures to deal with it.

New measures can be a useful step for market stability leading to the necessary price drop. We can overcome the current situation only by common European solutions. Common purchases, combined with solidarity mechanism, can be really crucial steps for having enough gas for reasonable prices. New market rules are welcome, but we need also to split gas price from the electricity price.

It is particularly great news for my country Slovakia – as it was our proposal – that we can use unused funds from the period until 2020. I appreciate the opportunity to use this European money for those who are the most affected.

I do believe that these proposals, together with supporting supply and reducing demand on the energy market, will be leading to the stability and much-needed price reduction on the market.

**Vilija Blinkevičiūtė (S&D).** – Gerbiama, Pirmininke, Europos Sąjungos politinėje darbotvarkėje svarbiausiais klausimais išlieka ir dar ilgai išliks karas Ukrainoje ir šio karo ekonominės ir socialinės pasekmės Europai ir mūsų žmonėms. Mes privalome remti Ukrainą ir suteikti jai visokeriopą pagalbą ginantis nuo Rusijos agresijos. Lygiai taip pat solidarai privalome neatidėliotinai priimti sprendimus, kurie sustabdytų socialinės nelygybės didėjimą Europoje. Negalime leisti, kad mūsų žmonės turi rinktis tarp šildymo ir maisto. Kolegos, išskirtinė situacija reikalauja išskirtinių ir skubių sprendimų. Privalo būti rastas susitarimas dėl dujų kainų lubų nustatymo, nepateisinamai didelių energijos įmonių viršpelnių apmokėtinimo ir perskirstymo, bendro dujų pirkimo ES, kad padėtume ir apsaugotume pažeidžiamiausius žmones ir verslus. Privalome pagaliau apsaugoti savo maisto gamybos įmones ir užtikrinti apsirūpinimą maistu. Mūsų pareiga yra padėti žmonėms, smulkiam ir vidutiniam verslui išgyventi šį sudėtingą laikotarpį, ir labai tikiuosi, kad bus rastas bendras susitarimas dėl ES solidarumo paketo.

**Andrius Kubilius (PPE).** – Madam President, dear colleagues, I hope that the Council and Commission will find proper solutions for this energy crisis and also will understand what kind of our mistakes and dependencies in the past led to it.

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I will speak about geopolitical crisis of war, which Europe is also facing.

Two weeks ago Josep Borrell in our plenary openly and bravely admitted, that till now the EU had No Russia strategy, because EU was too dependent on Russian gas. And it had no foreign policy towards Ukraine, because it was a subsidiary to our policy on Russia. Because of that, there was No EU enlargement policy towards Ukraine, and that was the EU's strategic mistake which led to a geopolitical crisis.

Now we are less dependent on Russian gas, and Ukraine and Moldova got candidate status. But do we have an ambitious enlargement strategy? I have doubts.

Because I do not see, that the EU would be ready to start membership negotiations with Ukraine and Moldova in 2023, which again means that our strategy towards Ukraine can be captured by prevailing bureaucratic attitude towards enlargement. There is still time for the Council and Commission to stop continuation of such a strategic mistake.

**François-Xavier Bellamy (PPE).** – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, il ne fait pas encore froid, mais l'hiver commence pour l'Europe et le signe le plus inquiétant, c'est la diminution drastique de la consommation de nos industries en gaz, qui montre à quel point nous sommes à la veille d'un potentiel effondrement économique.

Il est urgent, encore une fois, d'agir – et nous le redisons ici –, urgent de découpler enfin de manière effective les prix du gaz et les prix de l'électricité; urgent que la Commission mette fin à l'arrêt des productions pilotables dans nos pays. Comment se fait-il que l'Allemagne vienne tout juste de décider de prolonger ses centrales nucléaires? Que la Belgique ait fermé, en septembre dernier, le 23 septembre, une centrale pilotable, celle de Doel 3? Cela représente à soi seul 200 millions de mètres cubes de gaz que nous devrons importer en plus chaque mois. C'est évidemment quelque chose qui concerne la totalité de nos pays et la solidarité commence par là. Je suis très heureux que nous ayons pu inclure tout récemment, par un amendement, le nucléaire dans les financements de RePowerEU. Nous avons besoin de toutes les capacités de production pilotables pour relancer l'Europe.

Enfin, il faut garantir, Monsieur le Commissaire, que les sanctions ne soient pas contournées. Nous devons, évidemment, à la vérité et à la justice de tenir cet engagement. Comment expliquer, par exemple, qu'aujourd'hui la production de gaz d'Azerbaïdjan ait diminué alors que ses exportations augmentent? Est-ce que la Commission peut expliquer cela? Si nous laissons les sanctions être contournées, nous aurons perdu sur tous les tableaux.

#### *Spontane Wortmeldungen*

**Míriam Lexmann (PPE).** – Vážená pani predsedajúca, stojíme pred skúškou, ktorá určí našu budúcnosť. Rast cien energií vzbudzuje veľké obavy u 47 % obyvateľov Slovenska. Energetická chudoba na Slovensku hrozí približne každej šiestej domácnosti. Ako som už viackrát zdôraznila, dohoda Rady dostatočne nerieši problémy všetkých členských štátov. Preto musíme robiť konkrétne kroky k smerom k solidarite, aby domácnosti a podniky v celej EÚ pocítili potrebnú podporu na prekonanie tejto krízy. Je tiež kľúčové urýchlene rokovať o cenách LNG a ďalšieho plynu s USA a ďalšími spoľahlivými partnermi. Víťam, že Komisia podporuje možnosť použiť nevyčerpané eurofondy v boji proti energetickej kríze. Ale dúfam, že v EP dokážeme zvýšiť alokáciu zo súčasných navrhovaných 10 %. Uprostred veľkých skúšok Európska únia a členské štáty musia nastaviť politiky na pomoc domácnostiam, podnikom i verejnemu sektoru preklenúť toto zložité obdobie. Rozhodujúce je konať rýchlo v jednote a solidarite.

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**Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D).** – Señora presidenta, a estas alturas el debate arroja algunas conclusiones claras. La primera es que desacoplar el gas del precio final de la electricidad implica, reconozcámoslo, que lo que un día se llamó excepción ibérica pase a ser la norma general de la Unión Europea. La segunda, que topar el gas para proteger a los consumidores europeos frente a la inflación implica intervenir un mercado que no funciona. La tercera, que, cuando hablamos de incrementar la autonomía energética y estratégica de la Unión Europea, ello implica una compra conjunta, una estrategia de compra conjunta de gas y de suministros de alcance, también europeo. Pero hay una cuarta, y es que, cuando hablamos de Putin como una amenaza —que lo es para el conjunto de la Unión Europea—, tenemos que hacer la autocrítica retrospectiva, porque algunos Estados miembros han alimentado, efectivamente, esa amenaza durante demasiado tiempo, que en estos momentos actúa en el plano de la desinformación, en el ataque a las infraestructuras críticas, pero, sobre todo, es aliado de la extrema derecha, del nacionalismo... *(la presidenta retira la palabra al orador).*

**Georgios Kyrtos (Renew).** – Madam President, we pay a high price in economic and energy terms for Putin's aggression against Ukraine. But make no mistake: energy prices and inflation had risen even before Russia's invasion of Ukraine. There are also structural deficiencies in the European Union that are bringing about the present crisis. Extreme conditions hinder the functioning of the supposedly free market.

It is obvious that we have to change the rules in order to deal with exceptional circumstances that will probably last. Changing the rules means that we have to liberate ourselves from the pressure exerted by big interests and powerful lobbies and implement solutions like the Iberian model at the European level. We have to move fast because we are losing our political credibility.

**Μαρία Σπυράκη (PPE).** – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, καλοδεχούμενες —αντιπρόεδρε Šefčovič— οι συμπληρωματικές πρωτοβουλίες της Επιτροπής, και για τον συμπληρωματικό ενδεικτικό δείκτη για το υδροποιημένο φυσικό αέριο και για την προσωρινή τιμή-πλαφόν στην ενιαία αγορά.

Όμως, ξέρετε, έχετε αργήσει. Έχετε αργήσει γιατί αυτές οι προτάσεις ήταν στο τραπέζι από τον περασμένο Μάρτιο, με πρωτοβουλία του πρωθυπουργού της Ελλάδας, Κυριάκου Μητσοτάκη. Έχετε αργήσει γιατί ο χαμένος χρόνος κοστίζει. Έχετε αργήσει γιατί ακόμη και η κοινή πλατφόρμα για την οποία έχουν αποφασίσει οι ηγέτες από τον περασμένο Ιούνιο δεν έχει τεθεί σε λειτουργία και είμαστε στα τέλη Οκτωβρίου.

Ο χαμένος χρόνος κοστίζει· κοστίζει ακριβά στα νοικοκυριά, κοστίζει ακριβά στις επιχειρήσεις και δημιουργεί τεράστιες αμφιβολίες αναφορικά με τη λειτουργία της ενιαίας αγοράς —ειδικά μετά την πρωτοβουλία του καγκελάρου Scholz να θέσει πρώτα τη Γερμανία και μετά την Ευρώπη. Χρειαζόμαστε ηγεσία και το Ευρωπαϊκό Συμβούλιο πρέπει να έχει ηγετικό ρόλο τις επόμενες ημέρες. Χρειαζόμαστε να γίνει για την Ευρώπη ό, τι χρειάζεται για να υποστηρίξει τους πολίτες της, για να υποστηρίξει τα νοικοκυριά, για να υποστηρίξει τις επιχειρήσεις ώστε να επιβιώσουν.

**Margarida Marques (S&D).** – Senhora Presidente, Comissão, Conselho, foi com satisfação que ouvimos a Presidente von der Leyen enumerar medidas que conduzam, agora, a aligeirar a fatura energética dos europeus e à construção progressiva da autonomia energética da União Europeia. Medidas necessárias, mas tardias e ainda pouco ambiciosas. Deixou subentendido que a Comissão poderia aprofundar o RepowerEU. Caminhamos para a necessária união para a energia? Aliás, um conceito que o Vice-Presidente Šefčovič conhece bem. Para quando um mecanismo tipo SURE?

Vice-Presidente, o apoio dos europeus aos valores europeus que os têm mobilizado é essencial nesta guerra, mas isso não nos pode trazer custos brutais. A extrema-direita espregueia!

**Κώστας Παπαδάκης (NI).** – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, η νέα δέσμη μέτρων της Επιτροπής προϋποθέτει ο λαός να παγώσει στο όνομα της μείωσης της μη βασικής κατανάλωσης, για εξασφάλιση επάρκειας για τους μεγαλοβιομηχάνους. Θωρακίζονται περαιτέρω οι μηχανισμοί της πράσινης μετάβασης και απελευθέρωσης, που είναι οι αιτίες της εκτίναξης των τιμών της ενέργειας και των καυσίμων.

Παρέχονται νέα κίνητρα στους ομίλους για να «τζογάρουν» εκ του ασφαλούς στο χρηματιστήριο της ενέργειας και κοινές παραγγελίες φυσικού αερίου με τιμές ανταγωνισμού με την Κίνα και την Ινδία, κατά «τα καλά και συμφέροντα» των ευρωπαϊκών μονοπωλίων και όχι του λαού. Γι' αυτό, θα συνεχιστούν οι απρόσιτες τιμές για τον λαό και θα πληρώνει από την τσέπη του τις κρατικές επιδοτήσεις για να μη διαταραχθεί η εισπραξιμότητα των επιχειρηματικών ομίλων της ενέργειας.

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Αλληλεγγύη με αποζημιώσεις και με το αζημίωτο μόνον η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, οι κυβερνήσεις και τα αρπακτικά μονοπώλια της ενέργειας μπορούσαν να εξαγγελθούν. Ο εργαζόμενος λαός πρέπει να δυναμώσει την πάλη του για απεμπλοκή από τον ιμπεριαλιστικό πόλεμο, ενάντια στην ευρωενωσιακή στρατηγική ακρίβειας, για αυξήσεις στους μισθούς και φτηνή ενέργεια, ώστε να μην παγώσει καμιά λαϊκή οικογένεια.

**Κώστας Μαυρίδης (S&D).** – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, από την αρχή της ρωσικής εισβολής και με τα απανωτά πακέτα κυρώσεων, επιμέναμε ότι υπάρχει μεγάλη ανάγκη για παράλληλη ευρωπαϊκή απάντηση στις επερχόμενες επιπτώσεις, με κεντρικό στοιχείο την αλληλεγγύη. Η Ευρωπαϊκή Επιτροπή τότε —δυστυχώς— κοίταζε αλλού. Δυστυχώς, δεν είχαμε την ίδια κοινή αντίληψη όπως είχαμε με την πανδημία.

Έρχομαι τώρα, όμως, και στο Ευρωπαϊκό Συμβούλιο, όπου βλέπω ότι στην ατζέντα περιλαμβάνεται η καθ' αυτή εισβολή της Ρωσίας στην Ουκρανία. Καλώς. Περιλαμβάνεται, επίσης, συζήτηση για τη σχέση μας με την Κίνα. Απευθύνομαι προς το Συμβούλιο και διερωτώμαι: πότε θα συζητήσουμε για τον Δούρειο Ίππο του Ερντογάν εντός Ευρώπης; Και, φυσικά, αναφέρομαι στην Τουρκία και στον Ερντογάν, και ιδιαίτερα μετά την έκθεση της Επιτροπής, η οποία καταγράφει αντικειμενικά τις παρανομιές του Ερντογάν και το πόσο αδιάστακτος είναι. Διερωτώμαι: δεν έφτασε ακόμη η ώρα για επιβολή κυρώσεων ... (η Πρόεδρος αφαιρεί τον λόγο από τον ομιλητή)

**Maria Grapini (S&D).** – Doamnă președintă, domnule comisar, și astăzi dezbatem un lucru pe care îl cerem de luni de zile. Ce ne-a prezentat doamna președintă a Comisiei cetățenii au mai auzit. Și noi am mai auzit de foarte multe ori: propuneri, propuneri, propuneri. Consiliul nu ia nicio decizie. Acum, când noi vorbim, cetățenilor din țara mea și din alte state li se regularizează facturile, vin prețuri de 4 până la 10 ori mai mult și nu e nicio decizie. Despre ce vorbim aici? Punem sau nu punem oamenii în centru?

Și ne-a spus doamna președintă că va crea o platformă de achiziții comună. Va fi la fel de netransparentă ca la vaccinuri? Nu vom ști ce prețuri sunt, nu vom ști cum se împarte? Totul a fost total netransparent în pandemie și nu vrem să mai fie acest lucru, să fie acoperite profiturile unor companii, așa cum au fost profiturile companiilor din sănătate.

Deci, domnule comisar, mă întrebă cetățenii. Eu vorbesc, dar ce răspunsuri primesc? Și eu le spun că nu primesc. Poate că astăzi, totuși, dați un răspuns: când se iau măsuri concrete pentru a pune capăt acestei crize energetice?

*(Ende der spontanen Wortmeldungen)*

**Maroš Šefčovič, Vice-President of the Commission.** – Madam President, Mr President of the Council of the General Affairs, honourable Members, first and foremost, I really would like to thank you for this truly political debate this morning, because we have been indeed discussing the most pressing issues Europe and the Europeans are facing today: aggression of Russia against Ukraine, war on our continent, and the economic and social consequences of high energy prices, high inflation and the rising cost of living, being mentioned by almost all who intervene and present it in a very eloquent manner by the leaders of the political groups represented now Ms Reintke.

And I appreciate what I felt was truly general support for the package the European Commission has proposed yesterday. But what was very clear in your statements, be it from Mr Mureșan or Ms Charanzová, but I would say all the honourable Members who took the floor, is that you would like us to be more ambitious. You would like us to be faster and you want to see more details on how these proposed measures would be translated into the real life.

But I think that you will all agree with me that if it comes to what is on the table for our leaders at the European Council, that there are all elements for the solutions to tackle this energy crisis we are facing right now. We are proposing to buy the gas together, as Ms Grapini was referring to, or Mr Schirdewan, in his remarks, something like one and a half hours ago.

To be more precise, what we are proposing is to purchase together at least 15% so we can do more. But we need to start somewhere and we are going to address through this at least 50% purchase exactly that amount of gas, which was most difficult to get to complete a filling-up of our storages and which was also the most expensive. And of course, this is not an easy exercise because we need to set up this new system and at the same time we have to also respect the long-term contracts which are in place and which been valid.

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But I think that now we have the solution how to push forward and we are going to discuss how to combine this measure with all other measures which we propose to make sure that we will have security of supplies and adequate flows of energies into the European Union.

Next, a very important point which was mentioned by many of you was the solidarity, especially with those countries which are landlocked and which would have problems if the situation would really become very precarious. And the European way of sharing and protecting a level playing field in our single market, as it was proposed by Mr Ciolos.

All of you have been highlighting the burden our citizens and businesses are carrying because of the high energy prices. And I would like to reassure you, because it was mentioned many times by Ms Iratxe García Pérez, Mr Bellamy, Mr Séjourné, that we are going to present to you in the first quarter of the next year new electricity market design, where we are going to decouple gas from electricity pricing because we know that the market design which served us well until prewar times, is not functioning anymore. And therefore we need to have a new electricity market design to be more appropriate for our European economy.

On top of it, we are going to propose new complementary benchmark to TTF. And to be sure that we act with adequate agility, we are also proposing this market correction mechanism to react to the concrete situation of today. The same comes for the Iberian model, because we see that there are strong merits in this model on how to limit electricity prices in Europe.

But we know that there is a lot of questions we have to answer in a way that it would not lead to an inadequate increase of the consumption of gas, because then we would again be faced with a lack of energy supplies to the European Union.

And of course, what is important for big businesses, we also presented a new temporary framework for state aid to help energy-intensive industries across Europe.

So the proposals are on the table and of course we need the green light and support of the European Council. So we can sit with the energy ministers, we can sit with you, Members of the European Parliament, to hammer out the details. This is a very clear and present urgency and we should act in this manner.

Therefore, if you if you allow me to conclude with a strong, I would underscore strong, plea to the European Parliament. The REPowerEU is discussed in your committees in this House, and you would, I hope, agree with me that we need to the REPowerEU now. We need to use it, if necessary we need to boost it, and we need the REPowerEU so we can transfer this EUR 40 billion from the cohesion policy to REPowerEU so we can support the households, we can support the SMEs in Europe.

So my strong plea would be please make sure that you would respect your calendar and it would have a vote on the REPowerEU in November. The citizens of Europe, businesses in Europe, are waiting for this decision and we are ready to work with you to explore all other possibilities on how to use recovery and resilience facility loans, to use all financial firepower we have at our disposal so we can help the economy and citizens of the European Union.

So I think that if you would demonstrate this can-do attitude and this proactive approach in this very difficult situation, that our debate in November would not be focused on what needs to be done, but how we are going to use the funds, how we are going to use these new tools, which we will be developing in the course of the next weeks. And I think that it would be the best answer to the concerns of the European citizens, European businesses and peoples of the European Union.

**Mikuláš Bek**, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Madam President, Vice-President of the European Commission, honourable Members, thank you for your remarks and comments.

Views expressed here have been diverse, which is part of the beauty of this House. Despite divergences, we could hear several strong messages. We heard calls for European unity. Here, I cannot agree more with Mr Séjourné that we can be strong outside only if we are strong inside. We took note of and fully agree with the repeated reference to European solidarity, especially with those Member States that are hit more than the others are.

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There was a clear message from this Parliament for more ambitious and more coordinated EU responses to the energy crisis that we face. Delivering concrete measures for our citizens and our companies will be at the heart of leaders' discussion on the basis of the new proposals put forward by the Commission.

Several interventions today also highlighted the need for stronger social and economic measures, including fiscal and other redistributive measures, to protect citizens, especially those most vulnerable, from the effects of Putin's war of aggression. Member States are doing their part at national level and taking bold measures. The European leaders will look into ways to strengthen our combined efforts.

I also took note of your strong condemnation of the latest strategic developments in Russia's war of aggression, targeting civilians and cutting off Ukrainian energy supplies. Leaders will confirm their strong support for Ukraine. The EU should continue to lead on the investigation of war crimes to ensure that those responsible are brought to justice. Furthermore, leaders have repeatedly stated that the European Council stands ready to revise the existing sanction regime and consider further sanctions. These will be messages that I take back from this session and convey to the President of the European Council.

As regards a concrete question, the issue of de-escalation in Eastern Mediterranean will also be on the leaders' agenda.

Honourable Members, this European Council meeting has a substantial agenda in which leaders deal with the complex and interlinked crises we face today: our safety and security, our continued access to affordable energy supply, climate and biodiversity and the strength and resilience of our economy. Thank you once again for your attention.

**Die Präsidentin.** – Die Aussprache ist geschlossen.

*Schriftliche Erklärungen (Artikel 171)*

**Joachim Stanisław Brudziński (ECR)**, *na piśmie.* – Pani przewodnicząca von der Leyen mówiła, otwierając tę debatę, o tym, jak bardzo potrzebujemy solidarności i jedności. To prawda, najwyższy czas, by te pojęcia urzeczywistnić, by ta jedność i solidarność była widoczna nie tylko w słowach, ale i w działaniach instytucji europejskich. Przecież te wzniosłe pojęcia pozostają jedynie w sferze idei nawet w obliczu realnej wojny, rosyjskiej agresji i mordów jej armii na cywilach. Nawet teraz, po tylu miesiącach otwartej agresji łamiącej wszelkie konwencje i prawa, tu, na tej Sali deliberuje się, kto – i na jakich warunkach – ma prawo do wsparcia, do solidarnej pomocy, do odczuwania jedności w gronie cywilizowanych, europejskich narodów. Regularnie partyjne i frakcyjne większości na tej sali spierają się, kto jest praworządny i może liczyć na europejską solidarność, a kto nie jest i trzeba go wszelkimi sposobami zmusić, by się do tej lewicowej większości upodobnił. Kiedy ostrzegaliśmy tutaj przed zgubnymi skutkami wdrażania patologicznego systemu ETS, nikt nie wierzył że ten system spowoduje kryzys, wzrost cen energii. Rzeczywistość potwierdziła nasze obawy, ale Komisja nadal brnie, nadal nie słucha kontrargumentów, niczego nie zmienia. Oby Rada Europejska miała odwagę do podejmowania trudnych, ale bardzo potrzebnych i odważnych decyzji, służącym wszystkim państwom członkowskim, a nie tylko – jak by chciała Pani von der Leyen – Berlinowi.

*(Die Sitzung wird um 11.22 Uhr unterbrochen.)*

**PRESIDENZA: ROBERTA METSOLA**

*President*

#### 4. Pokračovanie rokovania

*(The sitting resumed at 11.42)*

#### 5. Slávnostná schôdza – Príhovor Zuzany Čaputovej, prezidentky Slovenskej republiky

**President.** – Dear colleagues, it is an honour for the European Parliament to have the President of Slovakia, Zuzana Čaputová, with us here today. Madam President, Dear Zuzana, welcome.

Thank you for your vocal promotion of the values of equality and diversity – that this House and our Europe holds so dear. Last week's double murder at the heart of Bratislava is a reminder to us of the constant need to fight back against hate and defend our LGBTIQ community. President Čaputová, we know you also as a firm defender of freedom of speech.

Soon we will mark five years since the murder of Slovak journalist Jan Kuciak and Martina Kušnírová, that shocked us to our core. This House, Madam President, will always remember Jan and Martina and you will always find us as an ally in the defence of values.

Dear Zuzana, let me quote your words in a speech you gave at the United Nations General Assembly, you said that: 'solidarity should be our binding principle, not an option.'

And your country, Slovakia, has demonstrated what solidarity means by welcoming more than half a million Ukrainian refugees since the onset of war, by being at the forefront of political and military aid to Ukraine. Slovakia has shown time and again that it can lead. Thank you for your country's leadership at this critical moment for Europe.

President Čaputová, the floor is yours.

**Zuzana Čaputová, (President of the Slovak Republic).** – Madam President, honourable Members, dear representatives of the Czech Presidency of the Council, my fellow Europeans, it is an honour and privilege to be here and to address the beating heart of the European Union's democracy here in Strasbourg.

This is a city where the modern concept of defending universal human rights was translated into concrete institutions. While serving a broader purpose, I see the European Parliament as one of them. My message today is simple: if we do not start defending democracy, it will cease to exist.

The date of my speech here was planned long ago. I couldn't have expected that the recent homophobic murder of Juraj Vankulič and Matúš Horváth on the streets of Bratislava would remind us of the simple truth so painfully. It is hard to put in words the grief felt in Slovakia's cities in the past few days because hate decided to kill love, just because the killer could not accept that love can come in different forms.

This was an assault not just on young people from the LGBTIQ community. It was an attack on everyone in Slovakia because hate crimes always target the very essence of what our society stands for. I would like to assure you that hatred doesn't dominate our society.

I welcome that Slovakia's civil society immediately and resolutely condemned this attack. Just yesterday, the Slovak Parliament adopted a resolution strongly condemning these terrorist acts and assuring all minorities that they are valuable members of our society.

In its essence, democracy is the rule by the majority in the interest of all, with a key emphasis on the protection of minorities. If we are failing in their protection, we are undermining democracy itself. In my view, the defence and protection of democracy is the core mission of our generation of political leaders.

The task ahead of us is to bring Europe back into balance, which is shaken by crises from within and without. We need a balance between our rights and our commitments; between our security and our prosperity, which we have partly built through dependence on those who wish to destroy our democracy; a balance in which we can have different opinions, but where we are bound by the values of freedom, solidarity and liberal democracy.

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And now please allow me to switch into Slovak so even here in the European Parliament's Chamber, one can hear the beautiful Slovak language.

Vážená pani prezidentka, vážené poslankyne, vážení poslanci, rovnováha, o ktorej som hovorila, je za posledné dva roky ohrozovaná dvoma veľkými krízami – pandemickou a bezpečnostnou, ktorú vyvolalo Rusko svojou inváziou Ukrajiny.

Na obe sme ako Európska únia zareagovali správne. Pri pandémie sme národné uzatváranie hraníc a preteky o to, kto obstará viac rúšok, rýchlo nahradili spoločným prístupom a solidaritou. Začali sme so spoločnou postpandemickou obnovou nášho hospodárstva cez Fond obnovy a odolnosti. A solidaritu sme zdieľali aj mimo našich hraníc. Dnes patríme medzi najväčších globálnych darcov vakcín proti covidu-19.

Podobne rozhodne sme zareagovali na vojnu, ktorú Vladimir Putin 24. februára naplno rozpútal proti nášmu východnému susedovi. Pripomeňme si, že táto vojna sa v to pochmúrne februárové ráno iba zintenzívnila, že Rusko ju viedlo už dávno predtým – najskôr dezinformáciami a propagandou a od roku 2014 aj vojensky s jasným cieľom Ukrajinu podmaniť alebo ju zničiť.

Ako Európska únia sme na Rusko uvalili najrozsiahlejšie sankcie, akým kedy akákoľvek rozvinutá ekonomika čelila. Ukrajine poskytujeme politickú, humanitárnu, finančnú pomoc, a väčšina krajín vrátane Slovenska aj vojenskú pomoc. Veľmi dôležitá je aj európska perspektíva, ktorú sme Ukrajine poskytli, a verím, že raz bude realizovaná plnohodnotným členstvom. Našou pomocou sa spoločne usilujeme o jediné, dosiahnuť mier. Ten však musí byť spravodlivý, inak by išlo iba o dočasné prímerie.

Tým, ktorí pred vojnou museli utiecť zo svojich domovov, sme otvorili nielen svoje domovy, ale aj svoje srdcia. Len slovenské hranice s Ukrajinou prekročilo viac ako 800 000 ľudí z Ukrajiny a mnohí z nich u nás ostali. Ja som veľmi hrdá na solidaritu a pomoc, ktorú im naši občania poskytli.

Z oboch kríz si Európania okrem strachu a obáv odniesli aj veľmi silný zážitok celoeurópskej empatie a jednoty. Práve táto skúsenosť nám ukazuje, že najlepšou cestou na prekonávanie akýchkoľvek výziev, ktorým ako Únia čelíme, je naša jednota, spolupráca a solidarita.

Dámy a páni, naša snaha o rovnováhu v Európe sa týmto nekončí. Paradoxom totiž je, že v situácii, kedy sme bezprecedentne zjednotení voči externým výzvam, čelíme dnes aj veľmi silným vnútorným tlakom. Tie sú vyvolané súbehom niekoľkých kríz, ale aj dlhodobým ignorovaním našich zraniteľností. Ak nezvládneme tieto európske krízy, hrozí nám, že prerastú do krízy Európy.

Milióny európskych domácností a podnikov je dnes ohrozovaných skokovým rastom cien energií. Tieto začali rásť ešte pred vojnou, keďže Rusko už minulé leto začalo znižovať dodávky zemného plynu do Európy. Tým začalo deformovať európsky energetický trh a ohrozovať našich občanov. Slovensko, ktoré donedávna získavalo 85 % plynu z Ruska, vďaka diverzifikácii znížilo svoju závislosť na 33 %. Nikdy ale nevieme, kedy dodávky plynu Vladimir Putin stopne úplne.

Ako Únia dnes potrebujeme riešiť príčiny aj dopady tejto krízy. Správne riešenia preto majú byť európske, spoločné a solidárne. Také, ktoré urýchlene pomôžu v ťažkej situácii všetkým členským krajinám a okrem kompenzácií umožnia aj dohodu na spoločnom zastropovaní cien plynu. Potrebujeme tiež oddeliť previazanosť cien elektriny a cien plynu, pretože dnes krajiny ako Slovensko, ktoré vyrábajú väčšinu elektriny z nízkouhlíkových zdrojov, za ňu platia neadekvátne vysoké ceny. Dovoľujem si vás preto požiadať o podporu týchto riešení.

Okrem následkov však musíme riešiť aj príčiny, ktoré nás sem dostali. Už nikdy nemôžeme ako Únia ostať tak závislí na jednom dodávateľovi. A už nikdy nemôže byť náš hospodársky model a prosperita tak závislé na fosílnych palivách.

Závazok stať sa klimaticky neutrálnym kontinentom do roku 2050 už nemôžeme odkladať či spochybňovať. Musíme predovšetkým pomôcť tým, na ktorých dnes energetická kríza najviac dopadá. Ale cieľ je jasný: inovovať náš model rozvoja tak, aby sme viac využívali obnoviteľné zdroje energie a menej ničili našu vlastnú planétu. Globálnymi lídrami sa musíme stať nielen v našich klimatických záväzkoch či ambíciách, ale aj v ich napĺňaní. Prežijeme iba vtedy, ak obnovíme rovnováhu medzi naším spôsobom života a planétou, na ktorej žijeme.



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Vážené poslankyne, vážení poslanci, dnes čelíme aj kríze demokratických pravidiel a ich dodržiavania. Každá jedna krajina, ktorá do Európskej únie vstúpila, a každá jedna krajina, ktorá sa o to usiluje, musí byť a zostať liberálnou demokraciou. Byť členom tohto klubu nie je nárok. Je to privilégium. Členstvo v tomto klube nestačí iba dosiahnuť, členstvo v ňom treba neustále aktualizovať jasným pochopením a rešpektom k spoločným hodnotám: hodnotám ako právny štát, delba moci, nezávislosť súdnictva, sloboda médií či ochrana menšín.

Ak tieto základné kamene, na ktorých je naše spoločenstvo postavené, čelia útoku, musíme konať na ich obranu. Chceme zdôrazniť, že pravidlá nám chýbajú menej ako dôslednosť a konzekventnosť pri ich vynucovaní. Ak naše opatrenia nebudú rozhodné, problémy budú narastať, a tí, ktorí hodnoty Európskej únie porušujú, budú povzbudzovať a inšpirovať ďalších.

Samotný pojem liberálnej demokracie je dnes v mnohých našich krajinách dezinterpretovaný, nepochopený, spochybňovaný a atakovaný extrémom. Hoci neexistuje jeden model liberálnej demokracie, som si istá, že 'neliberálna demokracia' sú dva nezlučiteľné pojmy.

Vážený prítomní, naše demokratické pravidlá sú dnes zneužívané na ničenie samotnej demokracie. Sloboda slova je jedno z najdôležitejších demokratických práv. Musíme ho chrániť, ale nie je bezbrehé. Ako sa nám stalo, že sme slobodu prejavu vpustili až do priestoru verbálnych trestných činov? Ako sme ju mohli častokrát povýšiť až na právo absolútne? To nie je demokratické, to je hlúpe. Sloboda slova nemôže byť zásterkou pre šírenie neznášanlivosti, klamstiev a dezinformácií.

Nikde tento problém nie je vypuklejší ako na sociálnych sieťach. Radikalizovaný tínedžer, ktorý pred týždňom zabil dvoch mladých ľudí a zranil tretiu v uliciach Bratislavy, sa do veľkej miery inšpiroval na sociálnych sieťach a pred vraždou na sociálnej sieti publikoval dlhý pamflet plný nenávisť voči rôznym menšinám.

Táto vražda sa síce stala na Slovensku, ale riziko takýchto činov sa týka nás všetkých. V rôznych častiach Európy sledujeme stupňovanie agresivity voči menšinám a rast pravicového extrémizmu. Zhoršovanie sociálno-ekonomickej situácie sebedovomiu radikálov iba pridáva. Musíme si byť vedomí, že akýkoľvek útok z nenávisť je útokom na hodnotovú podstatu Európskej únie, ktorej súčasťou je rovnoprávnosť, tolerancia a rešpekt k ľudským právam.

Zdá sa mi, že k sociálnym sieťam dnes pristupujeme podobne naivne ako k iným technologickým novinkám. Teda bez uplatňovania predbežnej opatrnosti. Benefity využívame bez znalosti a ostrážitosti k ich možným a zjavným negatívnym dôsledkom. Sociálne siete využívame bez toho, aby sme si ako spoločnosť naplno uvedomovali, ako nám ich algoritmy môžu škodiť, ako prehlbujú polarizáciu a posilňujú názorové bubliny.

'Pravde veriť, pravdu žiť a pravdu brániť' je motto jedného zo zakladateľov moderného slovenského národa, generála Milana Rastislava Štefánika. Vo verejnom priestore musí platiť aj vtedy, ak sa zdá, že by bolo efektívnejšie nahlas kričať, bez ohľadu na kvalitu či pravdivosť výrokov, a nie sa vzájomne počúvať, viesť dialóg a dbať na fakty.

Nedovoľme, aby demokracia zahynula na naivitu demokratov. Na naivnú vieru v to, že demokratické práva a slobody budú iba využívané, a nie zneužívané. Nezabúdajme, že každé právo je zároveň vyjadrením zodpovednosti, a naopak. Ak demokraciu nebudeme chrániť, môže sa nám stať, že budeme poslednou generáciou, ktorá ju zažije. Práve jej ochrana je hlavnou úlohou našej generácie politických lídrov. Musíme preto aj v tejto oblasti urobiť primerané kroky na národnej úrovni. Je dobré, že Európsky parlament prijal nariadenie o digitálnych službách, a vítam aj Európsky akčný plán pre demokraciu. To, čo je nelegálne offline, musí byť nelegálne aj online.

Viac však potrebujeme urobiť aj na globálnej úrovni. Biznis model sociálnych platforiem stojí na využívaní tých najnižších ľudských emócií a pudov. Sociálne platformy nie sú len prevádzkovateľmi povestných informačných potrubí – ich zisk je totiž priamo úmerný tomu, koľko nenávisť, agresie, klamstiev a dezinformácií cez tieto potrubia pretečie. Musia preto niesť primeranú zodpovednosť za obsah, ktorý je na nich publikovaný.

Vážená pani prezidentka, vážené poslankyne, vážení poslanci, výzvy, o ktorých dnes hovorím, robia Európsku úniu krehkejšou, ako si možno uvedomujeme a pripúšťame. Ekonomická, bezpečnostná, energetická kríza, pokračujúca fragmentácia našich spoločností či tlak nelegálnej migrácie sú živnou pôdou pre extrémizmus. V mnohých členských krajinách Únie dnes stačí jeden volebný cyklus a v poslaneckých laviciach, aj tu, vo vašich miestach, môže sedieť väčšina, ktorá nebude chcieť Európu budovať, ale rozložiť. Preto nesmie byť laxní a defenzívni, ale naopak vytrvalí, odvážni a sebedovomí v obrane našich spoločných hodnôt.

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Napriek nevyhnutnosti riešenia mnohých kríz, a možno práve preto, nesmieme zabúdať na to, na čom by mal byť postavený výkon politiky ako takej. Preto nepoľavme v nárokoch na seba samých, aby sme reprezentovali slušnosť a etiku a demokratické hodnoty. Vernosť týmto princípom nie je slabosťou, ale esenciou demokratickej politiky.

Prvý prezident Československa, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, už pred sto rokmi povedal, že demokracia nie je len systém politický, ale predovšetkým je to systém morálny. Myslíme na to všetci pri výkone nášho mandátu, je to zodpovednosť a povinnosť voči našim občanom.

Ak budeme demokraciu vnímať v tomto zmysle, som si istá, že zvládneme krízy, ktorým dnes čelíme, a naplníme tak naše poslanie byť strážcami a ochrancami demokracie, európskych hodnôt a rovnováhy.

Ďakujem za vašu pozornosť.

**President.** – That concludes the formal sitting.

*(The sitting was suspended for a few minutes)*

## 6. Pokračovanie rokovania

*(The sitting resumed at 12.03)*

**Λευτέρης Χριστοφόρου (PPE).** – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, αγαπητές και αγαπητοί συνάδελφοι, για εμένα σήμερα είναι μια έντονα συναισθηματική ημέρα, γιατί είμαι υποχρεωμένος μετά από οκτώ χρόνια δράσης, κοινών αγώνων και προσφοράς μαζί με όλους εσάς, τους εξαίρετους, αγαπημένους και αγαπημένες μου συναδέλφους και συναδέλφισσες, να πραγματοποιήσω την τελευταία μου ομιλία ενώπιόν σας. Γιατί θεωρώ ότι τα ωραιότερα χρόνια της πολιτικής μου πορείας ήταν εδώ στο Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο. Γιατί πιστεύω ακράδαντα ότι είναι ο πιο ισχυρός δεσμός, το πιο ισχυρό δημοκρατικό, πλουραλιστικό όργανο της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης —το δημοκρατικά εκλεγμένο που συνεχίζει να προασπίζεται τις αρχές και τις αξίες της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης.

Σήμερα πήρα τον λόγο για να πω σε όλους εσάς μέσα από την καρδιά μου ένα τεράστιο ευχαριστώ για την αγάπη με την οποία με περιβάλατε —ιδιαίτερα στις δύο σημαντικές επιτροπές στις οποίες υπήρξα μέλος για αυτά τα οκτώ χρόνια, την Επιτροπή Ελέγχου του Προϋπολογισμού και την Επιτροπή Προϋπολογισμών. Κυρίως, όμως, για τη στήριξη που μου παρείχατε απλόχερα και που σχεδόν παμφηφεί, με μόνο 11 αρνητικές ψήφους, εγκρίνατε την υποψηφιότητά μου για να μεταβώ στο Ευρωπαϊκό Ελεγκτικό Συνέδριο. Αν με ρωτούσατε αυτή τη στιγμή, θα σας έλεγα ότι είναι πολύ δύσκολο για εμένα να αποχωριστώ αυτήν την αίθουσα όπου πραγματικά ένιωσα ότι ενωμένοι μπορούμε να προασπίσουμε όλες τις αρχές και τις αξίες μας.

Όμως, επιτρέψτε μου να απευθύνω ιδιαίτερος ένα μεγάλο ευχαριστώ στην πολιτική μου ομάδα, στο Ευρωπαϊκό Λαϊκό Κόμμα. Το κόμμα που από την πρώτη στιγμή με αντιμετώπισε σαν ίσο μεταξύ ίσων, παρότι προέρχομαι από μια μικρή χώρα. Το κόμμα που συνέχισε να με διδάσκει πανανθρώπινες αρχές και αξίες. Το κόμμα του οποίου ηγείται ένας άνθρωπος με «Α» κεφαλαίο. Σας το μεταφέρω μετά λόγου γνώσεως και χωρίς καμία σκοπιμότητα: ο άνθρωπος που ηγείται του Ευρωπαϊκού Λαϊκού Κόμματος, ο αγαπητός μου φίλος Manfred Weber, είναι ο άνθρωπος που διακατέχεται από όλες εκείνες τις αρχές και αξίες της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης και μου έδωσε, πραγματικά, όλη εκείνη την ώθηση για να αγαπήσω το Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο και την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση —η οποία, να ξέρετε, έχει μέλλον και προοπτική όταν έχει τέτοιους ανθρώπους, όπως τον Manfred Weber.

Αγαπητοί μου φίλοι, ολοκληρώνοντας, θα ήθελα να πω —και αυτό το μήνυμα απευθύνεται στους νέους ανθρώπους— ότι η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση είναι αυτή που έδωσε σε εμένα, έναν πολιτικό που ξεκίνησε ως πρόσφυγας από τον προσφυγικό συνοικισμό, κυνηγημένος από τα τουρκικά στρατεύματα, τη δυνατότητα να βρίσκομαι ανάμεσά σας μεταφέροντας ένα ισχυρό μήνυμα. Αγαπητοί συνάδελφοι, (ακατάληπτες λέξεις) αλλά μη λησμονήσετε τη μικρή μου πατρίδα· μη λησμονήσετε τους 200.000 Ελληνοκύπριους πρόσφυγες· μη λησμονήσετε ότι έχουμε και εμείς κατοχή, όπως δεν λησμονούμε την Ουκρανία και τον ουκρανικό λαό. Κρατήστε αυτές τις αρχές και τις αξίες. Σας ευχαριστώ μέσα από την καρδιά μου για ό, τι μου προσφέρατε όλα αυτά τα χρόνια. Είμαι ευγνώμων για την αγάπη σας, για τη συμπάραστασή σας, για την καθοδήγησή σας. Σας ευχαριστώ πραγματικά γιατί μου δώσατε αυτήν τη δύναμη και αυτήν τη δυνατότητα.

**President.** – Good luck, Mr Christoforou!

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## 7. Hlasovanie

**President.** – We move to the votes.

*(For the results and other details of the vote: see Minutes)*

### 7.1. Návrh opravného rozpočtu č. 4/2022: Aktualizácia príjmov (vlastných zdrojov) a iné technické úpravy (A9-0240/2022 – Karlo Ressler) (hlasovanie)

### 7.2. Návrh všeobecného rozpočtu Európskej únie na rozpočtový rok 2023 – všetky oddiely (hlasovanie)

— *after the vote:*

**Mikuláš Bek, Council.** – Madam President, honourable Members of the European Parliament, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, the European Parliament has just adopted amendments to the Council's position on the draft budget for the financial year 2023.

I take note of the differences in the positions of our two institutions concerning the draft budget for 2023 presented by the Commission. Consequently, in my capacity as President of the Council, I agree that the President of the European Parliament convenes the Conciliation Committee as required in Article 314(4)(c) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. Thank you very much for your attention.

**President.** – I shall convene the Conciliation Committee, in accordance with Article 314(4) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.

### 7.3. Všeobecný rozpočet Európskej únie na rozpočtový rok 2023 – všetky oddiely (A9-0241/2022 – Nicolae Ștefănuță, Niclas Herbst) (hlasovanie)

— *after the vote on paragraph 54:*

**Bert-Jan Ruissen (ECR).** – Madam President, dear colleagues, I think we all agree that the fight against anti-Semitism must remain a top priority in the EU, but also in our external policy. And I think it's important to underline today the crucial role of education in this respect. Therefore, I would like to propose as an oral amendment to add the following text to paragraph 54: 'Calls on the Commission to ensure that the resources for the Southern Neighbourhood are not being used for schoolbooks that do not adhere to the UNESCO standards of peace, co-existence, tolerance and mutual respect'.

*(Parliament declined to put the oral amendment to the vote).*

### 7.4. Udržateľné lodné palivá (iniciatíva FuelEU Maritime) (A9-0233/2022 – Jörgen Warborn) (hlasovanie)

— *after the vote on the Commission proposal:*

**Jörgen Warborn (PPE).** – Fru talman! Jag vill ta tillfället i akt och tacka alla ledamöter och personal som har bidragit i förhandlingarna. Vi kan vara stolta över den här gemensamma framgången, där Europa nu tar täten i omställningen av sjöfarten.

Det här är utan motstycke världens mest ambitiösa lagstiftning för att dramatiskt minska sjöfartens klimatavtryck. Vi gör det på ett balanserat och genomförbart sätt, där vi ser till att klara både klimatet och konkurrenskraften.

Med detta yrkar jag, i enlighet med artikel 59.4 i arbetsordningen, på att ärendet återförvisas till det ansvariga utskottet för interinstitutionella förhandlingar.

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*(Parliament approves the request for referral back to committee.)*

### 7.5. Zavádzanie infraštruktúry pre alternatívne palivá (A9-0234/2022 – Ismail Ertug) (hlasovanie)

– after the vote on the Commission proposal:

**Ismail Ertug (S&D).** – Madam President, dear colleagues, in accordance with Rule 59(4)(4), I ask you as the rapporteur responsible to refer back the dossier to the TRAN Committee for the institutional negotiations.

*(Parliament approves the request for referral back to committee.)*

**President.** – That concludes the vote.

The sitting was suspended at 13.02.

**VORSITZ: OTHMAR KARAS**

*Vizepräsident*

### 8. Pokračovanie rokovania

*(Die Sitzung wird um 13.05 Uhr wieder aufgenommen.)*

### 9. Schválenie zápisnice z predchádzajúceho rokovania

**Der Präsident.** – Das Protokoll der gestrigen Sitzung und die angenommenen Texte sind verfügbar.

Gibt es dazu Einwände? Das ist nicht der Fall.

Das Protokoll der gestrigen Sitzung ist genehmigt.

### 10. Očisťovanie protieurópskej extrémnej pravice v EÚ (tematická rozprava)

**Der Präsident.** – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über ein aktuelles Thema (Artikel 162 der Geschäftsordnung) über Schönfärberei des europafeindlichen Rechtsextremismus in der EU (2022/2887(RSP)).

Ich weise die Mitglieder darauf hin, dass es bei dieser Aussprache keine spontanen Wortmeldungen gibt und dass keine blauen Karten akzeptiert werden. Ich würde nur darum ersuchen, dass alle, die an dieser Debatte nicht teilnehmen, rasch den Saal verlassen und vor allem ihre privaten Gespräche auf dem Weg hinaus beenden.

**Iratxe García Pérez, Autora.** – Señor presidente, señorías, me da mucha tristeza tener que mantener este debate, pero creo que es imprescindible y por eso nuestro grupo político lo ha propuesto.

Nadie en nuestros países aceptaría un golpe de Estado, pero algunos en la Unión Europea están normalizando el deterioro diario de nuestros sistemas democráticos, la separación de poderes y la libertad de prensa. Estas alianzas de gobierno que estamos viendo entre partidos conservadores, y ahora también liberales, con partidos de extrema derecha blanquean unas actitudes que traspasan cualquier línea roja.

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El problema no es que sean partidos ultraconservadores; eso entra dentro del pluralismo político. Tampoco es un problema que no crean en una Europa unida, porque también los euroescépticos tienen derecho a estar representados en este hemisferio, faltaría más. El problema es que los populismos de extrema derecha socavan las instituciones, utilizan la democracia para debilitar las libertades y los derechos. Cuando entran en las instituciones, las utilizan para sus intereses.

Una mayoría parlamentaria no justifica leyes que persigan a las minorías, que violen sus derechos y socaven el marco jurídico y de convivencia vigente desde hace setenta años. La democracia liberal supone una aceptación del pluralismo político, de la diversidad cultural, del respeto de las minorías y del Estado de Derecho.

Se puede ser muy conservador respetando estos principios. Esta debería ser nuestra línea roja. Lo era hasta que el PPE y Renew decidieron separarse y abrir las puertas a partidos como Vox, los Demócratas Suecos, Alternativa para Alemania, la Liga y los Hermanos de Italia. Podemos llamarlos como queramos, neofascistas, posfascistas, populistas de extrema derecha... El nombre es lo de menos. Todos sabemos a lo que nos referimos, aunque algunos no lo quieran ver.

Nos referimos a quienes piden credenciales de abolengo para gozar de derechos de ciudadanía, porque distinguen entre los «verdaderos suecos» o los «verdaderos franceses», como hace Le Pen, y los que quizá hayan nacido en otro país, o sean hijos de inmigrantes, o quizá profesen el islam, o no tengan la piel blanca. Nos referimos a quienes vinculan la inmigración con delincuencia y querrían volver a una Europa nacional de etnias puras, como dijo Viktor Orbán.

Estos son quienes quieren volver al pasado, a una Europa de fronteras, y no solo físicas, porque las peores fronteras son las que tenemos en la mente. Son quienes niegan que hay mujeres asesinadas por el mero hecho de ser mujeres y recortan los presupuestos contra la violencia machista. Sus amigos en los Estados Unidos son los trumpistas como Steve Bannon. Son los amigos de Bolsonaro. Son los amigos de Putin.

No nos equivoquemos: la democracia liberal puede no ser el sistema perfecto y tenemos que trabajar siempre para mejorarlo, pero destruir lo que hemos construido juntos solo nos lleva a la polarización y a la incapacidad para llegar a acuerdos.

La democracia formal no es suficiente. Un espíritu democrático y un profundo respeto por el pluralismo son fundamentales para la convivencia.

El consenso de la posguerra para construir las primeras comunidades se basó en la firme convicción de que no había lugar en Europa para líderes autocráticos o ideologías racistas. Demócratacristianos, socialdemócratas y liberales hemos trabajado históricamente sobre este consenso.

Acabamos de clausurar la Conferencia sobre el Futuro de Europa para reflexionar sobre cómo seguimos avanzando. Esa sigue siendo la única base firme sobre la que construir esta casa común, que no es un equilibrio de poder entre naciones. Esa Europa de naciones anclada en el pasado nunca existió para los de la extrema derecha. Señores conservadores, señores liberales, vuelvan a la casa común para seguir construyendo un futuro de paz y de democracia.

**Mikuláš Bek**, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Mr President, honourable Members, Vice-President of the Commission. Fundamental rights and freedoms, political and media pluralism, the rule of law and free, fair and transparent elections are key elements of our democracies. While participation in politics can take many shapes, political parties remain at the core of political life and play an essential role in engaging citizens and in promoting a healthy confrontation between different – sometimes opposing – views of society and the economy.

Protecting an open and transparent political system, free from hostile interferences, is a challenge that should compel all of us to take action. This is also a task for the EU as a whole, and has led the Czech Presidency to make the resilience of democratic institutions one of its key priorities.

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To begin with, I can reaffirm that the Czech Presidency is fully committed to working with this House to reach a political agreement on the revision of the Regulation on the statute and financing of European political parties and foundations by the end of this year. This proposal is one of the two main elements of the Reinforcing democracy and integrity of elections package, presented by the Commission, which aims to strengthen European democracy.

The revised Regulation will increase the visibility of European political parties and strengthen their transparency requirements. In particular, the Council believes that the crucial element to limiting the risks of foreign interference in our electoral processes is to restrict the possibility of contributions to European political parties only to Member States, to member parties from the European Union.

We are also fully committed to making progress on another key proposal on the transparency and targeting of political advertising. This proposal aims to increase transparency and accountability on political advertising and to reveal the mechanisms behind the targeting and amplification techniques used in political advertising. It also covers campaigning activities at all levels, including cross-border campaigning activities, which are clearly of particular interest to this House.

The Czech Presidency is working with a view to finding an agreement within the Council by the end of this year to allow for negotiations with the Parliament to start as soon as possible.

Any interference in our political processes is unacceptable, particularly in the current geopolitical climate, and in the run up to the 2024 European Parliament election. Any false narratives, including anti-European ones, information manipulation and interference in our democracies cannot, and should not, be tolerated.

Let me be clear on this point: our fight against disinformation does not aim at suppressing diverging views, for instance, on the goals and directions of European integration. But our societies deserve to be able to make their own properly informed decisions, whether it is on health matters, on the political parties they choose to vote for, or on global events that directly or indirectly impact their lives.

The Council closely follows new initiatives by the Commission in this area and is actively involved in the implementation of existing ones, such as the strengthened Code of Practice on Disinformation. We look forward to even more ambitious actions based on the whole of society approach, as we must all be together in this fight against propaganda and information manipulation.

Before concluding, let me stress once again our determination to protect scrupulously our core democratic values from any hostile interference, foreign or otherwise.

Thank you very much once again for your attention.

**Věra Jourová**, *Vice-President of the Commission*. – Mr President, honourable Members, honourable Minister, thank you for organising this debate.

Democracy, rule of law and fundamental rights are the foundations on which the European Union is built. And we know that democracy needs to be nurtured, needs to be protected, besides others, against the powers that seek to destroy it. This is why we adopted the European Democracy Action Plan to protect free and fair elections, to fight disinformation and to protect media freedom.

And we move further. President von der Leyen announced in this year's State of the Union Address a Defence of Democracy Package. This will include a legislative initiative to protect our democracies from entities funded by or linked to third countries that may impact public opinion and the democratic sphere.

The Defence of Democracy Package will also be the occasion to review our actions under the European Democracy Action Plan, and this will come just in time, a year ahead of the elections to the European Parliament, an important moment in our democracy.

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In order to preserve free and fair elections, the Commission presented in November 2021 legislative proposals on the transparency and targeting of political advertising and non-legislative measures to strengthen cooperation on electoral resilience. I am glad that these proposals are currently being discussed in the European Parliament and the Council and I hope trilogues can soon start so we can have them in place well ahead of the next European Parliament elections.

They will strengthen the integrity of our political processes and their resilience to interference and contribute to combating disinformation and extremism through high transparency standards. We are convinced that people must know why they are seeing a political ad, who paid for it, how much, what micro-targeting criteria were used. New technologies should be tools for emancipation, not for hidden manipulation.

Let me also add a few words on the political extremism, which affects heavily our societies and which can lead to violence and murder, as we shockingly witnessed last week in Slovakia. The Russian military aggression against Ukraine offered violent extremist movements an opportunity to create divisive narratives and to exploit them with the aim of boosting anti-European sentiments.

We know that Russia supports white supremacists and other extremist right-wing groups on a global scale, encouraging them with propaganda, instrumentalising their discourses and thus sowing polarisation, also in the European societies. The war has also had an impact on the extreme left and anarchist-wing infosphere. Its narratives attract the attention of non-violent militants and focus on crucial issues related to the nature and logic of the war.

The Commission is working with Member States to tackle the threat of violent right-wing extremism in the EU, including via Europol, which is in close contact with the Member States' authorities and partner agencies to continuously engage and exchange information and gather intelligence to draw up assessments of the terrorist and right-wing extremist threats.

**Tomas Tobé, för PPE-gruppen.** – Herr talman! Kommissionär, minister! Oberoende domstolar, pressfrihet, kvinnors rättigheter – allt detta är en del av de centrala värderingar som ska försvaras över hela Europa.

Vi har problem. Vi ser att vi har stora utmaningar i Ungern, vi ser det i Polen, vi ser det i Malta. Vi har problem som vi behöver hantera. Nu försöker Europas socialdemokrater göra gällande att Sverige är ett stort problem. Man går till attack mot Sverige och den nya regeringen. Men, kollegor, det finns noll substans i detta.

I den regeringsförklaring som har presenterats i Sverige ska oberoende domstolar stärkas. Kvinnors rättigheter ska stärkas. Oberoende medier ska stärkas. Självklarheter! Självklarheter i Sverige. Men vi ska också få en regering som ska ta tag i de samhällsproblem vi har kring kriminalitet, som ska se till att vi ska få en energipolitik och som ska se till att vi minskar utanförskap.

Jag vill särskilt vända mig till mina svenska kollegor här i kammaren. Sverige har ett ordförandeskap som snart påbörjas, den 1 januari. Nu är det väldigt viktigt att vi samlar oss, för Europa står inför stora utmaningar. Det är dags för er att acceptera den här valförlusten.

Demokrati är inte lika med en röst på Socialdemokraterna, vänstern eller de gröna. Det är dags att visa lite ansvar. Vi ska kritisera där vi ser problem och där regeringar agerar fel. Men att nu försöka sätta etiketter som saknar all substans på denna regering, det är faktiskt inte hedervärt.

**Gabriele Bischoff, im Namen der S&D-Fraktion.** – Sehr geehrter Herr Präsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Man kann ja so den Eindruck bekommen, als ob Verharmlosung und Normalisierung von Rechtsextremen oder Postfaschisten immer was ist, was die anderen machen, was nicht da passiert, wo wir sind. Aber das ist nicht der Fall, und deshalb haben wir es auch auf die Agenda gesetzt. Wir sehen einfach, dass in vielen Mitgliedstaaten Rechtsextreme, Populisten, Postfaschisten, Parteien mit Nazivergangenheit gewinnen und die Ängste und Sorgen der Menschen ausnutzen. Wir haben es in Italien und Schweden gesehen, wo sie es bis an die Regierungsbeteiligung schaffen – und in beiden Fällen nur, weil sie auf die Unterstützung von Parteien der sogenannten politischen Mitte zählen können. Gleichzeitig haben Teile dieser Parteien die Diskurse dieser Parteien übernommen, und sie normalisieren sie auch damit.

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Wir gucken uns Italien an, und da können wir sehen, dass Silvio Berlusconi, der ja der enge Parteifreund von Manfred Weber ist, eine Koalition mit den postfaschistischen Brüdern Italiens eingegangen ist. Und wie reagiert der Chef der größten Fraktion hier im Hause? Er verharmlost es einfach. Er beteuert, dass Forza Italia und Berlusconi ja nur in dieser Koalition sind, damit sie proeuropäisch bleibt. Das ist doch nicht Ihr Ernst, Herr Weber. Würden Sie in Deutschland in eine Regierung mit der AfD eintreten, um zu sagen, wir wollen so sicherstellen, dass sie auf dem proeuropäischen Kurs bleibt?

Ich meine, wir haben gerade die Tage durch neue Tweets von Berlusconi gesehen, auf wessen Seite er steht: auf Putins Seite, wo er noch einmal bekräftigt hat, dass der ihm einen tollen Brief geschrieben hat und 20 Flaschen Wodka geschickt und er ebenso nett reagiert hat. Kolleginnen und Kollegen, diese Muster der Verharmlosung sind wirklich gefährlich. Sie sind politisch gefährlich, und wir haben es gesehen, wie lange Orbán und sein illiberales Demokratietagebuch auch hier in diesem Haus in der größten Fraktion verharmlost wurden. Lassen Sie uns umkehren, denn das ist ein gefährlicher Weg. Zurück zu einem Bollwerk der Demokratie gegen Rechtsextreme und Postfaschisten!

**Valérie Hayer**, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, Monsieur le Ministre, chers collègues, nous sommes désormais chaque jour confrontés aux propos et aux idées de l'extrême droite, sur les réseaux sociaux, notamment, sous forme d'insultes ou de *fake news*.

M<sup>me</sup> García Pérez n'est plus là, présente dans cet hémicycle, mais j'aurais voulu lui répondre. J'aurais voulu lui répondre que sur les réseaux sociaux, ces insultes sont du même calibre que les insultes honteuses de l'ancien premier ministre slovaque Robert Fico envers la présidente Čaputová, jamais condamné par la vice-présidente des socialistes Monika Beňová qui lui tenait compagnie. J'aurais voulu lui dire, à M<sup>me</sup> García, lui répondre que nous n'avons pas attendu pour nous désolidariser des libéraux suédois. Alors que certains de vos partis sont protégés malgré leurs affaires, comme le Parti socialiste maltais ou les socialistes bulgares proches du Kremlin, eh bien, les propos de votre présidente étaient indignes.

J'en reviens à mon propos initial, chers collègues. Malheureusement, il est devenu banal de lire ou d'entendre des thèses homophobes. Des thèses qui mènent au pire, comme le meurtre de deux hommes à Bratislava il y a une semaine. Les contre-vérités pullulent, du prétendu effet mortel des vaccins au caractère inoffensif de la COVID, en passant par la soi-disant Ukraine nazie. Et je ne pense pas être la seule ici, malheureusement, à faire ce constat.

Ces idées et mensonges viennent toujours des mêmes réseaux au service des extrêmes et en particulier de l'extrême droite. Alors j'en appelle à tous les pro-européens et à vous aussi, socialistes. Réveillons-nous, réveillons-nous ensemble! Il est plus que temps de combattre ces mensonges éhontés, de rétablir la vérité. Défendons nos valeurs, défendons nos journalistes, défendons le droit d'aimer qui on veut, défendons le droit de disposer de son corps, défendons le droit à la protection des personnes qui fuient la guerre ou l'oppression. N'en ayons pas honte! Défendons la planète, ne cédon rien au scepticisme climatique. Défendons l'indépendance de la justice, la liberté de nos médias. Défendons notre Union et tout ce qu'elle représente. Soyons fiers, soyons confiants, soyons courageux et renvoyons pour de bon ces idées au passé, au passé auquel elles appartiennent.

**Alice Kuhnke**, *för Verts/ALE-gruppen*. – Herr talman! Idéer är som energi. De försvinner inte, utan de omvandlas. Vårt ansvar är att förstå vilka idéer som ger förutsättningar till liv och gemenskap, och vilka idéer som skapar splittring, som bygger misstankar mellan människor, som blir till hat, som sakta men säkert förgör.

De nationalistiska idéer som gavs utrymme och växte fram i början av 1900-talet, och som slutade i Förintelsen, finns fortfarande kvar. I dagens EU bärs de av de högerextrema. Men precis som då får de i dag hjälp av framför allt konservativa och liberala politiker, som förblindade av sin egen vinning tror att de kan tämja monster.

Högerpopulismen förför lättfotade politiker. Det ser vi i Italien, det ser vi i Ungern, i Kroatien och sorgligt nog även i Sverige – landet som snart tar över EU:s ordförandeklubba.



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För att inte tvingas upprepa vår historia måste vi kunna den. Vi måste förstå hur det ena leder till det andra, och vi som vill stå på rätt sida av historien måste våga ta obekväma beslut. Vi måste våga försvara det som vi vet ger våra barn en framtid att se fram emot, och vi måste sätta hårt mot hårt mot alla steg i motsatt riktning. Och det måste göras nu. Det borde ha gjorts nyss. Vi har inte en sekund att förlora.

**Laura Huhtasaari**, *on behalf of the ID Group*. – Mr President, if you ask the left-leaning parties, they think that all the other parties are some kind of extreme, which should be excluded and stigmatised. This is how the European Parliament works. It discriminates against my ID Group.

Dear friends, referendums and respecting the result is democracy. In Italy, God, family and the nation state won. This may come as a surprise to you, but it is part of democracy that power changes from time to time. The biggest advantage of Brexit is that even if the election result does not please von der Leyen, she cannot threaten Britain any more, as she threatened Italy. In Sweden, common sense finally won. Immigration policy will change and the Ministry of the Environment will be abolished.

I wonder why the European Parliament is never worried about communism, even though there are parties in the governments of the Member States whose name is 'the Communist Party'.

**Patryk Jaki**, *w imieniu grupy ECR*. – Panie Przewodniczący! Pani Komisarz! Otóż najpierw ustalmy fakty. Szanowni Państwo, jaka ideologia pochłonęła najwięcej ofiar w historii świata? Otóż tą ideologią był komunizm. Komunizm, który jak rozumiem, wam nie przeszkadza, bo pełno tutaj ludzi, którzy odwołują się do tej ideologii, w tym, jak rozumiem, również w rządzie koalicyjnym w Hiszpanii. I to wam w ogóle nie przeszkadza.

Przypomnijmy, czym był i na jakich wartościach opierał się komunizm: na walce z Bogiem i chrześcijaństwem, na walce z rodziną, na walce z wolnością i na walce z prawdziwymi fundamentami europejskości, które są trzy od ponad dwóch tysięcy lat: filozofia grecka, rzymskie prawo, chrześcijaństwo. Na tym zbudowano pokój w Europie, największe dzieła sztuki, architektury, filozofii, powszechny system edukacji, pierwszą konstytucję w Europie, która powstała w katolickiej Polsce. Schuman wyznawał te wartości, do których się tak często odwołujecie. A dzisiaj, gdyby przyszedł tutaj do tego parlamentu, pewnie nie mógłby pełnić żadnej funkcji. Bo taka jest w was demokracja, że jak w Szwecji wygra ktoś, kto wam się nie podoba, to nie ma demokracji. Bo co? Tak samo w Hiszpanii, jeżeliby wygrałby ktoś, kto wam się nie podoba, czy we Włoszech wygrywa ktoś, kto się wam nie podoba, to wtedy nie ma demokracji. Bo prawdziwa demokracja dla was to jest tylko wtedy, kiedy wygrywa lewica. Tylko że to nie jest, szanowni Państwo, demokracja, tylko to jest dyktatura.

Dokładnie tak samo jest z tym kryterium praworządności. W Polsce są takie same rozwiązania jak w innych państwach. Tylko wam to przeszkadza, bo mówicie „może i są, ale oni mają gorszą kulturę i tradycję”. To są poglądy właśnie rasistowskie, które doprowadziły do wszystkich wojen w Europie.

Nie idźcie tą drogą. Prawdziwa demokracja polega na tym, że słuchacie ludzi, a nie wyobrażacie sobie, że tylko wy będziecie decydowali o tym, kto naprawdę będzie rządził w poszczególnych krajach.

**Niyazi Kizilyürek**, *on behalf of The Left Group*. – Mr President, Theodor Adorno, already in 1967, pointed out that one of the causes of the rise of the extreme right is the failure of liberal democracies to fulfil their promises and satisfy the needs of the citizens. It is true that, with no liberal policies in recent years, the gap between the privileged and the vast majority of the population has increased.

The far right exploits the dissatisfaction of the angry masses and mobilises *ressentiment* against the political class. What the extreme right provides are nationalism, anti-enlightenment, xenophobia and political authoritarianism. It talks about exclusive and pure national identity, it turns against immigration, especially against Muslim immigrants, and presents the EU as a threat. For the far right, the multicultural EU is denationalising European people.

We should be aware that the rise of the right goes hand in hand with the rise of nationalism. Indeed, in the historical context, all 21st century nationalism means far right. Unfortunately, when it comes to issues such as national identity and multiculturalism, the mainstream right is often using similar discourses to the extreme right and is normalising the narrative of far right thinking.

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**Miroslav Radačovský (NI).** – Vážený pán predsedajúci, predpokladám, že keby tu bolo všetkých 705 europoslancov a každého z nich by som sa spýtal, kto je pravicový extrémista, tak nezdvihol by ruku nikto. Keby som sa opýtal vo Švédsku, v Taliansku, v Maďarsku, v Poľsku, v Španielsku, v Chorvátsku, kto je pravicový extrémista a kto volil pravicových extrémistov, tak nezdvihne ruku nikto. Jednoducho, každý by mi odpovedal, že je patriotom, že je patriotom svojej vlasti, že je švédskym patriotom, talianskym patriotom, maďarským patriotom, chorvátskym patriotom. Vám, liberálnej demokracii prekáža, že tu nie stúpa pravicový extrémizmus, ale že tu stúpa patriotizmus a patriotizmus nie je ani pravicový, ani ľavicový. Patriotizmus je jednoducho patriotizmus, vzťah k vlasti. A pokiaľ budú silné patriotické štáty národné, tak bude aj silná Európa. A pokiaľ nebude patriotizmus v každom štáte, pocit občana, lásky k svojej vlasti, k spolupatričnosti k Európe, tak to tu môže skončiť. Ja som tiež na Slovensku predsedom strany Slovenský patriot, a keďže tento pán búcha, tak končím.

**Fulvio Martusciello (PPE).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, che cos'è la democrazia? La democrazia è il voto del popolo.

In Svezia a settembre ha votato l'82 % dei cittadini svedesi; hanno scelto liberamente, senza costrizioni, senza violenze, si sono recati in cabina elettorale e hanno espresso un voto. La stessa cosa è accaduta in Italia il 25 settembre. Il 64 % degli italiani è andato nella cabina elettorale e ha fatto la propria scelta, ragionevolmente, consapevolmente.

Questa è la democrazia: è il diritto dei cittadini di poter scegliere liberamente da chi essere governati e questo Parlamento non può sindacare cosa sia giusto o sbagliato, non possiamo ritenere che un governo sia non in linea soltanto perché non ha le stesse idee che magari abbiamo noi nel cuore. Dobbiamo essere razionali nel giudicare i governi e dobbiamo giudicare i governi dagli atti, da quello che faranno.

Ho sentito, devo dire la verità, tante sciocchezze sul mio paese, sull'Italia. Noi siamo chiari, chiarissimi, sulla nostra linea politica estera. Siamo stati i primi a condannare l'invasione in Ucraina e la nostra linea non cambierà assolutamente con il nuovo governo, così come non era cambiata con i governi precedenti.

Ecco, dobbiamo essere consapevoli che gli atti che feriscono sono quelli che magari sono accaduti qui oggi in questo Parlamento, quando un emendamento corretto, che voleva tentare di ripristinare la corretta educazione dei ragazzi palestinesi sia stato bocciato e non sia stato messo in votazione. Questi sono gli atti che feriscono: l'antisemitismo dilagante che purtroppo è presente anche in questo Parlamento e sta trovando grande spazio in Europa.

**Heléne Fritzon (S&D).** – Herr talman! Kommissionen och rådet! "Sverigedemokraterna har en nationalistisk bakgrund och ett förflutet som är bedrövligt. De står för saker jag inte står för. De har en annan syn på kultur och jämställdhet. Deras historia är ju verkligen sjuklig." Orden kommer från svenska Liberalernas partiledare Johan Pehrson i en tv-intervju. Samma parti, Liberalerna, har nu ingått avtal med detta högerextrema parti, Sverigedemokraterna. Ett avtal som innebär att Sverigedemokraterna med sin högerextrema agenda nu dikterar villkoren för den nya svenska regeringen där Liberalerna ingår.

Det som för några år sedan var otänkbart för högerpartierna och Liberalerna, att samarbeta med extremhögern, har blivit accepterat och normalt, så till den milda grad att man väljer bort sin egen politik. För Liberalerna hade ett val, ett avgörande val, och de valde att ge makt åt extremhögern. Jag trodde aldrig, aldrig att detta skulle kunna hända i mitt land, Sverige. Liberalerna i Sverige ska skämmas.

Genom de svenska Liberalerna har Renew nu öppnat dörren för samarbete med ECR. Kommer vi att gå samma väg i detta hus? Renew, det är er tur. Ni måste vara tydliga. Ni måste göra ert val.

Vi har utmaningar i EU, där vi måste hålla samman. Och för oss socialdemokrater är det en självklarhet att värna våra grundläggande värden och inte ge extremhögern mer inflytande än man redan har genom att man är invald i parlamentet.

Jag hoppas att både EPP och Renew förstår allvaret i den här frågan. Ett exempel i Sverige är att den nya regeringen redan har skrotat den välkända feministiska utrikespolitiken. Det är bara början.

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**Katalin Cseh (Renew).** – Mr President, let me give you an example that clearly shows not only how anti-EU disinformation is being spread by far right forces in the EU, but also how passivity from the European institutions is playing a part in the problem. As with many of you right now, there are mass protests in Hungary because people have had enough of the government defunding public education to the brink of collapse. The answer to this from government propaganda is very clear: Brussels is to blame for all this.

Viktor Orban said with his own words that it's because of the European Union that there are no wage increases for teachers. The reason why a Hungarian teacher earns EUR 700 is you, colleagues, not the Prime Minister who has been governing for 12 years with a super-majority. Well, no surprises here, right?

My question to you, colleagues, why wasn't there a single Commission official who bothered to refute these blatant lies. These are the same lies as are spread about the Ukraine war and just about every major policy field in the EU. Did they not learn the lesson from Brexit, another far right anti-EU campaign that was sold on lies? It could work because these lies were met with deafening silence from the EU side. Anti-EU disinformation is corroding our Union from within, so it's time for the Commission to do something about it.

**Gwendoline Delbos-Corfield (Verts/ALE).** – Mr President, far right is seeking normalisation and we are giving it to them. First, they had to disguise their fascist legacy, their most frightening symbols and their worst racist, violent rhetoric. Second, they asked right-wing and liberal centrists to open the door, to let them in a bit, accessing little places of power in Parliament, even in government, and spreading this false narrative that sometimes the left would be more extremist than far-right. It happened in Austria, now Italy, Sweden, France.

And now third, we should be all reassured because they are not claiming they want to leave the European Union anymore. But why should they? They can do scary far-right politics, take the money, use the single market and influence the decisions. Viktor Orbán paved the way. Eating up the EU from the inside is the new respectable path of power for the far right.

**Isabella Tovaglieri (ID).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, mi rivolgo innanzitutto a chi oggi ha voluto fortemente questo dibattito, cioè le sinistre europee. Ancora una volta volete convincerci che i governi sono democratici solo quando a vincere le elezioni siete voi, oppure, meglio ancora, quando al governo andate voi, magari senza un mandato elettorale, esattamente come è accaduto per molti anni in Italia.

Ossessionate da chi la pensa diversamente da voi, state tenendo in ostaggio questo Parlamento impedendoci di affrontare i veri problemi dell'Europa. Il pericolo delle destre non esiste, non ci sono prove, ma solo tanti pregiudizi e propaganda a buon mercato.

Parliamo invece del pericolo delle sinistre antidemocratiche: da quando avete perso il contatto con i reali problemi non rispettate il voto popolare e mettete alla gogna governi democraticamente eletti. Parliamo invece del pericolo delle sinistre europee che non si vergognano di fare accordi con i dittatori di mezzo mondo e che premono per far entrare in Europa la Turchia, un'assurdità a cui solo le destre europee si sono opposte.

E allora basta con questo teatrino. L'unico pericolo che corre oggi quest'Aula è di perdere tempo prezioso per discutere di caro energia, di caro bollette e di inflazione che erode i salari. Allora, se non per rispetto a noi, almeno per rispetto di chi ci ha eletti, lasciate questo Parlamento libero di lavorare seriamente, di dare risposte concrete che i cittadini si attendono. Perché, care sinistre, i cittadini non si convincono con le accuse, ma con programmi seri, concreti e credibili e le elezioni in Italia ve lo hanno dimostrato.

**Jorge Buxadé Villalba (ECR).** – Señor presidente, ustedes se comportan como un matón en el patio del colegio. Durante años, han estado amedrentando a los niños, pero hoy hay una generación que ha decidido plantarles cara.

Después de oír el debate, se demuestra de nuevo que nadie en Europa recibe más insultos, odio y violencia que eso que ustedes llaman la extrema derecha. Pero ya no dan miedo, dan vergüenza ajena.

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Si quieres un empleo estable: extrema derecha. Si respetas a tus padres y exiges el derecho a educar a tus hijos: extrema derecha. Si no quieres vivir compartiendo un apartamento de treinta metros cuadrados: extrema derecha. Si amas a tu nación: extrema derecha. Si intentas vivir tu fe cristiana de forma coherente: extrema derecha. Si te parece ridículo el feminismo *woke* que atenta contra las leyes biológicas: extrema derecha. Si quieres pasear seguro por las calles de tu ciudad: extrema derecha. Si sabes que solo con molinos y placas solares no vamos a mantener la dignidad de Europa: extrema derecha. Si no quieres que las élites millonarias decidan por ti y quieres que decida el pueblo: extrema derecha.

Todo el que se enfrenta a ustedes debe ser expulsado del espacio público, pero esto se ha acabado. Ya no va a ser así, porque vamos a ganar en toda Europa.

**Eugenia Rodríguez Palop (The Left).** – Señor presidente, señor Buxadé, me ha facilitado la intervención porque yo justo iba a empezar con esta campaña de la extrema derecha en España.

Si te sales del caminito marcado del pensamiento único, serás cualquier cosa, pero también facha. Y sigue. Si decides hablar bien de nuestra historia: facha. Si crees que España es más fuerte unida: muy facha. Si crees que las víctimas del terrorismo merecen respeto: muy facha. Si piensas algo tan lógico como que el hombre es hombre y la mujer es mujer: facha. Que defiendes la vida y la familia: facha.

Esta es una de las campañas, de las simpáticas campañas, de la extrema derecha en España. Una campaña que se apropia de tu familia, de tus abuelos, de tus hijos, de tu identidad sexual y hasta de tu madre.

La extrema derecha juega a distorsionar ironizando para homologarse, pero se opone a las leyes LGTBIQ, a la educación sexual, a las leyes de la infancia, a la memoria democrática o a los servicios públicos que necesitan los más vulnerables.

Digámoslo claro: el racismo no es normal, no es normal el clasismo, ni la xenofobia, ni el machismo y, sí, en efecto, es fascismo y no se puede normalizar porque ha generado y genera víctimas.

**Carles Puigdemont i Casamajó (NI).** – Monsieur le Président, le blanchiment est quotidien et structurel, mais nous ne le vaincrons pas avec des slogans ou avec une supériorité morale face à leurs discours de plus en plus sophistiqués. Il faut commencer à démanteler leurs arguments un par un pour démontrer, au moyen de données, qu'ils n'ont pas raison dans les débats où ils se sentent à l'aise – immigration, religion, sécurité, fiscalité, etc. Nous devons renouveler notre argumentaire parce qu'ils l'ont fait.

Mais tandis que nous dénonçons les discours de haine, il y a des États qui contribuent au blanchiment quotidien et structurel de ces discours. L'Espagne est pleine de rues et de places nommées d'après Franco ou les franquistes. À Madrid, ils ont décidé de dédier une rue à la division Azul, l'armée espagnole de volontaires qui est allée combattre aux côtés de Hitler. Le fondateur du parti fasciste est toujours enterré dans un mausolée de l'État. La Fondation Francisco Franco, illégale, et ses héritiers politiques ont des accords de gouvernance avec les partis populaires.

Le problème n'est pas seulement l'extrême droite. Le problème est que ce qui la favorise, y compris la tolérance ou même les métaphores sur le paradis européen et la jungle du reste du monde.

**Loránt Vincze (PPE).** – Mr President, strangely enough, we never have a debate in this House about the dangers of the extreme left for our societies. I could tell you a lot about how extreme left communism devastated my country, Romania. In Sweden, the government was formed yesterday, while in Italy it has not even been formed yet. Nonetheless, the left in this house wants to put a quarantine stamp on a majority that emerged in free and democratic elections.

Colleagues, we can certainly have ideological debates, but we cannot alter the vote of citizens. This would not be democracy anymore, but an ideological dictatorship. Perform better in the elections, not in making outcasts of the winners. The centre right was always careful in choosing its partners and, more importantly, in keeping its coalitions on a firmly European track. I am certain this will be the case in Italy and in Sweden this time around too.

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Today's debate is not timely at all, but it gives us the opportunity to stay where we stay. We need the centre right and Christian Democrats. We state clearly that the left has no monopoly on what Europe is, on what Europeans can think about it, and on how Europe should look.

**Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D).** – Señor presidente, al igual que hay gente que opina que el populismo es una fórmula demasiado genérica que requiere conclusiones nacionales, hay quienes dicen que la extrema derecha también exige un examen detallado, que no es la misma la que llega al Gobierno en Italia que la que lo hace en Suecia.

Y, sin embargo, exhiben rasgos comunes: el primero, es un nacionalismo reaccionario, propenso a embarcarse en guerras culturales e identitarias y, por tanto, directamente contrario a la diversidad, que es el valor constitutivo de la Unión Europea; el segundo, su carácter rabiosamente antiglobalitario, lo que la enfrenta tanto con el feminismo como con los movimientos que considera progresistas, porque se fundan precisamente en la exaltación del valor de la igualdad; pero, sobre todo, el rasgo más preocupante, porque conduce a la conclusión de que es rectamente antieuropea, es que practica un lenguaje que entronca con el discurso del odio, que la historia demuestra que propende al delito de odio.

Hemos debatido, en esta sesión, el asesinato infame en Bratislava, por un pistolero de extrema derecha, de dos personas discriminadas por su orientación sexual. De modo que hay que decir que, cuando se comete un delito contra inmigrantes, no es ninguna otra ideología, es siempre la extrema derecha, y eso es directamente antieuropeo.

Y, por tanto, la conclusión es clara: cualquier forma de colaboración política con la extrema derecha no puede ser blanqueada, porque acaba siendo una forma de complicidad con delitos de odio. Delitos de odio que no pueden ser en ningún caso subestimados ni banalizados.

**Ramona Strugariu (Renew).** – Domnule președinte, rapoarte ale serviciilor de informații americane și europene publicate de presă ne spun că Rusia a investit în ultimii ani cel puțin 300 de milioane de dolari în țări de pe trei continente, pentru a influența politica și politicile noastre publice. Sunt cifre infime, doar vârful aisbergului. Există agenții Rusiei și există așa-numiții idioți utili ai Kremlinului, care fac agenda propagandei ruse gratuit și devastator pentru democrație. Orice demers de legitimare a unui partid sau politician extremist de către oricare dintre familiile politice europene are costuri greu de imaginat. Avem deja facțiuni extremiste și ultraconservatoare în Europa la guvernare. Uitați-vă în jur. Vorbim despre acei pentru care drepturile sociale nu există, pentru care superioritatea rasei este o credință, pentru care diversitatea se plătește cu moartea. Bătălia următoarei decade este pentru valori, drepturi și libertăți. Fie o câștigăm, fie nu vom mai exista ca democrații. Auriștii, meloniștii și democrații suedezi și alții asemenea nu trebuie vreodată să facă agenda politică a Europei și a țărilor noastre. Atunci când se va întâmpla asta am pierdut pacea, libertatea, democrația, echilibrul. Adică tot.

**Diana Riba i Giner (Verts/ALE).** – Señor presidente, señora comisaria, en Italia contemplamos cómo la extrema derecha gobernará con el apoyo impagable del partido de Berlusconi, miembro del PPE.

En España, el Partido Popular —otra vez, PPE— abre las puertas de gobiernos regionales a Vox, un partido que no condena el franquismo, que es antieuropeísta y aliado de Putin y que predica una ideología xenófoba y misógina.

Y ante este blanqueo del fascismo, no escuchamos nada más que el silencio del PPE, pero cuando realmente gana la extrema derecha es cuando aquellos que se denominan demócratas adoptan su lenguaje y sus marcos mentales.

Y esto ocurre incluso dentro de la misma Comisión. Es inaceptable que el vicepresidente Borrell hable de Occidente como de un jardín y del resto del mundo como de una jungla a la que parece que haya que civilizar. Una metáfora que desprende su supremacismo intolerable.

Combatir este fenómeno es una causa colectiva que nos interpela a todas las demócratas y que nos obliga a responder con una propuesta valiente basada en la inclusión, la igualdad y el bien común.

**Nicolaus Fest (ID).** – Herr Präsident, verehrte Kollegen! Als ich das Thema sah – Weißwaschung der extremen und antieuropäischen Parteien –, dachte ich mir: Wer außer den Linken kann solch einen Quatsch auf die Agenda setzen? Aber tatsächlich freue ich mich über die Debatte, denn sie zeigt, dass auch die Linken sehen, was wir inzwischen alle sehen. Die linke Weltsicht, die linke Kulturhegemonie zerbricht: in Schweden, in Italien, in Ungarn, natürlich in Polen – aber auch in Frankreich ist sie kurz davor. Die Wahlergebnisse zeigen es überdeutlich.

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Genau diese Wahlergebnisse sind auch der Grund, warum wir diese Debatte hier heute führen – wenn es denn überhaupt eine Debatte ist. Es geht nur darum, rechte Parteien, konservative Parteien zu diffamieren, ohne dass man dafür irgendwelche Argumente hat. Aber Sie sollten zur Kenntnis nehmen: Die Leute, die Menschen wollen keine linke Hege­ monie mehr. Sie haben genug von offenen Grenzen und importierter Kriminalität, sie haben genug von Gender und Wokeness, sie haben genug von exzessiven Minderheitenrechten und sie wollen bezahlbare Energie und keine Deindustrialisierung per *Green Deal*.

Die dänischen Sozialdemokraten übrigens haben das schon vor einiger Zeit begriffen, als sie die Einwanderung deutlich beschränkten. Auch die schwedischen Sozialdemokraten haben das getan, wenn auch zu spät. Sind das Ihrer Ansicht nach nun alles Faschisten? Vielleicht sollte die Linke vor der nächsten Europawahl mal darüber nachdenken, wie sie sich der Wirklichkeit und den Bedürfnissen der Menschen wieder ein wenig annähert. Sonst – das wäre allerdings auch zu begrüßen – haben wir bald nach der nächsten Wahl deutlich weniger Linke hier im Parlament.

**Raffaele Stancanelli (ECR).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, purtroppo anche oggi ci troviamo a partecipare a un dibattito che speravamo non fosse di pura propaganda o che sfociasse nella faziosità se si chiama in causa la destra italiana.

È evidente infatti il tentativo di qualificare come estrema una precisa parte politica, con l'intento di criminalizzare i risultati elettorali che, anche in una nazione fondativa dell'Europa come l'Italia, ci sono stati.

Raccontare una destra antieuropeista evidenzia la volontà precisa di narrare una realtà che non esiste, dal momento che quella italiana è stata sempre, nei decenni, europeista e radicata nell'Occidente. Negli ultimi trent'anni la destra italiana ha partecipato a governi nazionali, ha eletto decine di migliaia di amministratori, centinaia di sindaci e presidenti di regione, io stesso sono stato sindaco di una grande città, abbiamo svolto la nostra azione politica e amministrativa nel rispetto della Costituzione italiana e delle leggi e ci siamo sottoposti, al termine del mandato, al giudizio degli elettori.

Ora gli italiani hanno dato una larga maggioranza al centrodestra e Giorgia Meloni, leader di Fratelli d'Italia, si appresta a presiedere il governo italiano. Non abbiamo bisogno di alcuna riabilitazione e continueremo a combattere ogni forma di estremismo e di violenza.

**Κωνσταντίνος Αρβανίτης (The Left).** – Κύριε Πρόεδρε, άκουγα τους εκπροσώπους του Ευρωπαϊκού Λαϊκού Κόμματος και μου ήρθε ο τίτλος «Ωραίο μου πλυντήριο». Δηλαδή, σαν να μην καταλαβαίνετε τι έγινε στην Σουηδία, σαν να μην καταλαβαίνετε τι γίνεται στην Ιταλία. Οι φίλοι του Μουσολίνι έχουν έρθει στα πράγματα και συναινείτε σε αυτό. Η ακραία δεξιά αντιμετωπίζεται με τρόπο —επεικώς θα πω— «απολιτικό» και ως αφήγημα και ως πρακτική, με την ανιστόρητη προσέγγιση που έχετε και, βεβαίως, με αυτήν τη λογική της αναθεώρησης και του αναθεωρητισμού της ιστορίας.

Η χώρα μου είχε 600.000 νεκρούς από τους ναζί και τους φασίστες. Ποιους ξεπλένετε εδώ; Θέλω να σας πω ότι η δεξιά πάντα επένδυε και εξακολουθεί να επενδύει στη δημιουργία εσωτερικών εχθρών. Ποινικοποιεί τη φτώχεια, ποινικοποιεί το διαφορετικό, ποινικοποιούσαν τότε τους Εβραίους οι ακροδεξιοί και οι φασίστες και σήμερα ποινικοποιούν ό,τι δημιουργεί πρόβλημα στο αφήγημά τους. Οι εμπειρίες του 1935 δεν πρέπει να μας αφήσουν να μην καταλαβαίνουμε τι ακριβώς συμβαίνει. Δεν μπορούμε να κάνουμε τα ίδια λάθη. Δεν πρέπει να δείξουμε καμία ανοχή στον φασισμό, στην ακραία δεξιά ... (Ο Πρόεδρος αφαιρεί τον λόγο από τον ομιλητή)

**Balázs Hidvéghi (NI).** – Mr President, dear colleagues, what is this debate really about? It's not about the whitewashing of anybody; it's really about the intellectual terror waged by the European left against everybody who dares to disagree with them. They would label as an extremist anybody who is against Islamist migration, who defends the traditional family or defends children from LGBTI propaganda. It shows how hysterical and intolerant the Socialists, the Liberals and the Greens have become. They now openly disrespect the democratic decision of the people. The Swedes or Italians elect a Conservative government, and here they are unleashing a vicious attack against them, just like hunting dogs.

Let me be clear: being pro-European does not mean being left wing, and it is certainly not the prerogative of the left to define what constitutes pro-European or who is a good Conservative or Christian Democrat. This debate, by the way, is also an illustration of the failed political strategy of the EPP. Mr Weber, who is curiously absent from the Chamber now, has manoeuvred his party into a spectacular dead end. This is what happens when you give up your principles in the hope from the left of, I don't know, positions or soft treatment by the press. They will never be satisfied with you. You should not follow this route.

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**Ioan-Rareș Bogdan (PPE).** – Excelențele voastre, discursul rasist, anti-minorități, anti-european și pro-putinist nu a apărut în urma pandemiei și inflației. Pandemia și factura la energie au fost doar picătura care a umplut paharul în acest război anti-european. Dacă știm să vorbim cu cetățenii, extrema dreaptă va crește doar pe termen scurt. Mă îngrijorează altceva. Extrema dreaptă este acceptată uneori la dialogul politic, după ce actorii ei pretind că renunță la discursul pro-rus și elementele radicale. Acest zbor sub radar este extrem de periculos. Și mai periculos este însă atunci când partidele tradiționale preiau discursul radical, sperând să adune voturi. Soluția nu este aici. Soluția este ca oamenii să fie ajutați să treacă peste această perioadă dificilă. Totodată, trebuie să le arătăm sursele de finanțare ale extremei drepte și vor constata că politicienii care profită de criză sunt doar actori într-un teatru de păpuși. Europeanii trebuie să știe asta. Verificarea transferurilor bancare nu trebuie să se limiteze la suspiciuni de terorism sau spălare de bani. În numele delegației PPE pe România, cer verificarea surselor de finanțare ale extremei drepte europene. Bugetul Uniunii Europene nu mai poate contribui la salariile marionetelor lui Putin.

**Brando Benifei (S&D).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, in Germania si potrebbe mai immaginare di esporre un ritratto di Adolf Hitler nella sede della Cancelleria? In Italia invece la seconda carica dello Stato, Ignazio La Russa, asserisce che togliere un ritratto di Mussolini da un ministero è una vergognosa *cancel culture*, ma si deve vergognare il presidente del Senato La Russa, perché l'antifascismo è il fondamento della nostra Repubblica nata dalla Resistenza.

Ma l'Italia rischia oggi di perdere la bussola ancora per altri motivi. Come non ricordare oggi Berlusconi che, dopo aver inizialmente condannato a singhiozzi la guerra di Mosca, continua ora a rinnovare la storica fedeltà al padrone del Cremlino, arrivando ad affermare senza pudore di essersi recentemente scambiato doni e lettere con Putin, nonostante le sanzioni, e di essere il primo dei suoi cinque veri amici.

Questa grave deriva del Partito popolare europeo interessa non solo l'Italia, ma tanti altri paesi. È il momento che i veri moderati e liberali prendano un'altra strada, così come è necessario che la sinistra sappia fare la sua parte senza tentennamenti.

In Italia non staremo a guardare questa deriva pericolosa e porteremo avanti un'opposizione dura, nell'interesse degli italiani e degli europei. L'Europa e l'Italia meritano un'alternativa vera, fuori da vecchi compromessi del passato, che sappia dare speranza a chi oggi l'ha persa. Ce la metteremo tutta.

**Irena Joveva (Renew).** – Gospod predsednik. Omejevanje človekovih pravic, napadi na novinarje, brutalni napadi na LGBTIQI+, nespoštovanje vladavine prava, korupcija. To je samo nekaj grozljivih dejanj iz Unije, na katera nekateri glasno opozarjamo že leta. Prikazujejo pojevanje demokratičnih vrednot, za kar je v naši družbi odgovorna radikalno skrajno desna populistična opcija, ampak naša opozorila vedno znova naletijo na gluha ušesa, o čemer pričča porast neliberalnih teženj.

Skrajna desnica za mobilizacijo ljudstva in svojih privržencev uporablja zgodovinsko zapuščino s pogosto sprevrženo interpretacijo. V Sloveniji na primer skrajna desnica to počne prek navideznega boja proti že dolgo neobstoječemu komunizmu, Unija pa namesto ukrepanja izraža zaskrbljenost. Pomanjkanje ukrepov in rešitev pa medtem skrajni desnici omogoča možnost nadaljnega širjenja in, kot vemo, njihovo širjenje pomeni konstantno rušenje temeljev Unije. Evropo moramo razbremeniti kleptokratskih, avtokratskih teženj in zavarovati naše vrednote. Dovolj je zatiskanja oči.

**Rosa D'Amato (Verts/ALE).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, per raggiungere il potere l'estrema destra ha imparato che bisogna indossare la maschera della moderazione o normalizzazione, ma le bugie hanno le gambe corte.

I cittadini europei si renderanno conto molto presto delle vostre intenzioni: facilitare l'evasione fiscale e prendersela invece con i più vulnerabili, importare gas dalle dittature e poi incolpare il Green Deal di tutti i mali del mondo, difendere le multinazionali quando scappano nei paradisi fiscali devastando interi popoli ed ecosistemi, mentre a casa vostra avete solo un'ossessione: tagliare i servizi pubblici, dalla sanità all'educazione.

Da italiana, da europea, dico con forza che non potrà mai essere normale l'omofobia, la xenofobia, la negazione dei principi elementari delle civiltà moderne. Non sarà mai normale puntare il dito contro le differenze, contro gli immigrati che fuggono da guerre e dalla povertà.

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I diritti umani non sono negoziabili. Non abbasseremo la guardia, ci troverete qui in piazza a denunciare le vostre ipocrisie e a ricordarvi che siete il passato.

**Filip De Man (ID).** – Voorzitter, collega's, vandaag voert men nog maar eens het proces van onze rechtse fractie. Termen als "racist" en "fascist" moeten daarbij natuurlijk dienen als afschrikking voor de kiezers. Het is een oude truc die onze politieke tegenstanders gebruiken om ons monddood te maken, want wij zijn verdoken aanhangers van Hitler.

Nu, volgens mij had die man beter niet bestaan, maar het belangrijkste van al is natuurlijk dat niemand in onze fractie zich beroept op het nazisme. Pas op, er is hier een fractie die zich wél beroept op een moorddadige ideologie, en die zit daar: The Left. Die noemen zich schaamteloos "communist", terwijl iedereen sedert het boek van Franse academici *Le livre noir du communisme* weet dat dit het meest moorddadige systeem ooit was, met 100 miljoen doden onder Lenin, Stalin, Mao, Pol Pot enzovoort.

Daar piept hier echter niemand over. Het cordon sanitaire geldt niet voor de communisten. Integendeel! Socialisten, christendemocraten, liberalen werken in dit Parlement regelmatig samen met die communisten. Allen samen, dus, om rechts te diaboliseren, en gedreven ook door de angst om hun macht en hun postjes te verliezen, zoals nu in Italië.

*Branco di ipocriti!*

**Clara Ponsatí Obiols (NI).** – Mr President, big words, grave concerns, and self-righteous indignation from the Spanish Social Democrats and other colleagues here, but colleagues, this is not a new threat.

Spain has Vox now, yes, but Vox had Spain long before it even existed. Vox had judges also in the Constitutional Court long before it had any elected representative. Vox controls the police, the military and the judiciary – and no wonder, honestly. The King of Spain was appointed by his corrupt fugitive father, who in turn got the crown from Franco. Spain's chain of legitimacy dates back to the 1939 fascist victory, the only extreme right victory in Europe that never got overturned. Yet authorities in the EU speak of Spain, more of transition to democracy, and shallow abuses of human rights, with a straight face.

When it comes to Catalonia, all Spanish authorities subscribe to the agenda of the extreme right, and as long as Brussels protects them, you are complicit in advancing the political testament dictated by Franco on his deathbed.

**Robert Biedroń (S&D).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Chcecie Państwo zobaczyć, jak wyglądają rządy skrajnej prawicy? Przyjedźcie do mojej ojczyzny, do Polski. Strefy wolne od LGBT, kobiety sprowadzone do roli inkubatorów, sojusz tronu i ołtarza, zamach na media i sądownictwo – takie rzeczy zdarzają się, kiedy my, zwykli ludzie, odwracamy wzrok, udajemy, że nie widzimy.

Kiedy skrajna prawica jest wybielana, normalizowana, nasza Wspólnota, europejska Wspólnota przegrywa. Bo Unia Europejska – i to musimy powiedzieć sobie jasno – jest oparta na zupełnie innych wartościach i zasadach niż te głoszone przez skrajną prawicę. Unia Europejska powstała między innymi z wielkiego marzenia, żeby nigdy więcej nie doszło do rządów właśnie skrajnej prawicy. Z doświadczenia, że Auschwitz, że ten największy obóz koncentracyjny nie spadł nam z nieba. To zwykli ludzie przez swoją obojętność do tego doprowadzili, wybielając właśnie tego typu poglądy, jakich dzisiaj także tutaj doświadczyliśmy.

Mamy kolejny kryzys. Skrajna prawica będzie szukała swoich kozłów ofiarnych. Już dzisiaj szuka, już dzisiaj są ofiary między innymi w Bratysławie. Ale jeśli my, zwykli ludzie, będziemy odwracali wzrok, takich ofiar będzie więcej. Ostatni więzień obozu Auschwitz-Birkenau, prof. Marian Turski, powiedział: istnieje jeszcze 11. przykazanie: nie bądź obojętny. Nie bądźmy obojętni.

**Samira Rafaela (Renew).** – Voorzitter, ik hoor sommige collega's zeggen: "Het is een kwestie van ondermijnen, het is een kwestie van ongefundeerde kritiek." Nee, dat is het niet!



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Waar het om gaat, is dat extreemrechts het politieke debat vervuult met antifeministische, antimigratie- en anti-lhbt-retoriek. Walgelijke retoriek waarmee mensen in de samenleving worden weggezet. Dat wil extreemrechts niet erkennen. Maar soms denk ik: ze weten dondersgoed waar ze mee bezig zijn.

Ik kan u vertellen dat ik als vrouw van kleur al lang te maken heb met extreemrechtse terreur, als politica binnen het onlinedomein. Het is niet veilig voor heel veel mensen online. Je opent je sociale media en daar komt het weer: racisme en seksisme uit extreemrechtse hoek.

Het debat vervuilen, dat is wat extreemrechts doet. We moeten zorgen dat we benoemen wat extreemrechts doet: het wegzetten van mensen en het benutten en toepassen van walgelijke retoriek. Laten we ons daartegen blijven uitspreken en zorgen dat dat niet wint en de boventoon krijgt in onze samenleving.

**Alexandra Geese (Verts/ALE).** – Herr Präsident! In Italien wurde letzte Woche ein Sammler von Faschismus-Devotionalien zum Senatspräsidenten gewählt. Und diese Sitzung musste die 92-jährige Auschwitz-Überlebende Liliana Segre leiten. Welch eine Demütigung für diese außergewöhnliche Frau!

Wie konnte das geschehen? Möglich gemacht hat das Berlusconi's Forza Italia, und zwar mit großer Unterstützung der europäischen Christdemokraten, auch aus diesem Hause. Ist es das denn, was Sie wollen: rechtsextreme Regierungen, die keine Gelegenheit auslassen, die Demokratie stetig auszuhöhlen? Reicht es Ihnen nicht, was Orbán in Ungarn angerichtet hat? In Schweden regiert jetzt ein Bündnis aus Christdemokraten, Moderaten und Liberalen, das sich von den rechtsextremen Schwedendemokraten abhängig gemacht hat. Deswegen stelle ich auch den Liberalen die Frage: Ist es das, was Sie wollen?

Es gibt eine klare Grenze zwischen Parteien, die sich zur liberalen Demokratie bekennen, und denen, die das nicht tun und die als trojanisches Pferd genau diese Demokratie abschaffen wollen. Demokratie stirbt nicht, weil sie angegriffen wird. Demokratie stirbt, wenn die Menschen, die sich als Demokratinnen und Demokraten bezeichnen, sie nicht verteidigen.

**Gunnar Beck (ID).** – Herr Präsident, Frau Kommissarin! In jeder Plenarsitzung beklagt dieses Parlament die Existenz der sogenannten extremen Rechten. Als antieuropäisch und extrem rechts gilt – paradoxerweise – jede Partei, die die Interessen der Europäer oder die Meinungsfreiheit achtet, Masseneinwanderung ins europäische Sozialsystem beklagt oder Verarmung und zivilisatorische Rückentwicklung in Europa durch grüne Phantasmen nicht gutheißt. Und weil sie die Sorge und Not der Bürger ernst nehmen, werden rechtskonservative Regierungskoalitionen immer beliebter.

Meine Partei, die AfD, ist laut Umfragen inzwischen die stärkste Partei in Ostdeutschland. Doch alle anderen Parteien lehnen Zusammenarbeit mit uns ab, weil wir zwar gewählt, aber nicht demokratisch seien. So soll es laut Brüssel überall in der EU sein. Denn, so Brüssel, in Demokratien sei nur erlaubt, was gefällt – nicht den Bürgern, sondern Frau von der Leyen.

**Enikő Győri (NI).** – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! Ennek a háznak a baloldala nem nyugszik. Minden hónapban generál egy, a jobboldalt gyalázó vitát. Ezt legtöbbször Magyarország vagy Lengyelország vitának hívják, de mivel most két további tagállamban is merészeltek a polgárok tömegesen jobboldali pártokra szavazni, ideje volt egy szélesebb értelemben vett sárdobálást napirendre tűzni. Teszik önök mindezt akkor, amikor minden korábbinál szükségesebb volna összekapcsolni és arra koncentrálni, miként lehet a háború és a szankciók okozta súlyos helyzetet közösen orvosolni. Önök kigyót békát kiabáltak a jobboldalra Olaszországban és Svédországban is a kampányban. Aztán mivel ez nem használt, mert a polgárok nem voltak vevők az önök becsmérő szavaira, most utánlövésrel próbálkoznak.

A baloldal nagy része sokáig Európa-ellenes volt. Hogy jönnek ahhoz, hogy alakulófélben levő kormányokat mindenféle címkékkel illessenek? Önök szerint a baloldalnak csak közepe, a jobboldalnak pedig csak széle van. Miért nem kiáltottak farkast, amikor Spanyolországban a Maduro-rendszer kegyeltjét, a szélsőbaloldali Podemost a szocialista Sánchez kormányra emelte? Vagy mikor Magyarországon az antiszemita, cigányellenes Jobbik összeállt a szocialistákkal és a liberálisokkal? Önök most posztfasisztáznak, a kommunizmus és nácizmus bűnei pedig bocsánatosak? Elég a kettős mércéből! Több tiszteletet kérek az emberek szabad és demokratikus választásán!

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**Pedro Silva Pereira (S&D).** – Senhor Presidente, a extrema-direita, hoje presente em muitos países europeus, é iliberal e, por isso, é adversária dos valores democráticos europeus, da separação de poderes e do Estado de direito. É nacionalista e xenófoba, e, por isso, adversária dos direitos humanos, dos direitos dos migrantes e das minorias. E é ainda populista e eurocética, e, por isso, adversária do projeto europeu.

E isto não são insultos, isto é a descrição exata da realidade política que é hoje a extrema-direita na Europa. E é por isso que é preciso dizer que as alianças governativas e parlamentares, que o centro-direita e os liberais estão hoje a fazer com a extrema-direita em vários países europeus, não são apenas um jogo perigoso que normaliza e dá mais força à extrema-direita, são também uma traição aos nossos valores europeus.

E, por isso, este debate não é só sobre a extrema-direita, este debate é sobre o seu branqueamento, é sobre o senhor Berlusconi, sobre o senhor Tajani, sobre o PPE, sobre os liberais do Renew.

O cordão sanitário não é uma discriminação, o cordão sanitário é uma resposta em legítima defesa da democracia e um respeito que devemos ao mandato que recebemos dos nossos próprios eleitores.

Está na altura de centro-direita e liberais pensarem duas vezes antes de prosseguir este jogo perigoso e antes que seja tarde demais.

**Izaskun Bilbao Barandica (Renew).** – Señor presidente, señora comisaria, la extrema derecha europea vive de la ponzoña que difunde en las redes sociales y de la falsificación de la historia y gracias a la impunidad que en algunos Estados impide investigar crímenes de lesa humanidad cometidos por dictaduras como la de Franco. Amnesia interesada como la que practican, para que quede claro, organizaciones políticas que, en mi pequeño país, alentaron hace unos pocos años asesinatos, atentados y extorsiones terroristas, y se resisten hoy a asumir que lo hicieron, pedir perdón y reconocer el daño causado. Evitar que regrese el pasado más oscuro requiere verdad, justicia y reparación.

Estas amnesias interesadas se retroalimentan. Convertirlas en espectáculo en la tribuna mediática las blanquea. Y distinguir entre amnesias buenas y malas califica a quien practica ese juego. Por eso, el informe anual sobre el Estado de Derecho de la Unión debe prestar más atención a este tema. Las políticas de memoria son cosa de los Estados miembros, pero los principios que las inspiran son una cuestión europea. Cuando se vulneran, hay que denunciarlo y hay que actuar.

**Mario Furore (NI).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, tutti ricordiamo purtroppo in quest’Aula l’ex eurodeputato Lorenzo Fontana che indossava una maglietta pro Putin. Oggi Fontana, che ha definito peraltro «schifezze» le coppie gay, è la terza carica dello Stato italiano. Non andiamo meglio al Senato, perché la seconda carica dello Stato, La Russa, mostra in televisione la propria collezione di busti di Mussolini, che tiene in casa.

La responsabilità di tutto questo ha un nome e un cognome ed è quello del Partito popolare europeo. Per qualche poltrona in più, il partito che fu di De Gasperi, Adenauer e Schuman, i padri fondatori di questa Europa, oggi rinnega la propria identità e si allinea con chi esprime politiche euroscettiche, nazionaliste e xenofobe. Questo virus arriverà anche purtroppo qui dentro alle istituzioni europee. Domani gli esponenti di estrema destra siederanno in Consiglio, probabilmente diventeranno anche commissari europei. Quanti danni faranno al progetto europeo, mi chiedo.

E allora, Presidente, questo Parlamento, unito, isoli l’estrema destra e difenda i valori europei, come farà il Movimento 5 Stelle in Europa e in Italia.

**Elisabetta Gualmini (S&D).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, io non casco certo nella trappola. Ci vengono a fare la lezione, ci spiegano che l’estrema destra in Italia ha vinto le elezioni e quindi può fare tutto quello che vuole e noi dobbiamo solo stare zitti.

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E invece no. Noi siamo determinati a parlare, a opporci, a raccontare che cos'è l'estrema destra. Perché questa è l'estrema destra che ha addirittura radicalizzato quel poco che rimaneva del partito liberale di Berlusconi, è l'estrema destra che ha eletto come cariche più importanti un nostalgico del fascismo e un ipertradizionalista per cui l'omofobia è la norma. Questa è l'estrema destra che fa l'europeista in Italia e poi viene qui a smantellare, pezzo dopo pezzo, l'Unione, l'estrema destra dei porti chiusi, dei blocchi navali, per cui tutti i migranti sono clandestini, meglio il nativismo, dove siamo tutti uguali, tutti identici perché abitiamo tutti nello stesso quartierino e non abbiamo paura.

Allora noi di fronte a questo non staremo zitti, a noi nessuno chiude la bocca, noi racconteremo, noi manifesteremo, perché a noi piacciono le differenze, ci piace la democrazia, ci piace il pluralismo e tutto l'odio lo lasciamo a voi.

**Abir Al-Sahlani (Renew).** – Herr talman! När jag satt i Sveriges riksdag hölls en debatt om demokrati i det svenska parlamentet, och då sprang Johan Pehrson, Liberalernas partiordförande, in i plenisalen när Sverigedemokraternas riksdagsledamot sa att vita människor har lättare för demokrati än människor som jag, som kommer från Mellanöstern. Då kom Johan Pehrson rusande in och tog ställning mot detta rasistiska påstående.

Från den ilska som Johan Pehrson kände då, till att i dag sitta i en regering med Sverigedemokraterna i försädet, där de bestämmer. Ett antidemokratiskt parti bestämmer, och Johan Pehrson är så glad för detta samarbete.

Jag undrar vad det var som hände? Vi har inte förändrats. Vi står fortfarande upp för den liberala demokratin, för mänskliga rättigheter, för samarbete, för internationell solidaritet. Vad har hänt? Jo, de etablerade partierna, det är de som har förändrats genom att först säga "men de har ju rätt i vissa saker", sedan anammar de viss policy för att vinna politiska poäng, och så småningom sitter de i samma regering. Det är vår likgiltighet, det då dessa krafter släpps in. Nä, nu får det vara nog!

**Pierfrancesco Majorino (S&D).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, riferendosi alla Resistenza e al nazifascismo, David Sassoli diceva: «l'Europa ha trovato la forza di unirsi per diventare il luogo della pace e della solidarietà tra i popoli» e ancora oggi è questa la forza dell'Europa.

Vengono quindi i brividi pensando che proprio in Italia – e lo dico da italiano – assumano cariche istituzionali di rilievo personaggi come Ignazio Benito La Russa o Lorenzo Fontana, terrificante sul terreno dei legami con Putin, dei valori e dei principi riguardanti i diritti civili e umani.

Di fronte a ciò non possiamo certo rassegnarci. Dobbiamo resistere, come hanno detto tante colleghe e colleghi, e questo vuol dire certamente non mostrarsi complici, cari amici del PPE, eppure domandarci però anche come mai una certa destra che spesso vuole proprio far saltare l'Europa, avanzi.

Io credo che una parte delle risposte risieda nel fatto che vi è una rabbia sociale cavalcata dai nazionalismi, che nasce pure dagli errori che queste nostre istituzioni hanno fatto sul piano proprio della politica economica e sociale, errori da correggere con decisione e coraggio. Un'Europa più giusta saprà giustamente difendersi molto meglio.

**Evin Incir (S&D).** – Mr President, colleagues, anti-democratic and anti-European extreme-right forces are being normalised by conservatives and liberals. The latest examples are in Sweden and Italy. We live in an era of access to information, but some seem to have forgotten their history. The history that we were supposed to prevent from repeating itself; the same history that led to the creation of the European Union.

Our Union is supposed to be a counterforce against all those forces trying to play Machiavelli through dividing and conquering. Something rotten has happened in the EU and the Member States the last years. The keys to the governments are by conservatives and liberals being handed out to those shouting 'Jews are not a problem as long as they are few. Muslims are our biggest foreign threat and those seeing the rainbow flag as a threat'. Yes, this is a reality in my country, Sweden.

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In a time of increased hatred, we should roll up our sleeves and raise our voices against it, not normalise it. As the children's book author Astrid Lindgren wrote in her book *The Brothers Lionheart*, there were things that had to be done, even if it was dangerous. Otherwise, you are not a human being. You are just a piece of dirt.

Colleagues, let's raise our voice against fascism and Nazism, not normalise it.

**Isabel Santos (S&D).** – Senhor Presidente, o combate à extrema-direita não admite ingenuidades, alheamentos ou adiamentos e tem de ser feito no mais estrito respeito pelas regras do estado de Direito democrático. Impõe-se uma especial atenção ao financiamento dos movimentos radicais, feito através de esquemas de corrupção, de branqueamento de capitais e de criptomoeda, mas também o claro combate ao racismo, à xenofobia, à homofobia, ao discurso de ódio e ao apelo aos valores fascistas.

A progressiva normalização da extrema-direita pelo centro-direita e pelos liberais, a que temos vindo a assistir na União Europeia, deixou de ser uma mera ameaça. Vemos os seus efeitos na Hungria e na Polónia, vamos vê-los em Itália e na Suécia e começamos também a vê-los em Portugal, onde, nos Açores, o PSD, cujos deputados se sentam aqui na bancada do PPE, passou a andar de braço dado com a extrema-direita para ascender ao poder no Governo Regional.

Não basta bater com a mão no peito e falar de democracia.

É tempo de separar as águas.

**Andreas Schieder (S&D).** – Herr Präsident, sehr geehrte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Der Schweizer Dramatiker Max Frisch hat ein berühmtes Drama geschrieben, nämlich Biedermann und die Brandstifter. Da geht es darum, dass der Bürger Biedermann zwei Brandstifter in sein Haus lässt und glaubt, indem er ihnen schöntut, könnte er verhindern, dass sie das Haus in Brand setzen. Und wie endet das Stück? Das Haus brennt, und der Herr Biedermann riskiert sein Leben.

Und genau das Gleiche passiert jetzt mit dem gemeinsamen Haus Europa: dass es ein Stück weit auch in Flammen und in Brand gesetzt wird. So wie in Schweden, wo sich die Moderaten nur wegen des Machterhalts oder wegen der Machtgier von den Schwedendemokraten unterstützen lassen. Oder so wie bald in Spanien, wo die Volkspartei sich immer mehr an die VOX annähert. Oder wie in Italien, wo Berlusconi und andere eh schon längst ins rechtsextreme Lager gewechselt sind. Oder auch, wie es in Österreich passiert ist unter Schwarz-Blau und Sebastian Kurz. Und am Ende, am Ende all dieser Dinge, steht einerseits der Richter, der viele dieser Politiker dann zu verurteilen hat. Aber am Ende leiden auch unsere Demokratie und das gemeinsame Projekt Europa.

**Klára Dobrev (S&D).** – Tisztelt Elnök Úr! Amikor a szélsőjobbról beszélünk, többnyire egyébként nagyon fontos ideológiai vitákat folytatunk demokráciáról, idegengyűlöletről, rasszizmusról, tekintélyelvűségről. Hadd világítsam meg a szélsőjobbot, az illiberalizmust egy másik oldalról, hiszen 12 éve Magyarországon a szélsőjobb, illiberális Orbán kormányoz. És nézzék meg, mit tett 12 év alatt. Romokban az egészségügy, tanárok, diákok, szülők tízezrei tüntetnek az utcán, mert összeomlott az oktatás. A szociális helyzetünk sosem volt még ilyen rossz. Egekben az infláció, és a forint sem volt még soha ilyen gyenge, történelmi gyengeséget ért el. Amikor a szélsőjobb, az illiberalizmus kormányra kerül, akkor nem tudja megvédeni az embereket, nem tud teljesíteni. Éppen ezért egyetlenegy dolgot csinál, mert egyetlenegy dologhoz ért: a gyűlöletkeltéshez. Ez az ő politikájuk, ezért feladatunk legyőzni a szélsőjobbot, hogy az emberek számára egy tisztességes és szabad életet tudjunk biztosítani. Én ezért küzdök.

**Cyrus Engerer (S&D).** – Mr President, like a virus, right-wing extremism is mutating in unpredictable ways. Exasperated by a pandemic which has left many scared and alone, extremist organizations have found a playground for recruitment on online comment boards and social media platforms. Yes, a playground, with media reports indicating that children as young as 13 are actually leading neo-Nazi divisions across the Union.

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It is clear that we need to take action and we need to do so very fast, especially in the face of upcoming crises. Sixty acts of right-wing extremism terror happen every year, often by young men who end up as lone wolves, but they are not. They are almost always part of radical, violent online groups who post memes glorifying misogyny, homophobia and white supremacy, making jokes out of violence while their hateful words turn into deadly actions with the blessing of the EPP, as we have seen in Italy and Sweden. And by the way, where is the EPP in this debate? They have fled with the far right.

We warned about this yesterday, Commissioners. We warned you last week, last month. And we warn you again today. More minorities will die if you not take action against Europe's biggest and most legitimate terrorist organisation: the far right.

**Javi López (S&D).** – Señor presidente, muchos conservadores y algunos liberales han decidido que para alcanzar el poder todo vale, tapando sus malos resultados en las elecciones; todo vale, incluso pactar con la extrema derecha.

Lo hemos visto ahora en Suecia, donde la derecha tradicional ha alcanzado el Gobierno gracias a un partido con raíces neonazis. Lo estamos viendo también en Italia, donde la derecha tradicional de Berlusconi ha decidido que va a colocar como primera ministra a una posfascista. Y lo vemos también de forma sistemática en España, donde populares y la extrema derecha de Vox llegan a acuerdos en innumerables regiones, como Madrid o Andalucía.

Y en democracia no todo vale. No todo vale porque nuestras acciones comportan consecuencias y normalizar el racismo y la homofobia genera, obviamente, violencia e intolerancia. Normalizar el machismo acaba generando violencia de género y normalizar las recetas simplistas y fantasiosas de la extrema derecha solo generará resentimiento y frustración.

Hoy la extrema derecha en las instituciones es un disolvente para la democracia y liberales y conservadores no deberían ser cómplices de ello.

**Andrea Cozzolino (S&D).** – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, questo nostro confronto non è un capriccio per alimentare una sciocca polemica in sede europea, qui stiamo discutendo, credo, di un punto cruciale che viene prima di ogni altra cosa: la solidità del patto politico e democratico che ci unisce da oltre settant'anni, a fondamento della costruzione di questa casa comune, che è l'Europa e le sue diverse istituzioni, a cominciare dal Parlamento.

Se non lo vediamo siamo ciechi e pagheremo un duro prezzo nei prossimi mesi e nei prossimi anni. Lo dico soprattutto agli amici del Partito popolare, che non vedo presenti in massa a questa nostra discussione, anzi, ma anche al centro moderato, alla sinistra diffusa, sempre attenta a questi temi.

Noi siamo di fronte a un nuovo pensiero che viene avanti: non si evoca più il fascismo, non si chiede più di abbattere l'Europa, ma di minarla al proprio interno, nei principi costitutivi e fondamentali che ne hanno ispirato l'azione per oltre settant'anni.

È necessario reagire, è forse venuto il tempo di un nuovo patto costituente tra le forze democratiche europee.

**Łukasz Kohut (S&D).** – Panie przewodniczący! Pani komisarz! Tak, mamy problem z brunatną falą prawie w całej Europie. W Polsce od kilku lat zamiast Święta Niepodległości 11 listopada i normalnego patriotycznego wydarzenia mamy święto chorego nacjonalizmu – Marsz Niepodległości. To wielki skandal, że przy aprobacie władzy właśnie tak świętuje się polską niepodległość – z kawałkiem płyty chodnikowej w jednej ręce, a w drugiej z białą-czerwoną flagą utopioną w dymie z rac. Ale pisowskiej władzy taki układ jest na rękę, bo przekazuje Bąkiewiczowi kolejne pieniądze (prawie 4 miliony złotych w zeszłym roku). I tak rośnie ta brunatna fala, bo rząd dobrze wie, że może przyjąć taki dzień, że będzie potrzebował pomocy skrajnych sił na ulicach. Dokładnie tak jak Trump po utracie władzy.

Zresztą w czasie strajku kobiet właśnie narodowców napuszczano na polskie kobiety. Nigdy wam tego nie zapomnimy.

Po pierwsze więc, zdelegalizować Straż Narodową. Po drugie, ani jednego euro dla Bąkiewicza. Po trzecie, PiS zostanie rozliczony z każdym 10 groszy przekazanych narodowcom.

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**Věra Jourová**, *Vice-President of the Commission*. – Mr President, honourable Members, it's not the first debate we have had. I remember eight years of sitting in this Parliament and debating these very serious issues, and I always listened very carefully. Again, after this debate, I came to a conclusion that, indeed, in Europe we have a serious problem.

At the same time, I am always thinking about the role of the Commission, which I represent here. So let me clarify what we can and cannot do, and what we are doing. I am sure that the Commission should not engage in domestic political fights, and we try hard not to get into that and to support fair competition. This is it. The role of the Commission is to protect universal values, which are above ideologies. I have in mind the rule of law, democratic governance and freedoms, and human rights. This is what we must do, and this is our job.

Indeed, regarding what Mr Biedroń said here, quoting Professor Turski: it's alarming in my ears almost every day what I heard from him when we were in Auschwitz three years ago. He said, do not be indifferent. He didn't speak about his experience from the Holocaust when he was in Auschwitz as a young boy. He spoke about the present. That's why I am glad. I always quote him. We must not be indifferent, because we have the historical lesson. What happens if nobody is opposing evil? We spoke a lot about that today.

There are two concrete areas where the Commission is acting and should act. One, coming back to the universal values and rules. Political competition must be free and fair. It means that the Commission proposed a Media Freedom Act; we proposed the legislation against manipulation in political advertising. I ask the Parliament and the Member States to please give it a green light, because this is exactly what we need to do to be efficiently doing something against political extremism.

The second thing is hate speech and disinformation, which has the potential to cause security harm. Violent extremism and radicalisation, which are fuelled today to a large extent through the digital space. We had here President Čaputová today. She spoke about the horrible tragedy that happened in Slovakia – a teenager killing two other young people. He was radicalised not only online, but also in the family. I will come back to the Slovak case later.

I also wanted to say that the Commission is protecting freedom of speech, but, as President Čaputová said, it must not be absolute. If we protect absolute freedom of speech, we disregard the truth. This is what we see, I'm afraid, in the Hungarian campaign now.

I want to react to Katalin Cseh, who spoke about the ongoing consultation. We reacted to it today through our spokesperson, but it's not enough to say there is a lot of lying behind the consultation. By the way, Viktor Orban voted for all the sanctions and he is now asking about the citizens. Nothing against the consultations with the citizens, but for us, it means that we have to react to the facts. We are now working on a renewed impact assessment of the sanctions on Russia and of sanctions on European Member States. We have to come with the facts. So I take what you said that we should do more.

Coming back to President Čaputová and her speech today. She spoke about the influence of radicalisation on society and the increase in extremism, which is fuelled by some political parties. It is a very serious problem that it is now, for some political powers, useful to fly on the waves of hatred. This is the reality. That's why, again, the Commission proposed the 'eurocrime', which also should get into the legislative process soon. We proposed the Digital Services Act, which asks strongly, under the threat of sanction, the providers of digital services not to be the co-perpetrators of crime, which also covers hate speech.

Speaking about freedom of speech. I sharply dislike what I usually hear from that site and that site. My job is to protect the freedom of all the participants of the political competition to say these things. This is just the universal value.

Mr President, can I still say something? I know I am four minutes beyond the time. I would like to switch into my language now, if you don't mind, and react to Mr Radačovský, who spoke here, but who is not here with us anymore.

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Pan Radačovský tady hovořil o tom, že my tady, kteří se snažíme o fungování a prosperitu Evropské unie, jsme proti patriotismu. I o tom jsme dnes ráno mluvily s prezidentkou Čaputovou, když jsme měly mítink ještě před jejím vystoupením tady. Hovořily jsme o tom, jak obě milujeme svou zemi a svůj národ. Že jsme patriotky a že to není v rozporu s tím, že chceme být užitečné při přijetí zodpovědnosti za rozvoj Evropské unie.

Pro mě to nikdy nebyl rozpor. Já jsem hrdá Češka a miluji kulturu, jazyk, historii svého národa. Teď jsem pyšná na to, jak se vede českému předsednictví, ale nikdy mi to nebránilo v tom, abych podporovala Evropskou unii jako celek, který nám pomáhá – i nám Čechům –, abychom se rozvíjeli. Unii, která pro nás byla několik dekad zárukou prosperity a demokratického vývoje a v nynější době je zárukou ochrany proti velmi nebezpečnému nepříteli.

Mám velmi dobrá data, která hovoří o tom, že současná dezinformační scéna zneužívá tak čistého citu, jako je láska k vlasti, pro zájmy Kremlu. A to si myslím, že je něco, s čím musíme bojovat. To je teď v poslední době novinka a je to něco, co je potřeba zastavit. Ale možná ne tak ze strany evropských institucí. Tady je potřeba, aby se zvedl velice silný odpor v rámci členských států a národních politických sil a občanů, neziskové společnosti a občanské společnosti jako takové, protože to je přesně to, co měl na mysli Marian Turcki. Nebýt lhostejný a nemlčet, když se děje zlo. Pro mě mávání státními vlajkami v zájmu Kremlu je čisté zlo.

**Der Präsident.** – Frau Vizepräsidentin, ich danke Ihnen für diese grundsätzliche Klarstellung und Begriffsdefinition.

Die Aussprache ist geschlossen.

*Schriftliche Erklärungen (Artikel 171)*

**Guido Reil (ID), schriftlich.** – Sie sprechen von Postfaschismus. Eine ganz neue Wortschöpfung, die mich fassungslos macht. Wie um alles in der Welt kann die Presse Sie mit so einem Unsinn durchkommen lassen? Warum hinterfragt die Sie nicht und zerreißt Ihre alberne Wortbildung in der Luft? Postfaschistisch ist alles, was zeitlich nach dem Faschismus kommt. Sie sind postfaschistisch. Ich bin postfaschistisch. Wir alle sind postfaschistisch. Qua definitionem. Weil der Faschismus vor uns stattgefunden hat und wir jetzt sind. Ihre Wortbildung ist nichts als eine leere Worthülse. Ein Null-Wort. Aber das ist Ihnen egal. Logik ist nichts, Kontaktschuld ist alles – und wenn es auch nur der Kontakt zweier Wörter ist, die Sie in einem Satz unüberlegt dahin gesprochen haben: AfD und Ihr brandneu erfundenes Postfaschismus. Und abrakadabra, damit ist in Ihrer Welt bewiesen, dass Sie zu den Guten gehören und die AfD nicht. Mittlerweile fürchte ich, dass Sie Ihrer eigenen Logik, oder besser Post-Logik, glauben und sich sehr wohl fühlen in Ihrem post-argumentativen Paralleluniversum, in dem nur noch post-diskursive Selbstbeweihräucherung und die post-moralische Aufspaltung in Gut und Böse stattfindet. Oder, anders gesagt, irgendwann in den letzten Jahren haben Sie den Kontakt zur Realität und zur Ratio verloren oder gleich freiwillig aufgegeben und wir alle zahlen jetzt den Preis dafür.

## 11. Prezentácia výročnej správy Dvora audítorov za rok 2021 (rozprava)

**Der Präsident.** – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über die Erläuterung des Jahresberichts 2021 des Rechnungshofs (2022/2843(RSP)).

**Tony Murphy, President of the Court of Auditors.** – Mr President, honourable Members, Commissioner, it's an honour for me to be here today for the first time as the newly elected President of the European Court of Auditors. My focus as president will be on continuing our work to support this House with the information that you need to fulfil your role and to improve accountability and transparency across all types of EU action in the interests of our citizens.

However, today I am also here before you in my previous function as the member for our annual report for the year 2021. My colleague Jan Gregor, who has taken over this function following my election, is here with me today. Our annual report is our core product. It contains detailed information on the results of our financial and compliance audit work that support our key messages, on which I will focus today.

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As in previous years, for the EU accounts, we adopted a clean opinion. In other words, they were not affected by material misstatements. On revenue, we found that the overall error rate was not material. On expenditure, for the first time this year, we provided two separate opinions, reflecting that there are fundamental differences between budget spending under the multiannual financial framework and that of RRF spending.

Firstly, on EU budget spending, based on a representative sample of 740 transactions, we found that the overall level of irregularities increased significantly from last year, reaching 3% in 2021, from 2.7% the previous year. We estimated that it is 4.7% for the high-risk spending, which makes up a clear majority of our audit population, being 63% of the population. Given the widespread nature of the problems that we have found, that is the pervasiveness of the error, we gave an adverse opinion for the third year in a row.

If we look closer for a moment under different policy headings, we estimate that the level of error is material for single market, innovation and digital, at 4.4%, compared to 3.9% the previous year, and in the cohesion policy area, at 3.6%, compared to 3.5%. For natural resources, when taken as a whole, we find the error to be close to materiality, although our results indicate that direct payments are below materiality, whereas rural development, market measures and other areas outside the CAP are above materiality. Finally, for administrative expenditure, we estimate the level of error to be not material.

So far, I have mainly focused on the compliance aspect of EU spending. However, making use of available EU funds is another area that we look at and which has regularly been an area where we raised concern. This has not changed in 2021. Outstanding commitments at the end of 2021 totalled EUR 341.6 billion. This compares to 303.2 the previous year. However, this amount includes, for the first time, a standing commitment in relation to the RRF of almost EUR 90 billion. Excluding this amount, outstanding commitments actually decreased compared to last year, mainly due, however, to delays in the implementation of shared management funds under the 2021-2027 MFF.

Through our work in 2021, we also found suspected cases of fraud, and we have reported 15 such cases to OLAF, compared to 6 in 2020. And from the information that we have been given, OLAF has so far opened five investigations. So beyond these individual cases that we transmit to OLAF and now also to EPPO, the ECA tackles this very important topic through specific, dedicated reports.

Ladies and gentlemen, I now turn to our audit of the expenditure under the RRF. This is a novelty in our annual report this year. And as I noted when presenting our annual report to the CONT last week, it's an area of particular importance. For that matter, I expect that it will continue to be in the coming years, and that's why I would like to express the Court's gratitude for Parliament's support in obtaining additional temporary auditor posts in this year's and next year's annual budgets.

The RRF Regulation provides for a different delivery model than that for EU budget spending under the MFF. The RRF delivery model focuses on the achievement of milestones and targets, rather than the reimbursement of costs incurred, which has implications on what makes a payment legal and regular. In this statement of assurance, on the RRF, we therefore have to focus on whether the Commission has got sufficient and appropriate evidence to support its assessment that the milestones or targets were satisfactorily fulfilled.

Compliance with other EU and national rules does not form part of this Commission's assessment on the legality and the regularity of payments and is, therefore, not covered through this opinion. This aspect will be looked at through future audits when the Commission work in this regard has been completed and can be assessed. Furthermore, we do not assess the effectiveness of the different reforms contained in the milestones. Again, this would rather be a topic for future dedicated special reports.



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For 2021, the RRF audit population included a single payment of EUR 11.5 billion made to Spain, following the reported fulfilment of 52 milestones, all of which related to reforms. Given that there was only a single payment, we had the opportunity to examine this in detail. We found that one of the milestones, in our view, was not satisfactorily fulfilled. This view, based on all available information and using our professional judgment, is that the impact, however, was not deemed to be material. While a number of payments to different Member States have been made in the meantime, we are still awaiting a Commission proposal in relation to quantifying the impact of when a milestone or target is not satisfactorily fulfilled.

Mr President, honourable Members, I would like to conclude and take this opportunity to thank the Commissioner for his institution's cooperation over the past year. We may sometimes differ on specific points, but together, we both strive, within our respective responsibilities, to ensure that the EU's budget is put to good use. Thank you for your attention and I look forward to a good debate this afternoon.

**Johannes Hahn**, *Member of the Commission*. – Mr President, dear honourable Members of the European Parliament, in particular, dear President Tony Murphy, Jan Gregor and incoming Court Member Lefteris Christoforou.

First, I would really like to thank you and I can only reply to you, Tony Murphy and your team, for the excellent cooperation also in preparing this annual report and the very good cooperation not only on this subject, also on others. And I agree, sometimes we might have different views and analyses, but it's always in a spirit of mutual respect, and this is something, which I consider crucial and important.

2021 was again an exceptional year for our budget. The European funds continued to play a critical role to help citizens, companies, regions, municipalities and Member States to overcome the coronavirus pandemic and its consequences. In June 2021, Next Generation EU started its borrowing with record demand. The Recovery and Resilience Facility, a brand new instrument, was also set up in record time in a couple of months.

In 2021, the Commission assessed and endorsed 22 recovery and resilience plans following a very thorough assessment process. In 2021, the Commission disbursed already EUR 54 billion in pre-financing payments to 20 Member States, which helped kick start the implementation of the investment and reform measures. The Commission disbursed a first payment for milestones and targets of EUR 10 billion to Spain before the end of last year.

In this exceptional context, I am pleased that the EU accounts have received again a clean opinion. Likewise, I am happy that the Court concludes, like last year, that the revenue side of the EU budget is free from material error. The Court audited for the first time this year the Recovery and Resilience Facility and concluded it was not affected by material error. Spending areas such as natural resources, which means primarily agriculture, and administrative expenditure continue to obtain excellent results.

However, as you have heard, the Court has maintained its adverse opinion on the legality and regularity of expenditure. Some areas, essentially the ones with complex eligibility rules, remain more prone to errors. The share of expenditure considered by the Court as higher risk has increased in 2021 compared to 2020. This is normal at this stage of the 2014-2020 multiannual financial framework and that delayed implementation of a lot of programmes and projects. As a result, the overall level of error reported by the Court slightly increased compared to last year.

Another way, I have to say, to look at the findings is that 97% of the Union budget is well-managed. I would also like to underline that the implementation of the EU budget is not homogenous across countries, regions, programmes or even types of measures. We are able to precisely identify and report transparently where the issues are and we take remedial measures or ask Member States and other partners to take actions.

The Commission's conclusion as manager of the Union budget is that the control systems are working effectively and the EU budget is effectively protected as a whole and over time. The multiannual nature of our approach with controls even after payments, allows the recoveries until the end of the programmes.

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As regards the Recovery and Resilience Facility, the Commission performs controls and audits throughout the spending cycle. When assessing the national recovery and resilience plan, by checking that Member States have put in place sound internal control systems, by assessing whether milestones and targets are fulfilled before payment and by performing risk-based ex-post controls after disbursements.

Finally, the Commission reports annually on the way European funds are managed in its integrated financial and accountability reporting. Through this comprehensive reporting, the Commission assumes accountability and transparency on the management of the Union budget. At the same time, we are aware that areas of improvements remain and we are taking action.

Firstly, simplifying rules remains the best way to prevent errors. This concerns especially the research programme and cohesion policy. In cohesion, 75% of the errors are related to different interpretations or lack of knowledge concerning what is eligible and what not.

Secondly, by strengthening our control systems to make them more effective, the Commission continues to extensively cooperate with the national audit authorities to improve the quality of their work.

Thirdly, by supporting beneficiaries, national authorities and other partners in the day-to-day management of Union funds. For example, the Commission is providing support to Horizon Europe applicants, through communication campaigns and workshops. All these efforts will continue as the current MFF programmes are now kicking off. Thank you for your interest.

**Monika Hohlmeier**, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion.* – Herr Präsident, Herr Präsident des Rechnungshofs, Herr Kommissar, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Bevor ich offiziell zu sprechen beginne, möchte ich im Namen des Haushaltskontrollausschusses ganz, ganz herzlich Tony Murphy dazu gratulieren, dass er zum Präsidenten gewählt worden ist, und ihm viel Glück und Erfolg wünschen für die schwierigen Aufgaben, die vor ihm und seinem ganzen Team des Rechnungshofes stehen. Wir freuen uns auf die weitere Zusammenarbeit, denn auch dieser Jahresbericht ist wieder eine wichtige Grundlage für die Entlastung. Ich freue mich, dass Jan Gregor mitgekommen ist als derjenige, der hauptverantwortlich mitschreibt an diesem Bericht, und darf mich jetzt heute auf den Schwerpunkt, den ich als Berichterstatterin habe, beschränken, weil dann den zweiten Teil zum Kommissionshaushalt der Kollege Jeroen Lenaers als Berichterstatter und natürlich dann die entsprechenden Schattenberichterstatterinnen und -berichterstatter übernehmen werden.

Zum Thema ARF: Der Kommissar kennt meine mittlerweile doch sehr deutlich für den Haushaltskontrollausschuss erhobenen Fragen, und ich bedanke mich dafür, dass zumindest DG BUDG da doch Bewegung zeigt in Bezug auf das, was die Sorge des Haushaltskontrollausschusses ist. Erste Sorge ist: Wir haben sogenannte *Milestones* und *Targets*. Die sind aber so allgemein formuliert, dass du bei deren zufriedenstellender Erfüllung einen weitreichenden Spielraum hast. Was zufriedenstellend ist oder auch nicht zufriedenstellend ist, ist für uns de facto gar nicht überprüfbar. Was ist eigentlich der Standard für zufriedenstellend? Es gibt auch keine Methodologie, wenn jetzt irgendjemand – irgendein Staat – fünf *Milestones* nicht erfüllt. Wie wichtig oder nicht wichtig sind die? Wie viel Prozent werden dann abgezogen bei der Auszahlung? Bis jetzt wird nichts abgezogen, sondern es wird alles ausbezahlt, und die Methodologie existiert noch nicht. Die möchten wir sehr deutlich einfordern als Haushaltskontrollausschuss.

Als Zweites: Es gibt das Problem, dass es keinen klaren Zusammenhang gibt zwischen der Höhe der Zahlungstranchen und den zu erfüllenden *Milestones* und *Targets*. Dann gibt es auch das große Problem, dass die Mitgliedstaaten eigentlich Listen für Projekte und Maßnahmen vorlegen sollen, diese Listen für Projekte und Maßnahmen aber wiederum dem Parlament nicht vorliegen und auch dem Rechnungshof nicht in dieser Form vorliegen, der zwar einzeln vielleicht Einblick nehmen kann, aber die Listen liegen nicht vor. Das heißt, die Möglichkeit für das Parlament – für Fachausschüsse als auch für den Haushaltskontrollausschuss –, zu überprüfen, inwiefern die Projekte erfolgreich sind, ob sie richtig sind, wo das Geld hingegangen ist, besteht nicht. Es kann aber nicht sein, dass wir uns damit zufriedengeben, zu sagen, wir geben das Geld aus, aber wohin es geht, wissen wir eigentlich nicht.

**Der Präsident.** – Ich habe die Frau Kollegin Hohlmeier deshalb so dramatisch überziehen lassen, weil ich ihr die Gratulation an den neuen Präsidenten des Rechnungshofs de facto angerechnet habe.

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**Isabel García Muñoz**, *en nombre del Grupo S&D*. – Señor presidente, señor comisario, gracias, presidente Murphy, por la presentación del informe anual de 2021.

Sin duda nos preocupa que el nivel de error estimado por el Tribunal de Cuentas sea un 3 %, aunque la Comisión lo sitúe en un 1,9 %. Pero, más allá del porcentaje, lo que sí creo que es importante y necesario es identificar errores concretos para poder solucionar los problemas que los originan.

Por otro lado, esta es la primera vez que se incluye la auditoría del Mecanismo de Recuperación y Resiliencia, un instrumento novedoso con un modelo de ejecución basado en el cumplimiento de objetivos e hitos. España fue el primer y único país que recibió un pago en 2021 tras la evaluación favorable de la Comisión, porque se habían cumplido satisfactoriamente todos los hitos, y así lo ha confirmado la Comisión. Ser el primero de la clase a veces significa asumir un mayor escrutinio y control, pero también sirve para que podamos adelantarnos a los retos que puedan presentarse en el futuro.

Aunque España haya cumplido, puede ocurrir que otros países no cumplan todos los hitos comprometidos y habrá que ver cómo se actúa en esos casos. La buena colaboración de todos, sin duda, hará que mejore la gestión del presupuesto europeo.

**Olivier Chastel**, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Président de la Cour des comptes, Monsieur le Commissaire, chers collègues, je veux évidemment tout d'abord remercier la Cour des comptes pour la qualité de son rapport annuel. Mais, comme j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de le dire en commission la semaine dernière, ce rapport n'a évidemment pas balayé mes nombreuses préoccupations.

D'abord, un taux d'erreur toujours significatif dans les domaines de la cohésion, du marché unique, des Fonds européens de développement, mais surtout dans le domaine des dépenses à haut risque, dont le taux d'erreur culmine cette année à 4,7 %. Ensuite, un reste à liquider, qui lui aussi culmine. On a beau dire qu'il diminue si on enlève NextGenerationEU, il culmine à 341 milliards et la capacité d'absorption des États membres reste problématique, tant dans le cadre pluriannuel que pour NextGenerationEU. Enfin, la Cour souligne également le manque de clarté sur les recouvrements et leurs délais.

À la lumière de ces éléments, je suis inquiet pour les années à venir. M<sup>me</sup> Hohlmeier vient de le dire: les montants qui seront dépensés dans le cadre de NextGenerationEU ainsi, d'ailleurs, que dans le cadre pluriannuel sont conséquents. Et on a des craintes par rapport à l'avenir et à la manière dont les États, notamment, peuvent absorber ces montants-là et par rapport à la manière de contrôler la façon dont ils le font.

Par ailleurs, le premier examen par la Cour des comptes de la facilité pour la reprise et la résilience d'un de nos États membres, le premier qui a reçu des moyens, laisse peser des doutes sur les contrôles ex ante et les objectifs à atteindre. Cette crainte est évidemment d'autant plus importante quand on pense à des pays comme la Hongrie pour leurs manquements systémiques dans la lutte contre la corruption, les conflits d'intérêts, les procédures de marchés publics déficientes.

Enfin, je ne peux que rappeler l'importance, l'urgence de la mise en place généralisée des outils d'exploration de données et la nécessité de systématiser le recours aux nouvelles technologies et au numérique pour optimiser les contrôles. La situation actuelle est tout bonnement préoccupante et nous devons être à la hauteur des attentes de nos concitoyens. Nous ne pourrons le faire pleinement qu'avec des comptes en ordre et une gestion optimale des flux.

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**VORSITZ: EVELYN REGNER**

*Vizepräsidentin*

**Viola von Cramon-Taubadel**, *im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar, Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Zunächst einmal herzlichen Glückwunsch an den neuen Präsidenten des Europäischen Rechnungshofs auch von unserer Fraktion. Wir freuen uns sehr über Ihre Wahl.

Mit dem Aufbauplan NextGenerationEU verfügen wir praktisch über den doppelten Haushalt. Diese beiden Teile der EU-Ausgaben – der MFR auf der einen Seite und der Wiederaufbauplan auf der anderen – folgen jedoch völlig unterschiedlichen Regeln. Im Gegensatz zum mehrjährigen EU-Haushalt, der auf der Erstattung von Kosten und der Einhaltung von Bedingungen beruht, werden die Mitgliedstaaten beim Wiederaufbauplan für das Erreichen vorher festgelegter, sehr allgemeiner Ziele bezahlt.

Wir verstehen die Dringlichkeit zusätzlicher Investitionen. Aber wenn wir mit zwei Haushalten arbeiten und dabei ganz unterschiedliche Regeln anwenden, werden die Gelder eben nicht standardisierten, strengen Kontrollen unterzogen. Spielen wir damit, mit dieser vereinfachten Regel, nicht eventuell *rent-seekers* wie zum Beispiel Viktor Orbán in die Hände? Darüber hinaus brauchen wir auch absolute Transparenz bei der Verwendung von EU-Mitteln, auch bei der Liste derjenigen, die eben die Kohäsions- und Agrarmittel erhalten. Zum Beispiel hat Ex-Minister Babiš mit seiner Firma Agrofert Millionen Agrargelder für seine nicht landwirtschaftlichen Geschäfte zweckentfremdet.

Wie viele dieser Agroferts gibt es quer durch die EU? Wir brauchen Transparenz, Rechenschaftspflicht und vor allem standardisierten Umgang mit EU-Mitteln. Das Ziel muss sein, dass jede Bürgerin und jeder Bürger jederzeit sehen kann, wie viel Geld von den Steuern ausgegeben wurde und für welchen Zweck.

**Joachim Kuhs**, *im Namen der ID-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar, lieber Tony Murphy! Herzlichen Glückwunsch zu Ihrem neuen Amt! Leider konnte ich mich noch nicht mit Ihnen unterhalten, aber das können wir vielleicht noch nachholen. Heute möchte ich Ihnen einfach nur Danke sagen. Danke zuerst, dass Sie die – meines Erachtens – völlig unberechtigten Angriffe einer französischen Zeitung, die leider von Teilen dieses Hauses auch aufgegriffen wurden, souverän gemeistert haben und heute stärker sind als je zuvor.

Dann danke ich Ihnen natürlich heute für den Jahresbericht, über den wir debattieren. Zum dritten Mal in Folge muss der Rechnungshof über Teile des Haushalts der Union ein negatives Prüfungsurteil fällen. Das ist nicht trivial, und werter Kommissar Hahn, das sollten Sie wirklich ernst nehmen und nicht versuchen, es wegzuerklären. Ich bitte Sie dringend, die vorgeschlagenen Empfehlungen umzusetzen und die Systemfehler auch wirklich zu beseitigen.

Schließlich danke ich Ihnen noch einmal, Herr Präsident, für den Sonderbericht zu COVID, insbesondere zu den dubiosen offenen Fragen der gigantischen Impfstoffbeschaffung durch Präsidentin von der Leyen. Dieser Bericht stieß doch richtig in ein Wespennest. Viele Abgeordnete haben sich schon zu Wort gemeldet. Inzwischen nimmt sogar die Europäische Staatsanwaltschaft sich der Sache an. Herr Präsident, ich wünsche Ihnen viel Erfolg und gutes Gelingen in Ihrem Amt. Bleiben Sie weiter so bissig und so eifrig im Aufdecken von Unregelmäßigkeiten. Die Bürger werden es Ihnen danken. Werte Kollegen, lassen Sie uns den Rechnungshof doch einfach seine Arbeit machen. Wir machen unsere. Das ist gut so.

**Ryszard Czarnecki**, *w imieniu grupy ECR*. – Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Prezesie! Panie Komisarzu! Szanowni Państwo! Gratulacje przede wszystkim dla nowego prezesa Trybunału. Obejmuje Pan tę funkcję w bardzo trudnym czasie, w czasie, kiedy podatnicy europejscy będą szczególnie patrzyli na to, jak są wydawane pieniądze Unii Europejskiej, instytucji unijnych. Więc tym bardziej trzymamy, ja i moja grupa polityczna, kciuki za Pana i za cały Trybunał. Cieszę się też z obecności pana komisarza Hahna, najbardziej doświadczonego komisarza w Komisji Europejskiej, jednego z najbardziej merytorycznych, który będzie wsparciem na pewno dla Pańskiej instytucji.

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To byl těžký rok dla Unii i dla krajův člunokovskich. Chciałbym podziękować wszystkim pracownikom instytucji kontrolnych, że pomimo Covidu pilnowali wydatków instytucji Unii Europejskiej i monitorowali je. Zwracam uwagę, że mimo tego trudnego czasu ogólny poziom błędů byl taki sam jak w latach poprzednich, niecałe 2%.

Chciałbym też pochwalić się wynikami kontroli mojego kraju. Mianowicie jest to wynik dorównujący Włochom, trochę lepszy niż w przypadku Niemiec. A gdy chodzi o niezamknięte zgłoszenia – jesteśmy na tym samym poziomie co Francja i Włochy. Dziękuję bardzo, życzę powodzenia panu prezesowi i Trybunałowi.

**Luke Ming Flanagan**, *on behalf of The Left Group*. – Madam President, the first thing I want to do is to congratulate Tony on his appointment to this very, very important role. And I think it is brilliant that we have an actual auditor at the head of this organisation.

I think it is also very important that we have someone who comes from a working class background as our head auditor and the head of this organisation. Because when you come from a working class background, you don't say, 'Ha, well I spent 97% of it well, and sure, 3% is only gone,' because if you do, you might not be able to turn on the light. Every last penny matters. That's why I think it is important that we have someone like him in the position, and I really, really welcome it.

On the RRF, we have a problem; the Court of Auditors has a problem. We are dealing with ordinary people's money. However, exactly how this money is being spent is without any real auditable trail. The idea that national authorities can, in effect, audit themselves is a bad joke.

As for milestones and targets, to me it is like having a unit of speed to find a stone's throw – however long you can throw a stone; it is different for everyone – every so often, depending on how you decide every so often is. We need a massive improvement. But I think we've made a good start by appointing this guy. I think he'll make big changes.

**Nicolas Bay (NI)**. – Madame la Présidente, sur le budget annuel, il est temps d'avoir une discussion que la Commission essaye systématiquement d'éviter.

Le budget de l'Union européenne, l'argent des Européens, c'est-à-dire notre argent, est aujourd'hui utilisé pour financer l'islamisme. Au moins 36 millions d'euros versés entre 2014 et 2019 à des réseaux liés aux Frères musulmans ou au Hamas ou soutenant des groupes djihadistes. Plus d'un million d'euros pour des programmes de prétendue lutte contre le terrorisme, auxquels sont pourtant associées des ONG fondées par l'islamiste Abou Bakr Rieger, qui affirme vouloir établir un califat au niveau mondial. Combien pour les campagnes affichant même des petites filles voilées? C'est le même islamisme, la même idéologie mortifère, qui gangrène petit à petit nos rues, nos administrations et nos écoles. Le même islamisme qui tue, qui ensanglante et qui endeuille régulièrement l'Europe.

Chaque euro versé par la Commission à des associations liées à la mouvance islamiste est une honte, une véritable infamie. Il est urgent de réaliser un audit complet des subventions versées au nom d'une prétendue lutte contre le racisme ou l'islamophobie. Et lorsque la lumière sera faite sur l'ampleur du scandale, vous devrez en répondre devant nos peuples.

**Jeroen Lenaers (PPE)**. – Madam President, let me first thank President Murphy for the presentation today, but mainly for the work that the Court of Auditors does in general. It's crucial work, also in the context of our work here in this House on the discharge procedures. Now, on the annual report, I want to make three brief points. Firstly, it is concerning that the Court reports an error rate of 3% for expenditure, which is well above the 2% materiality threshold, particularly because this error rate has been increasing for the last couple of years, leading to an adverse opinion again. It is also significantly higher than the Commission's own calculated risk at payment, which now even falls below the range of error calculated by the Court.

Secondly, and this is connected to this, we should really work towards solving the confusion with different error frameworks used by both institutions. We need to know beyond reasonable doubt what the error rate is, and there needs to be an agreement on that figure. The same also goes for the assessments of the levels of risk of expenditure. Uniform methods for sampling risk assessment and corrections of error and recovery would be very helpful for us to do our work.

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Thirdly, the type of errors identified over time remain relatively similar: ineligible costs of beneficiaries, lack of supporting documents, infringement of rules and breach of public procurement rules. Simplification of these rules would really help here to make sure money gets to the beneficiaries without mistakes. We need to work on that without delay.

Public support for EU expenditures relies on our joint ability to spend European taxpayers' money in accordance with rules and regulations. This report once again underlines that we still have some work to do.

**Lara Wolters (S&D).** – Voorzitter, in de komende drie jaar komt via het Europees herstelfonds een grote hoeveelheid geld beschikbaar voor de lidstaten. Dat is mooi, want op die manier kan Europa helpen om bijvoorbeeld de zorgen van mensen over energiekosten structureel tegemoet te komen in de toekomst. Maar daarvoor is het noodzakelijk dat de toewijzing en de controle van het herstelgeld zorgvuldig gebeurt. Zeker als straks – tegen de zin van het Europees Parlement in – herstelgeld aan rechtsstaatschenders Hongarije en Polen zouden worden uitgekeerd.

Het is dus belangrijk dat de zorgen van de Europese Rekenkamer over die controle serieus worden genomen. Dat betekent: duidelijke criteria bij het vrijgeven van herstelgeld, meer transparantie over wie de eindontvangers van dat geld zijn en duidelijke rapportage over die ontvangers in een toegankelijke Europese databank. Dat soort controle op het gebruik van Europees geld is essentieel voor het vertrouwen van iedereen in onze Europese Unie.

**David Cormand (Verts/ALE).** – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, félicitations, Monsieur le Président, pour vos nouvelles responsabilités. Vous avez une mission fondamentale, celle de faire en sorte que, dans notre démocratie européenne, l'argent que nous décidons de dépenser le soit véritablement dans la bonne direction, la direction dans laquelle nous avons décidé de le dépenser. C'est fondamental pour les citoyennes et les citoyens qui sont attachés à la façon dont nous dépensons cet argent.

La Cour des comptes européenne a conclu que sur la période du CFP 2014-2020, les 20 % promis de dépenses pour le climat n'ont pas été respectés. Seuls 13 % ont été dépensés, d'après vos études, à ces fins. C'est inadmissible quand on connaît les priorités en matière de transition écologique. Et pour le prochain CFP, c'est 30 % de dépenses climat, plus 10 % pour la biodiversité. Je sais que le commissaire Hahn a répondu à mon interpellation que, pour la Commission, il n'y avait pas de problème. Eh bien, moi je pense qu'il y en a un. J'aimerais donc qu'on puisse savoir au fil du temps, année après année, si on respecte bien ces objectifs, notamment climatiques, et qu'on n'attende pas le terme du CFP pour le savoir.

Encore merci pour vos travaux et nous serons vigilants sur ce point comme sur les autres.

**Gilles Lebreton (ID).** – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Président de la Cour des comptes européenne, chers collègues, le rapport de la Cour des comptes européenne révèle une augmentation des soupçons de fraude dans les dépenses de l'Union européenne: quinze cas en 2021 contre seulement six en 2020. C'est un constat préoccupant. De façon plus globale, le rapport relève aussi un pourcentage d'erreur en hausse significative: 3 % contre 2,7. Or, cette augmentation me paraît encore plus préoccupante que celle relative aux fraudes, car elle révèle des errances collectives et non pas seulement des dérives individuelles.

Je veux citer l'exemple des contrats d'achat de vaccins anti-COVID. La Cour accuse ouvertement la Commission, je cite, de n'avoir pas vérifié de façon appropriée si les conditions financières de ces contrats avaient été respectées. On découvre avec stupeur que la Commission a accordé une confiance aveugle aux fabricants de vaccins. Elle n'a vérifié ni l'exactitude de leurs coûts de production, ni l'utilisation des acomptes qu'ils ont reçus, ni l'opportunité de les faire bénéficier de clauses secrètes d'irresponsabilité généralisée.

On comprend mieux, à la lecture de ces pages accablantes, pourquoi le Parlement européen a créé, le 10 mars dernier, une commission d'enquête sur la pandémie de COVID-19. J'attends de celle-ci qu'elle détermine si ces erreurs surprenantes relèvent uniquement de négligences graves ou si elles révèlent des conflits d'intérêts pénalement répréhensibles.

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**Johan Van Overtveldt (ECR).** – Voorzitter, president, commissaris, we staan voor belangrijke begrotingsbesprekingen. De opmaak van de begroting mag zich echter niet beperken tot het toewijzen van uitgaven, maar moet ook waken over de kwaliteit van die uitgaven. Zowel door de pandemie als door de waanzinnige oorlog van mijnheer Poetin worden we geconfronteerd met begrotingsinstrumenten die zich buiten de reguliere EU-begroting bevinden.

Ik onderschrijf de noodzaak om budgetten vrij te maken in tijden van crisis, maar de manier van werken die we nu hanteren draagt toch wel grote risico's in zich. Het Parlement kan bijvoorbeeld zijn controlerende rol niet naar behoren vervullen. Dit geldt zowel voor het coronafonds – de herstel- en veerkrachtfaciliteit – als voor middelen die naar Oekraïne gaan.

Het lijkt geen twijfel dat financiële steun aan Oekraïne absoluut noodzakelijk is, maar het geld moet worden besteed om de beoogde doelen te bereiken en het moet uiteraard de grote meerderheid van de Oekraïense bevolking bereiken. De realiteit is dat dit Parlement daar vandaag onvoldoende zicht op heeft.

Ik pleit ervoor dat de controlerende rol van het Parlement versterkt wordt in het belang van fraudebestrijding en met het oog op het tegengaan van oneigenlijk gebruik van middelen.

**Sabrina Pignedoli (NI).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, prima di tutto, complimenti per la sua nomina, Presidente.

Lo studio della Corte relativo alla situazione finanziaria dell'UE ci mostra quanta strada abbiamo da fare per un bilancio veramente efficace ed efficiente. La Corte sottolinea come siano ancora troppi gli errori nel bilancio e, in più, ora c'è da gestire tutta la spesa relativa all'RRF.

Queste conclusioni dipingono una situazione di urgenza, esprimono con forza la necessità di una gestione efficiente della spesa, soprattutto alla luce dell'attuale situazione di regressione. Prima il Covid, ora la guerra della Russia contro l'Ucraina e la preoccupante crisi energetica con il concomitante aumento dei prezzi. Il bilancio è giustamente aumentato perché l'UE sta mobilitando le proprie disponibilità e sta prevedendo una maggiore flessibilità per reagire alla crisi.

In un contesto in cui le risorse sono necessarie per aiutare concretamente i nostri cittadini e le nostre imprese, gli errori nel bilancio europeo devono essere ridotti il più possibile e serve un contrasto maggiore contro le frodi, migliorando anche il recupero del denaro che è stato versato in maniera scorretta.

**Angelika Winzig (PPE).** – Sehr geehrte Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar, geschätzter Herr Rechnungshofpräsident! Jedes Jahr bei der Debatte über den Bericht des Rechnungshofs stellen wir uns die gleiche Frage: Wie hoch ist die Fehlerquote, und wie viel davon ist betrügerischer Absicht bzw. mangelndem Wissen über die Abwicklung von EU-Förderungen zuzuordnen?

Großbetriebe verfügen über Abteilungen, die ausschließlich mit der Beantragung und der Abwicklung von EU-Förderungen beschäftigt sind. Aber was machen mittelständische Betriebe, die diese Expertise nicht haben? Viele versuchen gar nicht, etwas einzureichen, weil sie sich diesen Aufwand nicht antun. Aber dadurch geht uns auch ein großes Potenzial verloren. Daher kann ich der Aussage der österreichischen Vertretung beim Europäischen Rechnungshof, Frau Berger, nur zustimmen, dass wir die Fördermodelle für den Mittelstand simplifizieren müssen, sodass alle die gleichen Chancen haben. Ich bin überzeugt, dass dies sicherlich nicht zu mehr Betrug bei den Förderungen führt.

**Caterina Chinnici (S&D).** – Signora Presidente, signor Commissario, onorevoli colleghi, io rivolgo al Presidente dottor Murphy i miei auguri per il suo nuovo incarico e lo ringrazio per la relazione annuale, dalla quale emergono giudizi positivi sull'affidabilità dei conti dell'UE e sulla legittimità e regolarità delle entrate.

Preoccupa invece l'incremento del livello di errore stimato nelle spese di bilancio UE e il conseguente parere negativo espresso per il terzo anno consecutivo. In un momento così difficile, in cui la guerra aumenta i rischi per il bilancio dell'UE, è quanto mai necessario assicurare che i fondi europei siano impiegati correttamente. Occorre quindi che le istituzioni, tutte le istituzioni, si adoperino per dare alle raccomandazioni della Corte il giusto seguito, promuovere la condivisione delle migliori pratiche nei controlli da parte degli Stati membri, condurre verifiche ex-ante più mirate e rafforzare il monitoraggio sull'applicazione delle norme sugli appalti.

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Esprimo infine apprezzamento per l'attenzione specifica dedicata alla spesa del dispositivo per la ripresa e la resilienza, misura fondamentale per sostenere finanziariamente gli Stati membri.

**Daniel Freund (Verts/ALE).** – Madam President, dear colleagues, just yesterday, something surprising happened: 75 billion of Polish cohesion money are frozen.

And how did this happen? Not because of the Article 7 procedure that is blocked for seven years, not because of the Conditionality Regulation that the Commission refuses to apply to Poland for two years now and not because of the ECJ rulings that the Polish government keeps ignoring to the tune of more than EUR 1 million a day.

No, it seems that a brave Commission official applies properly the Common Provisions Regulation, which clearly says if you do not respect the fundamental rights and the fundamental rights charter, you cannot have money. Also, when your control mechanisms break down, there should be no transfers.

Mr Hahn, of course, this should have happened much, much earlier. It is good that it is happening now, and of course, this should not only happen when the Member State in question fills out the questionnaire, admitting itself that it is breaking the rule of law.

Mr. Murphy, you should keep a close look at the Commission for properly applying those standards in all Member States and protecting the EU budget. We have the rules, we have the instruments and we should make sure that this is not just up to the brave civil servants, but that they get the full political support for upholding the rule of law.

**Bert-Jan Ruissen (ECR).** – Voorzitter, collega's, de recente bevindingen van de Rekenkamer over de EU-uitgaven geven geen rooskleurig beeld. Een foutenpercentage van 3 % is natuurlijk veel te hoog.

Het meest maak ik me echter zorgen over het coronahulpfonds, een fonds waarbij geen enkele verantwoording behoeft te worden afgelegd over de daadwerkelijk gemaakte kosten. Er wordt alleen gestuurd op soms wel hele vage doelstellingen. En zelfs als deze niet behaald zijn, wordt toch tot betaling overgegaan, constateert de Rekenkamer. Bovendien ontbreekt een duidelijke methodologie om prestaties te meten.

En waar komt het geld eigenlijk terecht? Dat mag de samenleving blijkbaar niet weten, want de eindbegunstigden worden niet openbaar gemaakt. Dit moet echt anders! Laten we zorgen voor meer transparantie! Bij de landbouwfondsen wordt iedere eindbegunstigde gepubliceerd. Waarom doen we dat niet bij het coronahulpfonds?

Ook het monitoren van de prestaties moet wat mij betreft écht beter. Het gaat tenslotte om geld van de belastingbetaler en daar moeten we zuinig op zijn.

**Francesca Donato (NI).** – Signora Presidente, Presidente Murphy, complimenti, signor Commissario, onorevoli colleghi, l'ECA ha emesso nuovamente un giudizio negativo sulla gestione del bilancio da parte della Commissione europea nel 2021, ravvisando un'alta percentuale di errore in diversi capitoli di spesa specificamente individuati.

Fra questi, le operazioni condotte in regime di gestione diretta tramite l'ESI, in cui la Commissione ha accordato i pagamenti ai produttori dei vaccini anti Covid, pur nel mancato rispetto delle condizioni finanziarie dell'accordo preliminare, ivi rilevando altresì debolezze nell'appalto di servizi e forniture. L'ECA ha raccomandato quindi alla Commissione di garantire il rispetto, da parte dei produttori di vaccini, dei termini degli accordi preliminari di acquisto.

La Corte ha poi rimarcato il rischio per il bilancio europeo derivante dai finanziamenti e prestiti all'Ucraina ad alto rischio di trasformarsi in passività, raccomandando l'adozione di provvedimenti tesi a ridurre gli impegni finanziari in atto e mitigare il rischio di insolvenza dell'Ucraina, ma finora la Commissione ha totalmente disatteso queste raccomandazioni, esponendo il bilancio UE a sicure future perdite.

Pertanto, risulta sfrontato chiedere agli Stati membri maggiori risorse per affrontare le difficoltà derivanti dalla decisione di una Commissione che non intende correggere la rotta per riportare il bilancio UE su un terreno sostenibile. I soldi dei contribuenti europei vanno amministrati con diligenza e assennatezza e se la Commissione non intende farlo, ne trarremo le dovute conclusioni.



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**Ivan Štefanec (PPE).** – Madam President, dear colleagues, the findings of the Court of Auditors are very important. As a matter of fact, the results have shown that the usage of European funds has not been improving. In 2021, 15 cases of suspected fraud have been identified and reported to the European Anti-Fraud Office. Consequently, five investigations have already been opened. The suggestion coming from the comparison with the results of 2020 annual report, where only six cases were reported to OLAF, it really worries me.

On the other hand, this report also shows positive outcomes. It shows that the Court of Auditors has been doing its work very efficiently and therefore I would like to use this opportunity to express my gratitude for the hard and honest work. Moreover, the report also emphasises the high importance of the establishment of the European Public Prosecutor's Office.

Nevertheless, when it comes to EU financing, we need to increase the powers of controlling mechanism. EU funds are, after all, assigned to European citizens for improving their quality of life and simplifying their lives, not for enriching individuals.

**Peter van Dalen (PPE).** – Voorzitter, de Europese Unie roept bedrijven, lidstaten en burgers ertoe op dat het geld dat vanuit Europa is verkregen, verantwoord en rechtmatig moet worden besteed. Dat is volkomen terecht.

Maar wat zien we vandaag? De Rekenkamer keurt voor het derde achtereenvolgende jaar de betalingen van de Europese Unie af en de foutenmarge van die bestedingen is opnieuw gestegen, naar 3 %, ruim boven de grens van 2 %. De foutenmarge voor het Cohesiefonds ligt bijna dubbel zo hoog, en vooral Spanje en Griekenland springen eruit als het gaat om de vastgestelde fouten. En dan moet de eindverantwoording over het coronaherstelfonds nog komen!

Kortom, er ligt een onthutsend verslag voor! Drie keer is scheepsrecht. Dit Parlement moet een halt toeroepen aan deze ontwikkeling en de kwijting van diverse instellingen dan maar een keer weigeren en op de rem trappen. Doen we dat niet, dan neemt onze geloofwaardigheid af en zal de belastingbetaler zeggen: “Wat doen die gasten daar eigenlijk? Dat kan zo niet langer!”

**Λευτέρης Χριστοφόρου (PPE).** – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, αγαπητέ κύριε Επίτροπε Hahn, αγαπητέ Πρόεδρε του Ευρωπαϊκού Ελεγκτικού Συνεδρίου Tony Murphy, θα ήθελα πρωτίστως να σας συγχαρώ για την ανάληψη των καθηκόντων σας σε έναν ισχυρό θεσμό της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης. Είμαι πεπεισμένος ότι θα ενισχύσετε ακόμα περισσότερο αυτόν τον θεσμό, θα τον ισχυροποιήσετε και θα τον καταστήσετε πραγματικά θεσμό που θα τον εμπιστεύονται απεριόριστα και απόλυτα οι Ευρωπαίοι πολίτες, διότι θα αισθάνονται ότι με τη συνεργασία όλων μπορούμε να έχουμε αυτόν τον θεσμό, ο οποίος θα είναι θεματοφύλακας των συμφερόντων των Ευρωπαίων πολιτών.

Όμως, οφείλω να τονίσω, μέσα από τη δική μου εμπειρία όλα αυτά τα χρόνια στην Επιτροπή Ελέγχου του Προϋπολογισμού, ότι η Επιτροπή Ελέγχου του Προϋπολογισμού τα τελευταία χρόνια, με τη συμβολή όλων των αγαπητών συναδέλφων από αριστερά μέχρι δεξιά και υπό την ηγεσία της αγαπημένης μας προέδρου, Monika Hohlmeier, κατόρθωσε πραγματικά να δώσει το στίγμα της στενής συνεργασίας και της συστράτευσης όλων μας προς έναν και μοναδικό στόχο: να διαφυλάξουμε τα συμφέροντα των Ευρωπαίων πολιτών. Και θεωρώ ευτυχί συγκυρία ότι σήμερα το Ευρωπαϊκό Ελεγκτικό Συνέδριο με την Επιτροπή Ελέγχου του Προϋπολογισμού, με την αγαστή και απόλυτη συνεργασία και με τον αγαπητό Επίτροπο Hahn, έχει την ευκαιρία πραγματικά να ενισχύσει ακόμα περισσότερο την εμπιστοσύνη των πολιτών προς τους θεσμούς και ιδιαίτερα προς την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση για τη διαφύλαξη των χρημάτων τους.

**Seán Kelly (PPE).** – A Uachtaráin, ar dtús fáilte ó chroí roimh mo chara Tony Murphy,

who took up his duties as the new Court of Auditors President earlier this month. I warmly welcome you today, Tony. I look forward to your presidency.

The 2021 annual report covers an immense amount of work and topics. This year, for the first time, the ECA covered the Recovery and Resilience Facility, the main component of the EU's 800 billion Next Generation EU package. The auditors have also outlined the key findings regarding revenue and the many areas of spending under the EU budget and the European Development Fund.

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One of the main purposes of the ECA is to highlight shortcomings in the management of EU funds. Last year was an extraordinary case, where the EU took bold action in relation to common financing mechanisms. The work of the ECA ensures that risks and challenges for the EU's finances are managed effectively. It is vital for the functioning of the EU to have a full view of risks in relation to EU funds.

Ádh mór ort, a Tony, agus ar do chomhghleacaithe.

*Spontane Wortmeldungen*

**Clare Daly (The Left).** – A Uachtaráin, bualadh bos agus comhghairdeachas, a Uachtaráin Murphy, agus go n-éirí an bóthar leat.

We have a saying in Ireland about “wearing the green jersey”, which basically means going out and batting for Ireland no matter what. It's not a game that we ever choose to play, because Ireland has plenty of shortcomings and we recognise them.

But, equally, we will call out our successes when they occur and I'd like to put on record that it is a tremendous honour for Ireland that Tony Murphy has got this position and, actually, it is a tremendous honour for the ECA to have him at the helm of this key institution which doesn't get the focus that it deserves.

I'd like to salute the work of the ACA in scrutinising how the EU spends its money in terms of whether our citizens get value for money. I often see its reports which points to our failings, but yet we carry on regardless with much of those policies.

I note the concerns in the report about the increase in errors. I note the President's concerns about the risk of the war in Ukraine on the EU budget and the massive transfer of resources that we have around this issue.

So I'd just like to salute him and the organisation and hope that we work in this way with this organisation, which is evidence-based and so important at the present juncture.

**Mick Wallace (The Left).** – Madam President, I too would like to congratulate Tony Murphy on his appointment as President of the European Court of Auditors. Tony was appointed by his peers, he didn't get elected by the usual in-house trading. But then I find it interesting as well that none of the Fianna Fáil has turned up here today. Tony comes from Ireland and he didn't come through the political cartel that prevails in Ireland. He's from a working class background, from Cabra, and for someone of his ability to reach such a high level in the European Union, it makes it a good day for the European Union.

Now, the European Court of Auditors for me is one of the most reputable entities in this institution, and God knows we don't find too many of them. Just a couple of points, they did a wonderful report on Ukraine last year where they were investigating the value for money on 15 billion spent in Ukraine by the European taxpayers and found that Ukraine was one of the most corrupt countries in Europe. Sadly that's been ignored by the warmongers of late.

And, the last point, we spent 8 billion in the Sahel since 2015, a total waste of money. I'd love to see the European Court of Auditors investigate value for money there.

And lastly, on Mozambique, where I was two weeks ago ...

*(The President cut off the speaker)*

*(Ende der spontanen Wortmeldungen)*

**Johannes Hahn, Mitglied der Kommission.** – Frau Präsidentin! Einige Bemerkungen zu den Bemerkungen: Es ist richtig, dass dieses Jahr über 97 % oder 97 % des Budgets für clean befunden wurden. Auch wenn manchen diese Darstellung nicht passt, kann ich das insofern noch toppen, Herr Flanagan, dass am Ende nach einer mehrjährigen Kontrollperiode, wo zigtausende von Checks durchgeführt wurden, die Fehlerquote bei unter einem Prozent ist, das heißt, über 99 % sind dann in Ordnung.

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Und vor allen Dingen – in Richtung des Publikums – ist es auch wichtig, in Erinnerung zu rufen, dass man sehr wohl zwischen *error* – Irrtum – und *fraud* – Betrug – unterscheiden muss. Und hier ist es klar, dass wir, wenn wir von der *error rate* reden, in einem hohen Maße von Irrtümern, von falschen Annahmen, was förderfähig ist, reden und nur zu einem sehr kleinen Teil von Betrug. Aber ich sage auch: Es gibt hier null Toleranz. Wenn irgendetwas entdeckt wird, sowohl, was den Fehler an sich anbelangt, dann gehört es korrigiert, und wenn es sich um einen offensichtlichen Betrug handelt, dann muss dem ohne Wenn und Aber nachgegangen werden.

Aber weil wir über Fehlerquoten reden, kann ich der Frau Abgeordneten Winzig und auch anderen nur zustimmen, die gemeint haben: Gerade für Klein- und Mittelbetriebe ist es nicht einfach, die Förderungen in Anspruch zu nehmen, wegen der – das müssen wir uns eingestehen – vielfachen Komplexität der Förderstrukturen. Und daher glaube ich, unser gemeinsamer Appell an uns selbst, den wir aber auch umsetzen müssen, ist, dort, wo es in der Tat geht, Komplizierungen zu vermeiden und Vereinfachungen sicherzustellen.

An die Adresse von Herrn Freund: Niemand verweigert irgendetwas. Aber Ihr Beispiel mit Polen beweist ja nur, wie wichtig es ist, eine Reihe von Maßnahmen in den verschiedensten Bereichen der Verfolgung von Rechtsstaatlichkeit zu haben. Und wo welche Maßnahme einzusetzen ist, hängt letztlich von den Ursachen, von den Gegebenheiten ab. Und deswegen war es nur offensichtlich, dass eben hier im Bereich der Kohäsion diese Maßnahme ergriffen wurde.

Letzter Punkt, nochmals, wenn wir uns mit der Analyse beschäftigen: Ich sage Ihnen ganz ehrlich, die *error rate* ist für mich ein wichtiger Indikator. Aber noch wichtiger sind die Analysen des Rechnungshofes. Wenn Sie auf regionaler oder nationaler Ebene im Bereich des Audits Schwachstellen identifizieren, ist es wichtig, dass wir die gemeinsam angehen und hier wirklich sozusagen spezifisch – *tailor-made* – Verbesserungen zu erzielen versuchen, denn dann ergibt sich die Reduzierung der Fehlerquote ohnedies von selbst. Das heißt, der Fokus muss darauf liegen, systemische Defizite zu identifizieren und dann gegebenenfalls zu versuchen, Verbesserungen vorzunehmen.

Nochmals vielen Dank für die Debatte, aber vor allen Dingen auch für die gute Zusammenarbeit zwischen Hof, Parlament und auch der Kommission.

**Die Präsidentin.** – Dankeschön, Herr Kommissar. Nun erhält Tony Murphy das Schlusswort. Ich möchte mich den Gratulationen anschließen und Ihnen wünschen, dass die Begeisterung, die Ihnen fraktionsübergreifend entgegengebracht wurde in diesem Haus, auch im nächsten Jahr dann anhält.

**Tony Murphy, President of the Court of Auditors.** – Madam President. Firstly, I would like to thank everybody for your best wishes in my new role, and for the future success of our institution. I very much appreciate it.

From the contributions, it's obvious that the Recovery and Resilience Facility (RRF) is an item of concern for many of you. As I said in my introductory speech, it's a particular challenge and one which is highly topical at the moment and will continue to be a challenge for us all going forward. I would like to just reemphasise that what we say in our opinion is that the assessment of the Commission, namely that the reforms in Spain have been met and the payment can be made legally and regularly on that basis, is the limit of the opinion.

We are not saying that EU national financial rules are respected. In this case, however, because there's no investment – it's reforms in any case – so it's very difficult for us to audit anything in that regard, because there are no associated costs. I would look at the RRF in terms of being a work in progress, particularly in terms of how the protection of the financial interests of the EU will be protected. I also see some need for a clarification in the responsibility and roles of the different players, due to the novelty of this delivery mechanism. There's also a need for us all – both us and the Commission – to ascertain, on that basis, if there are any accountability gaps.

The second issue that was mentioned most frequently was the error rate. The Commissioner has said that the error rate is just a snapshot, in a way. It's just at a particular point in time. Nonetheless, it's consistently around 2.5–3%. These are errors that are repeatedly happening.

The Commissioner mentioned the control systems in the Member States. If we look at the cohesion chapter, we see that, in the work of the other authorities there, we find a lot of errors that have not been detected by the authorities. Therefore, we can't rely on the work that the other authorities complete in terms of relying on the error rate. The problem for us is that this error rate, which is reported by the other authorities, is subsequently used by the Commission for their error rates. This might explain to Mr Lenaers from earlier why there is a difference between the Commission's error rate and our rate. It is because we still maintain that those reported from national authorities are underestimated and are then subsequently incorporated into the Commission's error rate.

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However, it's also important to note that the 3% increase is probably in line with the trends normally towards the end of a programming period. Also, the fact that we have a higher proportion of high-risk expenditure – as someone mentioned that the error rate for high risk expenses is 4.7% – obviously has an impact on the overall error rate going up from 2.7 to 3%.

Someone, Madam Winzig, also mentioned in that context simplification. As a Court, we have consistently promoting the use of simplified cost options. Some Member States have used them more than others, but we are constantly behind that, because we see that as a way of avoiding complex cost reimbursements, which –we acknowledge all the time – contribute to errors systematically.

Mr Kuhs also referred to the adverse opinion. The adverse opinion is because of the pervasive nature of these errors. There are over 63% of our other population has an error rate of 4.7%, and that is why we are well above the 2% materiality threshold. I think Mr Van Overtveldt also mentioned something about these new instruments, and it's very important that we do look at flexibility of new instruments, but in a way that mitigates risk to an acceptable level and ensures accountability. Mr Chastel also mentioned data mining, which obviously from our perspective will be very beneficial and lead to efficiency gains. However, it obviously depends on the availability of data in the auditees, including the Commission.

In terms of climate objectives, it was mentioned that maybe we should report more often than at the end of the seven-year period. We have a number of audits in the climate sphere, which are carried out by mainly by our chamber one. One is actually due to be published next year on climate targets specifically, and obviously part of our effort is also green tagging. A specific percentage of expenditure is supposed to be green, which obviously will be subject to audit.

Finally, I would just like to take this opportunity to thank the staff of the European Court of Auditors for still, despite the difficult working conditions pre— and post-pandemic, delivering more or less the full work programme at a very high quality, despite all the challenges that we have encountered.

Lastly, I would just like to welcome Mr Christoforou to the Court. He starts with us on the 1 November 2022, and we look forward to engagement in a different capacity. Thank you very much.

**Die Präsidentin.** – Herzlichen Dank, viel Erfolg bei Ihrer Arbeit im Rechnungshof! Dankeschön an alle, die sich an dieser Debatte beteiligt haben.

Die Aussprache ist geschlossen.

## **12. Vzťahy medzi EÚ a západným Balkánom s ohľadom na nový balík týkajúci sa rozširovania (rozprava)**

**Die Präsidentin.** – Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung folgt die Aussprache über die Erklärung der Kommission zu den Beziehungen zwischen der EU und den Ländern im Westbalkan vor dem Hintergrund des neuen Erweiterungspakets (2022/2881(RSP)).

Bevor ich Herrn Kommissar Olivér Várhelyi im Namen der Kommission das Wort erteile, ersuche ich schon jetzt vorweg alle Abgeordneten, die sich zu Wort melden werden, dass sie sich an die Redezeit halten.

**Olivér Várhelyi, Member of the Commission.** – Madam President, honourable Members of this House, the last year has been challenging but the EU has always stood with its Western Balkan partners.

Since the start of the pandemic, the EU has supported the Western Balkans in the COVID-19 fight. We provided immediate emergency support, including equipment, and redirected funds to mitigate the socioeconomic impact of the COVID-19 crisis. The EU delivered the first vaccines to the region.

Second, our economic and investment plan for the Western Balkans is our response to supporting the long-term socioeconomic recovery of the region. The plan comes with EUR 9 billion funding from the EPA, and a possibility to leverage EUR 20 billion in investments. And this is for the next six years.

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Part of this funding is already well underway. In the last two years, we have adopted EUR 1.2 billion in investment grants under the Western Balkans Investment Framework, with a view to financing 24 flagship projects with a total investment value of EUR 3.4 billion.

Third, the current energy crisis is a challenge for the Western Balkans as well as for the EU. Therefore, the EU involves the region in its policies and in its actions.

The EU has invited the Western Balkans to join the common EU energy purchases for joint purchasing of gas, LNG and hydrogen. Serbia and North Macedonia have joined the first regional group meeting of the South East Europe Regional Task Force. The REPowerEU plan will help to reduce the EU's and the Western Balkans' dependence on Russian gas.

However, we need to reduce further the EU's and the Western Balkans' dependence on Russian gas as a matter of urgency. That's why we're working on an energy rescue scheme for the entire Western Balkans. The funds we propose will address immediate, short-term and mid-term needs faced by the region.

The immediate measures will include budget support to cushion energy price increases and their impact in particular on businesses, households and SMEs. These measures aim to tackle the energy crisis still this winter.

Short-term measures will support diversification of energy supplies, will boost gas and electricity interconnectors, new storage facilities and LNG terminals. We'll also deploy smaller renewable energy projects and energy efficiency measures.

Mid-term assistance will include other investments contributing to the energy transition and security. These measures will cover large-scale renewable energy generation projects, upgrade of electricity transmission systems, district heating and schemes for energy efficiency for the old blocks of flats.

Further, migration remains an area where we need to work even more closely with our Western Balkan partners. This is even more urgent given the increased migratory pressure experienced in the region over the past year. It must be clear that the EU only welcomes people through safe and legal routes while the door is not open for irregular entry. It must be clear that those who are not eligible and who do not qualify to stay will be returned without delay. It must be clear that we would protect the integrity of our asylum system. We will crack down on smuggler activities and criminal undertakings associated with it.

This narrative requires a shift in our policy and the rebalancing of our assistance, including to respond to the emerging needs and challenges in the region.

We will not leave the Western Balkans alone. We will deliver on our part both politically and financially. We intend to significantly, by 60%, increase our funding to address migration challenges in the Western Balkans during the period of 2021-2024, meaning more than EUR 350 million.

Now, let me give you a short overview about this year's developments in the region, as there was new dynamism in our relationship with the Western Balkans.

The EU held the first intergovernmental conferences with Albania and North Macedonia in July. This was a major breakthrough, opening a new chapter in the EU enlargement policy. The Commission started immediately the screening as the first step of the negotiation process. Both Albania and North Macedonia need to keep up the speed and make use of the screening process to explore the full potential to accelerate the implementation of EU reforms.

Last week, the Commission recommended the candidate status be granted to Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Council on the understanding that a number of steps are taken. Granting candidate status is an offer; we're doing this for the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. But it also comes with high expectations. It is for the elite to turn this into reality.

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Following general elections on 2 October, we expect the legislators and the governments at state, entity and cantonal levels to be swiftly set up in order to focus on EU reforms. It will be for the European Council to take the final decisions, possibly in December. The Commission stands ready to step up its support and to be a reliable partner along this road. The Commission also continues to monitor and report on the implementation of the 14 key priorities based on progress on the ground.

For Montenegro, the priority for further overall progress in the accession negotiations remains the fulfilment of the rule of law interim benchmarks set out on the Chapter 23 and 24. In order to reach this milestone, Montenegro needs to intensify its efforts in tackling outstanding issues, including the critical areas of freedom of expression and media freedom, and fight against corruption and organised crime.

Serbia has made progress in the rule of law, in particular in the reform of the judiciary and in fighting corruption. Therefore, the overall balance in the accession negotiations is ensured. The EU is Serbia's most important political and economic partner, and we want to help Serbia address its challenges, including in the area of energy security.

At the same time, we need to count on Serbia as a sincere European partner, standing with us for our common values, security and prosperity. In the current geopolitical context, it is also clear that Serbia needs to step up its efforts in aligning with the EU positions on foreign policy, including declarations and sanctions against Russia. Since the beginning of the war in Ukraine, alignment of CFSP is more important than ever. We need our Western Balkan partners, who are otherwise our strategic allies, to come along with us on this.

Kosovo enjoyed political stability throughout the year, and the authorities continue to demonstrate their commitment to the EU path. On visa liberalisation, the Commission stands by its assessment of 2018 that Kosovo has fulfilled all the benchmarks. The proposal is still pending in the Council and we support the renewed discussions by a technical update of our assessment. Both Belgrade and Pristina need to engage constructively in the dialogue process. With this, I thank you for your attention.

**David McAllister**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, Commissioner Várhelyi, ladies and gentlemen, dear colleagues, Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine has forced us to rethink our commitments and policies, including on enlargement. With Ukraine and Moldova having been granted candidate status and Georgia having been granted a European perspective, there are now ten countries in total that have embarked upon a path towards the European Union.

Last Wednesday, we debated the 2022 enlargement package immediately after its adoption in an extraordinary meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee, together with our Commissioner, Olivér Várhelyi.

If I remember correctly, we more or less conveyed three messages. First, we highlighted the need to advance the EU enlargement policy as the single most effective instrument for securing peace, prosperity and fundamental values on the European continent. Second, we reiterated our strong support for the European perspective of the countries of the Western Balkans and underlined that the European Union needs to deliver on the obligations towards these countries. And, third, we emphasised that each enlargement country should be judged by its own and on its own merits. The enlargement process needs to remain firmly based on the fulfilment of all relevant criteria, with a strong focus on strengthening democracy, the rule of law, as well as on close cooperation on foreign policy matters.

Commissioner Várhelyi, the Foreign Affairs Committee will continue to scrutinise the enlargement policy closely and we will now stock our work on the individual country reports.

**Tonino Picula**, *on behalf of the S&D Group*. – Madam President, Mr Commissioner, enlargement policy is not only about political and economic unity – it is founded in our values too. Following the common foreign policy might not be defined as key criteria, but it becomes today as one of the critical indicators of the commitment of the candidate countries. It cannot be dismissed or treated as a side issue that will gradually be aligned.

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Our position is clear. Serbian negotiations can only advance when the sanctions are fully adopted. In Montenegro, persistent political instability affects their front-runner status. On BiH, the new recommendations with the same complex conditions will hopefully bring the country closer to the candidacy status, but we remain cautious. Albania and Macedonia deserve a fast track to compensate for the time lost, and any delay in visa liberalisation for Kosovo is detrimental to our role and perception.

We need to build back our credibility by acknowledging the progress and by not ignoring the backsliding when it is obvious.

**Katalin Cseh**, *on behalf of the Renew Group*. – Madam President, Commissioner, dear colleagues, allow me to jump right into the middle. So the key word is ‘credibility’. What the Commission needs to show in the Western Balkans is the credibility of the accession process.

And why is it so important? Because we know that we are talking about a geopolitical buffer zone. And Russia and China understand the strategic importance of the Western Balkans just as well as we do, only that it is right on our doorstep. And the palpable influence of Russia and China is felt throughout the whole region.

But Beijing and Moscow’s geopolitical opportunity is our geopolitical risk. In 2022, when Russia is invading Ukraine, when China is eyeing Taiwan, it is really that simple. But neither Putin nor Xi are credible partners. Their alliances are driven by corruption, opportunism and dominance. We have seen this in Montenegro, Bosnia and in other countries across the region.

So if you are serious about enlargement, which we should be, we need to highlight the contrast that makes us the only viable ally in the Western Balkans region. We need to show our best face, a Europe that delivers peace, prosperity, robust rule of law an anti-corruption framework and also a strong alliance that is able to protect its members from existential external threats. And also, we have to stick to a clear enlargement agenda without delays, without empty promises, without doublespeak that alienates our partners.

Because, colleagues, this is a question of strategic interests, and we only have one shot to get it right. So let’s not waste it.

**Thomas Waitz**, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, Commissioner, Western Balkans is geographically clearly Europe. It is also culturally clearly Europe. Some of us have been working a lot in the past years to get this region closer to the European Union but, meanwhile, through the geostrategic events that we see, I think a majority of the House has understood the urgency of bringing this region into the European Union.

But what we see is that through our actions, through our promises that we do not fulfilled, through keeping the region pending year by year by year, we’re losing more and more public support.

Let us look at Montenegro. Well, the fight against organised crime, the fight against smugglers, the actual prosecution of high-ranking politicians and corrupt judges – it is really remarkable. Do we really think this government was ousted because of that, that they did the deal with Orthodox Church? Well, if you talk to people in the country, people do not think so. They say it is because of the fight against organised crime that Đukanović’s DPS withdrew their support. I think we should acknowledge that.

Let us look at Kosovo. For Kosovo, again, visa liberalisation was blocked by France and some other States. Again, new conditions for the country. Like this we will lose the public support of Kosovans and we are losing it on.

Let us see look at Bosnia and Herzegovina. Well, it is a very good step to grant candidate status or at least to propose it. But let us hope the Council follows that path, because if the Council once again does not follow that path, we will lose the trust of the population again, same as we see in North Macedonia because of these bilateral issues with Bulgaria. We are losing the trust of local population.

We need to speed up the process. Otherwise, we leave the region to Russia, to China, to Arabic states, and I am sure that is not what we all together want to see.

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**Anna Bonfrisco**, *a nome del gruppo ID.* – Signora Presidente, signor Commissario Várhelyi, onorevoli colleghi, sin dalla firma del trattato di Roma, l'Unione europea si è dimostrata una comunità di intenti e di valori condivisi, un faro di democrazia e di Stato di diritto. Promuovendo la pace, i nostri Stati sono diventati più forti insieme.

L'allargamento è oggi un obiettivo essenziale per rafforzare l'Unione e promuovere più pace e più stabilità, prosperità e sicurezza. Sebbene allinearsi alla politica estera e di sicurezza comune non sia un criterio formale per i negoziati di allargamento, oggi però ne comprendiamo la vitale importanza e l'impatto nel presente contesto geopolitico in ordine alle relazioni internazionali, a partire dal grande valore aggiunto costituito dalla nostra partecipazione alla NATO.

Coscienti dei continui tentativi della Russia di attirare nella sua zona di influenza i paesi dell'area, ribadiamo come i Balcani occidentali rimangano la priorità strategica dell'Unione europea e dei suoi Stati membri. Intensifichiamo i nostri sforzi per offrire ai Balcani occidentali la piena partecipazione ai nostri piani economici, energetici e di salute e cerchiamo anche di migliorare da un punto di vista infrastrutturale le connessioni possibili.

L'attuale situazione globale è riflessa nel pacchetto allargamento di quest'anno, che vede sostanzialmente ampliata l'analisi sul posizionamento internazionale dei diversi paesi coinvolti.

Grazie a Lei, Commissario Várhelyi, per il lavoro che sta svolgendo insieme alla Commissione, all'Alto rappresentante, al rappresentante speciale per il dialogo facilitato Belgrado-Pristina, continui con la determinazione che La caratterizza, con il Suo lavoro rafforzi l'Europa e la prospettiva di libertà e democrazia per quei paesi che devono poter diventare sempre più affini.

**Anna Fotyga**, *on behalf of the ECR Group.* – Madam President, Commissioner, the enlargement package 2022 for Western Balkans certainly brings new dynamics to the region and to us. Big news is, of course, the Bosnia and Herzegovina in cohesion with also NATO's security recommendations.

This notion should be accompanied by our additional pressure put on Serbia in order to fully align with collective West's policies vis-a-vis Russia, in particular, sanctions package. We have to ensure that Russian world is not to be replaced by Serbian world in the Western Balkans.

I would suggest fast track for Albania and North Macedonia. In the case of Albania, it is important to pay attention to eventual Iranian actions because of their generous attitude to the Ashraf people transferred to Albania.

And of course, we have to pay attention to the other countries of the region, supporting them as much as possible.

**Emmanuel Maurel**, *au nom du groupe The Left.* – Madame la Présidente, les négociations d'adhésion ont commencé avec l'Albanie et la Macédoine du Nord et, malgré une instabilité politique extrêmement préoccupante marquée par de profondes divisions, nous nous prononcerons bientôt sur l'octroi du statut de pays candidat à la Bosnie-Herzégovine.

Convenons ensemble que cette accélération, voire cette précipitation, qui n'est pas toujours bonne conseillère, ne doit pas grand-chose à la situation objective des pays en question, mais doit tout au contexte géopolitique, c'est-à-dire à la guerre en Ukraine, et le fait qu'il fallait mettre en cohérence nos décisions – puisque nous avons pris la décision dans l'urgence en faveur de la Moldavie et de l'Ukraine.

Mais je remarque qu'il y a un pays candidat qui ne bénéficie pas du même optimisme empressé dont nous faisons preuve. Ce pays, c'est la Serbie et, je le dis, c'est dommage parce que la Serbie est un pays qui compte dans les Balkans occidentaux. C'est le plus important du point de vue géographique, démographique et économique. On a ouvert 22 chapitres sur les 35 et je pense qu'on devrait se féliciter et ne pas donner l'impression qu'on traîne des pieds. Pourquoi? Parce que sinon, nous allons être accusés d'appliquer aux Balkans occidentaux deux poids, deux mesures. Je rappelle que la Serbie a voté avec nous sur l'agression russe, sur l'annexion des quatre territoires ukrainiens. Donc, vraiment, c'est un pays qui fait des efforts. Je pense qu'on doit en faire aussi pour bien montrer que nous ne faisons aucune différence entre tous les pays des Balkans occidentaux.



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**Andor Deli (NI).** – Tisztelt Elnök Asszony! Eddig minden egyes bővítési hullám erősítette Európát, és minden bizonnyal így lenne a nyugat-balkáni országok uniós csatlakozásával is. Azonban ahhoz, hogy felgyorsulhassanak a folyamatok, hogy valós áttörést érhessünk el minden tagjelötnél, és ők is növeljék a teljesítményüket, konkrét céldátumra és menetre lesz szükség. Ez növelné az EU szavahihetőségét és megítélését is a tagjelölt országok állampolgárainak szemében. A térség lemaradt a húsz évvel ezelőtti nagy kelet-európai bővítési hullámról, és immár húsz éve az EU várószobájában van. A céldátum kitűzése óriási motivációt jelentene a régió országai számára, azt eredményezhetné, hogy a tagjelöltek mindinkább gyorsítanák a megkezdett reformokat. Ez a tagjelöltek számára és az EU-nak is hasznos lenne, különösen egy ilyen háború által sújtott geopolitikai helyzetben, mint amilyenben most vagyunk. Végül ezúttal is szeretném megköszönni Várhelyi biztos úrnak a folyamatos kiállását a bővítés ügye mellett.

**Андрей Ковачев (PPE).** – Az съм, за съжаление, разочарован от вчерашното решение на Парламента както на управляващите, така и на опозицията в Северна Македония за създаване на нови пречки пред българските организации в тази страна, за създаване на една атмосфера на омраза и дискриминация спрямо българите в Република Северна Македония. Това трябва да престане и ние трябва да бъдем заедно.

**Andreas Schieder (S&D).** – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar, werte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Für viele von uns hätte es wohl die globale Krise und den Krieg in der Ukraine nicht gebraucht, um darauf zu kommen, wie wichtig der Westbalkan für Europa ist und wie europäisch und wie sehr der Westbalkan Teil Europas ist.

Aber trotzdem muss man noch einmal unterstreichen: Wir dürfen auch die Länder des Westbalkans nicht im Warteraum der Europäischen Union vergessen. Ganz im Gegenteil: Wir müssen sie ganz schnell zu uns hereinholen. Wir müssen die Reformen, wie sie zum Beispiel in Nordmazedonien immer wieder gemacht werden, auch unterstützen. Wir müssen auch Albanien mit seinen Reformen unterstützen und ihnen ermöglichen, dass sie schnell auch Teil der Europäischen Gemeinschaft werden. Wir brauchen die Visaliberalisierung für die Bürgerinnen und Bürger im Kosovo, genauso wie wir auch die Menschen in Bosnien und Herzegowina gerade jetzt nicht alleinlassen dürfen, wo sie bei den Wahlen gezeigt haben, dass sie für Reformen sind und die alten Eliten auch abwählen und abgewählt haben. Last, but not least – die Situation der Rechtsstaatlichkeit in Serbien darf uns auch nicht kalt lassen. Hier muss Europa viel stärker und effizienter und mit Nachdruck für die europäischen Werte auch gegenüber Serbien und dem serbischen Präsidenten Vučić eintreten.

**Klemen Grošelj (Renew).** – Gospa predsednica! Politika širitve na Zahodni Balkan potrebuje korenito prenovo. Spremenjena metodologija ni prinesla praktično nobenega od pričakovanih ciljev glede kvalitete procesa.

Temeljni cilj ne more in ne sme biti samo tehnično in pravno izpolnjevanje kriterijev, ampak mora slediti konkretnim vsebinskim ciljem. Zagotoviti mora transformacijo gospodarstva držav kandidatki kot tudi transformacijo družbe skozi udejanjanje načel in vrednot, na katerih temelji Evropska unija. To je izziv že za mnoge države članice, kaj šele države kandidatke. Zato je čas, da EU oblikuje pristop, ki bo države kandidatke na področju vladavine prava, demokracije in temeljnih vrednot Evropske unije obravnaval individualno in ukrepe ter politike prilagajal realnemu stanju v posamezni državi kandidatki.

Pogojevanje ne prinaša pričakovanih rezultatov, zato je nujno vključiti dodatne mehanizme, vezane na evropska sredstva in delovanje pravosodja, kjer lahko pomembno vlogo odigra Urad evropskega javnega tožilstva. Ljudje Zahodnega Balkana si zaslužijo enak obseg pravnega varstva, kot ga uživamo v Evropski uniji, tudi pred formalnim polnopravnim članstvom.

**Viola von Cramon-Taubadel (Verts/ALE).** – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar, Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Das Jahr 2022 hat das Thema Erweiterung wieder zurück auf die Agenda gebracht. Das sind erst mal gute Nachrichten. Wir haben sogar weiteren Ländern im Osten die EU-Mitgliedschaft in Aussicht gestellt.

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Doch wie realistisch ist diese Perspektive? Letztendlich muss man sagen, die Erweiterung ist zu einer reinen Farce geworden, und daran tragen sehr viele die Schuld. Wir haben all diejenigen auf dem Westbalkan, denen wir vor mehr als zwei Jahrzehnten den EU-Beitritt im Grunde versprochen haben, getäuscht, wir haben sie hintergangen. Wir sind noch nicht mal in der Lage, die Beitrittsgespräche mit Nordmazedonien wirklich aufzunehmen, obwohl das Land schmerzhaft Kompromisse akzeptiert hat. Wir schaffen es nicht einmal, den Bürgerinnen und Bürgern des Kosovos die Reisefreiheit zu gewähren, obwohl ihr Land längst alle Kriterien für die Gewährung der Visafreiheit erfüllt hat.

Wer von denen wird noch glauben, dass wir es ernst meinen, wenn wir von EU-Erweiterung reden? Ja, das Thema ist zurück, aber es mangelt uns an Glaubwürdigkeit. Wir müssen den Ländern des Westbalkans deshalb beweisen, dass wir sie in der EU haben wollen. Ansonsten ist es für alle ein leeres Versprechen. Gleichzeitig müssen wir denen, die unsere gemeinsamen Werte nicht respektieren und die auch unsere Außenpolitik nicht respektieren, die Mittel streichen. Und zwar sofort!

**Jean-Lin Lacapelle (ID).** – Madame le Président, chers collègues, à marche forcée, vous voulez à tout prix intégrer les pays des Balkans occidentaux dans une Union européenne qui suscite une défiance grandissante de la part des peuples qui en sont membres. Ces mêmes peuples qui, massivement, à l'instar du peuple français, rejettent tout nouvel élargissement.

Cependant, dans vos rapports successifs, on ne peut que déplorer une différence de ton flagrante selon les États concernés. La Macédoine du Nord, pays instable en raison de l'activisme de sa minorité albanaise, ne suscite aucune inquiétude de votre part. Le Kosovo, territoire aussi criminogène que corrompu, et non reconnu par cinq États membres de l'Union européenne, a pour sa part toutes vos faveurs. Et je m'amuse quand j'entends d'ailleurs qu'il répond ou répondrait à tous les critères. La Bosnie-Herzégovine, premier pays européen pourvoyeur de djihadistes, minée par l'islamisme politique de sa composante musulmane, qui travaille à marginaliser, avec votre complicité, sa composante serbe, fait l'objet de toutes vos sollicitudes.

Mais quand il s'agit de la Serbie, c'est feu à volonté. Vous voulez forcer la Serbie, après l'avoir illégalement amputée de son berceau historique, à reconnaître ce pseudo-État qu'est le Kosovo. Même le secrétaire d'État américain, la semaine dernière, téléphonait au président Vučić en lui disant: «vous ne rentrerez pas dans l'Union européenne tant que vous n'aurez pas reconnu le Kosovo». Incroyable! Vous voulez lui dicter sa politique étrangère alors qu'il s'agit du premier nœud de la souveraineté d'un État. Vous voulez lui interdire d'avoir des relations avec la Russie alors qu'au plan historique, c'est à elle, notamment depuis 1878, que le peuple serbe doit sa souveraineté et son indépendance. Vous voulez lui interdire d'importer son gaz d'où elle le souhaite, alors que votre politique énergétique stupide menace de faire grelotter les peuples européens cet hiver. Vous lui adressez des rapports humiliants, oubliant que vous avez fait subir au peuple serbe des sanctions inhumaines et même des bombardements à l'uranium appauvri.

Alors, une fois pour toutes, renoncez à votre projet démentiel, stoppez vos ingérences et respectez le droit des peuples. Cessez vos leçons de démocratie alors que vous-mêmes exercez perpétuellement des chantages et formulez des menaces envers des États s'ils n'adhèrent pas à votre pensée unique. Avec l'Union européenne, l'idéologie prime toujours sur le pragmatisme. Quand vous développez une Europe carcérale oppressante, nous, nous défendrons toujours une Europe des nations libres, des identités et des peuples.

*(Die Aussprache wird unterbrochen.)*

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**IN THE CHAIR: ROBERTA METSOLA***President***13. Sacharovova cena za rok 2022 (oznámenie laureáta)**

**President.** – Dear colleagues, it is my privilege to announce that the 2022 Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought has been awarded to the brave people of Ukraine, represented by their President, elected leaders and civil society.

It is also important for me to tell you that there was consensus in the Conference of Presidents on this choice. For the past nine months, the European Parliament and the world has seen Ukrainians heroically defending their country, their liberty, their homes, their families. But the Ukrainian people are also risking their lives for Europe, to safeguard the values we all believe in: freedom, democracy, the rule of law.

There is no one more deserving of this prize. This award is for those Ukrainians fighting on the ground. For those who have been forced to flee. For those who have lost relatives and friends. For all those who stand up and fight for what they believe in.

I know that the brave people of Ukraine will not give up, and neither will we.

**VORSITZ: EVELYN REGNER***Vizepräsidentin***14. Vzťahy medzi EÚ a západným Balkánom s ohľadom na nový balík týkajúci sa rozširovania (pokračovanie rozpravy)**

**Die Präsidentin.** – Wir setzen nun unsere Aussprache über die Erklärung der Kommission zu den Beziehungen zwischen der EU und den Ländern im Westbalkan vor dem Hintergrund des neuen Erweiterungspakets (2022/2881(RSP)) fort.

**Ангел Джамбазки (ЕКР).** – Г-жо Председател, за какво разширяване говорим в момента, в който в Скопие се вихри поредна яростна антибългарска кампания? Комисарю, в Битоля беше запален български културен клуб, в Охрид, стара българска столица, беше разрушен български културен клуб. Онзи ден Народното събрание, Скупщината на Република Македония, Северна Македония, прие закон, с който забранява неправителствени организации с български имена. Да напомням ли кой и в кои години палеше клубове културни? Да напомням ли кой в кои години забраняваше имена? Да напомням ли, Комисарю, правото на самоопределение, правото на сдружаване, правото на организиране?

Забравихте ли всички тези неща, Комисарю? Питал съм Ви много пъти и въобще не ми отговорихте. Защото това са, така наречените и защитавани от всички вас, европейски ценности. Ако не защитавате тях, не знам какво защитавате. И държа на отговора, защото съм ви питал много пъти, искам истински отговор. Кой запали клуба в Битоля? Кой разруши клуба в Охрид? Кой забрани на НПО-тата? Кой завихря антибългарската истерия в Скопие? Това е важно и очаквам от вас истински отговор, а не обичайните алабализми.

**Fabio Massimo Castaldo (NI).** – Madam President, dear colleagues, dear Commissioner, moving further in the enlargement process is not only something we owe to our friends and partners in the Western Balkans, but it is also a strategic priority that has grown in relevance after the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine.

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It is now clearer than ever that we need to reform the enlargement process further by moving beyond unanimity. I welcome the recommendation to grant Bosnia and Herzegovina the official status of candidate country, and I hope this could be that spark that the Sarajevo needs to double down on its commitments.

Now we need to keep on moving on the right path, and the next step must be the visa liberalisation for Kosovo. We do not advocate for shortcuts or cutting corners, but we must realise that we cannot afford never-ending negotiations and uncertainty at every step.

With the first IGC, with Albania and North Macedonia in July, we have partially remedied some silly mistakes from the past and we must learn the lessons. We need a realistic timeline, otherwise the partial void in the region would be filled even more by Russia, China, Turkey and the Gulf, because the European project will never be completed until all the Western Balkan countries will be part of our family.

**Lukas Mandl (PPE).** – Madam President, Vice-President Regner, Commissioner Várhelyi, colleagues, it's good that there is an enlargement package from the European Commission, and there are some positive aspects about it.

We don't call it enlargement but we should also better deal with the UK, Norway and Switzerland. We made some progress with the Eastern Partnership and other parts. When it comes to UK, I want to appreciate today also in the Plenary that it was decided that the UK will participate in the PESCO project on military mobility, which is positive.

When it comes to the Western Balkans, it's very positive that Bosnia and Herzegovina will most probably be granted the candidate status. That's a progress in that case.

But overall, I would wish for more clarity, especially regarding Serbia.

I'm happy, Commissioner that after our exchange in the Foreign Affairs Committee of this very Parliament, where you stated that only one side would have to contribute more to the dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia which would have been Kosovo, today you have said both sides should contribute. I call it progress from the side of the Commissioner. I would say Kosovo has already contributed a lot during history and also the recent months and years, and it is on Serbia not only to contribute to that, but even more to join the sanctions, to join the first unbloody defence against a bloody war attack in history – that's the state of our civilisation.

If this will not happen, we have to consider sanctioning Serbian companies and entities who do business with Russian companies and entities because it's still Putin's Russia.

And if we have heard the President announcing Sakharov Prize for Ukraine just a few moments ago, it's clear that we are still in this moment of attack and we defend ourselves via these sanctions.

**Isabel Santos (S&D).** – Senhora Presidente, o retorno da guerra à Europa e as decisões tomadas este verão em matéria de alargamento fazem com que este seja um relatório estratégico, talvez o mais estratégico dos últimos anos. Por isso, não pode ser apenas um mero instrumento de acompanhamento, tem de assumir um claro papel de definição política e o posicionamento da Sérvia tem que ser definitivamente clarificado.

Não somos uma comunidade apenas de interesses económicos, somos também uma comunidade de valores. O que aconteceu com a Albânia, com a Macedónia do Norte, cujos processos acabaram reféns de diferendos internos da União Europeia, não pode repetir-se. Temos que retirar lições. Os processos de adesão não podem cair no facilitismo, mas também não podem arrastar-se indefinidamente.

As reformas feitas pelos países têm que ter uma clara resposta e uma expedita resposta por parte da União.

Senhor Comissário, não basta continuarmos a dizer que os Balcãs Ocidentais fazem parte da Europa e que não os deixamos sós, os cidadãos dos Balcãs Ocidentais querem ser cidadãos de pleno direito da União Europeia.

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**Ivars Ijabs (Renew).** – Madam President, Mr Commissioner, for over a decade, the once-praised EU enlargement process stalls. And, unfortunately, an end to this stagnation is not coming any time soon.

In practice, it means that we have willingly turned a blind eye to the creation of a more safe and stable EU regional neighbourhood and given our adversaries an advantage for their geopolitical aspirations. Now more than ever, we have to curb our decade-long diplomatic failures that have led to our partners questioning our credibility.

It is time to show a real commitment by reopening the EU doors to anyone who shares our values and wants to become a member. However, this European openness must go hand in hand with alignment with EU foreign and security policy. There is a war in Europe and a common approach to the wartime geopolitical realities is a sine qua non for European enlargement.

Russia uses this European weakness effectively and wants to reshape the European political landscape, which we cannot allow to happen. Putin is trying to divide the continent and cause uncertainty in our regional partners. Therefore, I welcome the Commission's latest enlargement package with the hope that we can agree upon bold decisions and return to a decade-long process of negotiations more fruitfully.

**Tineke Strik (Verts/ALE).** – Madam Chair, Commissioner, after the Russian aggression in Ukraine, the EU has finally woken up. Now everyone sees why swift EU integration of the Western Balkans is key for our stability.

I warmly welcome the recommendation of the European Commission to grant Bosnia a candidate status. We must actively support the country to work on the necessary reforms, but also to ensure the right Council decision in due time.

And, of course, it was high time for a breakthrough in the process with North Macedonia and Albania. Bulgaria must now stick to its promise not to use its veto any longer in this process, and other Member States have the responsibility to keep Bulgaria to its promise. Reliability and credibility should be EU trademarks.

Madam President, now it's high time to translate our nice words into true commitment, not only for geopolitical reasons, but also because the citizens of the Western Balkans deserve this perspective.

*(The speaker agreed to respond to a blue-card speech)*

#### IN THE CHAIR: DITA CHARANZOVÁ

*Vice-President*

**Angel Dzhambazki (ECR), blue-card speech.** – So, dear colleague, do you know where is the town of Bitola? The town of Bitola is one of the major cities in so-called North Macedonia. There are Bulgarians there – good guys. They created a cultural club. Well, this club was attacked and set on fire. What is your comment? By government-led arsonists. What is your comment? I want to know.

**Tineke Strik (Verts/ALE), blue-card reply.** – Sir, I cannot comment on this specific incident. What I want to say is that Bulgaria should also respect the Copenhagen criteria. Of course, there is a lot of work on better neighbourly relations.

What I said is that you are an EU Member State. You have gone through the accession process yourself. You know how important it is that the merits are being assessed, and the merits only. This is important for Schengen accession, but it's also important for the accession of North Macedonia to the EU. You have a responsibility yourself to make sure that the EU is reliable and credible, and that is what you should show to the citizens of the West.

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**Bernhard Zimniok (ID).** – Frau Präsidentin! Wir reden ständig von der geplanten Aufnahme der Balkanstaaten in die EU. Und jedes Mal muss ich konstatieren, dass kein einziger dieser Staaten auch nur ansatzweise die notwendigen Kriterien für eine Aufnahme erfüllt.

Immer noch ist der Balkan die Hauptroute für illegale Migration. Immer noch kommen die meisten illegalen Waffen über diese Länder in die EU. Immer noch sind sie hoch korrupt. Sogar die EU-Kommission selbst bestätigt das – ich zitiere: „Es ist nach wie vor schwierig, demokratische Standards in den westlichen Balkanländern zu erfüllen und aufrechtzuerhalten“. Und das, obwohl die EU seit dem Jahre 2000 über 21 Milliarden Euro zur Unterstützung dieser Länder investiert hat. Jetzt sollen noch mal weitere 14 Milliarden hinzukommen.

Es ist an der Zeit, das Scheitern endlich einzugestehen, den Aufnahmeprozess ein für alle Mal zu beenden und die Steuergelder in dieser größten Wirtschaftskrise für die einzusetzen, die sie erwirtschaften: für den europäischen Bürger.

**Андрей Слабаков (ECR).** – Г-жо Председател, аз ще бъда изключително прям.

Намирам подхода на Европейския съюз към Западните Балкани за абсолютно нелогичен, объркан и направо зловерден за Европейския съюз. Противно на прокламираните намерения, в момента на Западните Балкани цари абсолютен хаос, защото няма последователно прилагане на наложените изисквания. Сякаш това се прави нарочно, сякаш някой иска война. Не искам да ви напомням, че обикновено войните винаги започват от Балканите. Това ли искате да предизвикате?

Не може да се допуска до фазата на преговорите държава, която упорито преследва българите в Северна Македония и как точно ще оправдаете този терор, който е наложен там? Обръщам се към зелените специално, които много харесват Северна Македония, неизвестно защо? Унищожават се имена, променя се историята и се краде от моята държава. Македония няма история до 46-а година, до 46-а и никога не е имала. Ако искате да създадете проблеми ....

**Kinga Gál (NI).** – Tisztelt Elnök Asszony! Az Európai Unió történelmi felelőssége, hogy a bővítés lendületet kapjon a Nyugat-Balkán irányába. Immár nemcsak gazdasági és stratégiai, hanem védelmi és biztonsági szempontból is kulcsfontosságú a nyugat-balkáni országok felvétele ebben a háborús időszakban, különösen szükségünk van arra, hogy ez a térség stabil maradjon. Magyarország ezért elkötelezetten támogatja a csatlakozást, a konkrét menetrend meghatározását.

Üdvözljük, hogy a Bizottság hivatalosan is javaslatot tett Bosznia-Hercegovina uniós tagjelöltségére. A bővítés további késleltetésével Európa, így Magyarország biztonsági érdekei is súlyosan sérülnének. Meg kell állítani a kockázatot jelentő nyugat-balkáni útvonalon érkező illegális migrációs nyomást, amely egyre erősödik. A térség, így kiemelten Szerbia, kulcsszereplő lehet az Unió külső határainak védelmében. Az európai energiaválság következményeit a Nyugat-Balkánon is csökkenteni kell, ezért szükséges közös energetikai együttműködési projektek mielőbbi megvalósítása.

**Vladimír Bilčík (PPE).** – Madam President, Commissioner, colleagues, Russia's illegal, brutal aggression against Ukraine is profoundly reshaping the EU's enlargement policy because Russia's war is also a war against EU enlargement. Let's be clear about this. Russia is waging war directly against Ukraine, an EU candidate state, and Russia is at war with European democracy, values and freedoms and consequently fights on one of our most successful policies – enlargement – via continuous disruption and malign interference for a number of years, including in the Western Balkans.

Our partners in the region have lived through the tragedy and destruction of the 1990s. No one in Europe knows better what war on our continent means. I greatly appreciate all those voices in the Western Balkans which have shown that there is no room for relativising the return of war to our continent.

Clear alignment on common foreign and security policy is clear alignment to our values. It is the essence of showing commitment to moving forward on the EU accession path. Coupled with progress on the rule of law and fundamentals and resolution of past conflicts through dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina, foreign policy alignment demonstrates that the Western Balkans want to be a part of our community of values.

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Let me say a couple of remarks on two countries I deal with. Montenegro remains qualitatively the frontrunner in the accession process, but it is going through a big crisis. It has to resolve the institutional crisis and it needs a fresh political start. Serbia is the one exception in the region, and as a friend of Europe and Serbia, I want Serbia to work with us, to stand with us. And I really hope that Serbia will do so and work with us on turning the Western Balkans into European Western Balkans.

**Matjaž Nemeč (S&D).** – Gospa predsednica. Vsako leto beležimo napredek držav Zahodnega Balkana na njihovi poti v Evropsko unijo, ki sicer ni tako dinamičen, kot bi si sami lahko želeli in vsako leto znova dajemo nove obljube ljudem v regiji. Letošnje leto mi daje upanje, da Unija končno izpolnjuje svoje zaveze. Odprtje pogajanj s Severno Makedonijo in Albanijo ter predlog za podelitev statusa kandidatke Bosni in Hercegovini Uniji vračajo izgubljeno kredibilnost v regiji, zato ne smemo dopustiti, da bi se konec leta ljudem v regiji ponovno izneverili.

Zato mora Svet nujno podpreti takojšnjo odpravo vizumov za Kosovo. Kot eden vodilnih poslancev v procesu mediacije v Srbiji tako kot kolega Bilčík pred menoj, pozivam vse politične akterje k bolj konstruktivnemu izvajanju reform in sodelovanju z institucijami Evropske unije. Medstrankarski dialog je pozitiven zgled, da obojestranski interes za sodelovanje obstaja.

Voditeljem držav Balkana sporočam, da v današnji situaciji ni čas za sedenje na dveh stolih hkrati. Potrebno je izbrati in sestiti za skupno mizo. Ljudem v regiji pa želim vnovič sporočiti, da je prihodnost celotne regije v Evropski uniji. Skupaj in zdaj.

**Valter Flego (Renew).** – Poštovana predsedavajuća, poštovani povjereniče, proces proširenja Evropske unije na zapadni Balkan predugo traje i jako je spor. Oko toga se svi, naravno, slažemo, ali sada je jasno da zemlje zapadnog Balkana više ne čekaju Evropu, nego je upravo obrnuto. Naime, Europa čeka zemlje zapadnog Balkana.

Europa, koja je ujedno i najveći finansijski donator tim državama i najveći, naravno, trgovinski partner. Europa čeka da te zemlje jasno kažu što žele - da se jasno i nedvosmisleno odrede i odrade sve potrebne radnje i procese na tom zahtjevnom putu. Bez figa u džepu: iskreno, odlučno i hrabro; i prije toga riješe svoje bilateralne probleme jer Europa ne želi više uvoziti bilateralne probleme par zemalja. Naime, nažalost, ima dovoljno i svojih vlastitih problema.

Zato iz ovog mjesta mogu samo zaželjeti svim državama zapadnog Balkana da približavanje i ulazak u Europsku uniju bude na vrhu prioriteta njihovih vlada te da onda zajedno učinimo sve kako bismo taj put prema Europskoj uniji skratili i ubrzali.

**Silvia Sardone (ID).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la Presidente von der Leyen ha affermato che i Balcani occidentali appartengono alla famiglia europea, ma questa dichiarazione sembra dettata più da ragioni geopolitiche che da reali convinzioni.

L'Europa deve lavorare affinché queste aree non finiscano nell'orbita russa. Nel caso della Bosnia, bisogna spingere i leader bosniaci a realizzare riforme che non sono riusciti a fare in dieci anni. In Bosnia c'è poi un forte pericolo: l'integralismo islamico. È un paese a maggioranza musulmana, con influenze di Turchia, Arabia Saudita e Qatar, che finanziano moschee spesso non moderate.

Infine, non possiamo sottovalutare che ci sia un enorme problema di immigrazione legato alla rotta balcanica, che la Commissione europea non affronta e che non può più essere trascurato.

**Carlo Fidanza (ECR).** – Signora Presidente, signor Commissario, onorevoli colleghi, dobbiamo ammetterlo, se non fosse stato per l'Ucraina, probabilmente sui Balcani occidentali avremmo continuato ad accumulare ritardi, nonostante il grande lavoro del Commissario Várhelyi, a cui voglio rivolgere pubblicamente un plauso.

Perché, vedete, soprattutto nelle politiche di vicinato, non c'è soltanto il tema di soddisfare formalmente i parametri comunitari, ma sempre di più quello dell'investimento politico sulle nazioni candidate. Lo dico da italiano, perché il mio paese ha sempre avuto verso i Balcani occidentali una vocazione naturale, lo dico da europeo, perché la nostra inerzia ha consentito a Russia, Cina, Turchia e altri paesi di conquistare terreno in quella zona.

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La stabilizzazione della regione passa dal rispetto delle minoranze, passa dal contrasto alla corruzione, al jihadismo, alla criminalità organizzata e ai traffici illegali di droga, armi e esseri umani. Nel caso della Bosnia-Erzegovina, a queste priorità si somma l'urgenza di una riforma elettorale che porti a una pacificazione e a una piena e legittima rappresentanza dei diversi gruppi etnici.

Vedete, la comunità politica europea, fortemente voluta dal presidente Macron, potrà magari essere un utile luogo di confronto con questi paesi, ma soltanto quel forte investimento politico europeo sull'intera regione farà davvero la differenza.

**Mislav Kolakušić (NI).** – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, poštovani kolege, dragi građani, mislim da svi kolege nisu baš svjesni zemljopisnog položaja Bosne i Hercegovine i ostalih država zapadnog Balkana.

Naime, sve te države nalaze se u srcu Europe. Sve te države okružene su drugim članicama Europske unije. Europska unija, da bi bila teritorijalno cjelovita, a ne kao što je sada: poput američke krafne, s velikom rupom u sredini. Nalazimo se u novom razdoblju, u razdoblju napetosti između Istoka i Zapada. Nalazimo se u ratnom dobu.

Ako mi ne popunimo cjelinu svog teritorija i prestanemo biti poput američke krafne, mogao bi je popuniti netko drugi, a što bi znatno ugrozilo sigurnost svih ostalih država članica jer bismo u srcu Europe imali neke druge identitete koji ne pripadaju Evropskoj uniji.

**Željana Zovko (PPE).** – Madam President, I would like to congratulate the Commissioner on the enlargement package. The biggest news of this year's enlargement package is the welcoming recommendation to grant Bosnia and Herzegovina candidate status.

I appreciate the call in the report that it is an utmost priority to conclude the electoral reform according to the Constitutional and International Court's decision, and to accommodate all three constituent people, namely Croats, Bosniaks and Serbs and other minorities in its joint European future.

Since the terrible war of aggression against Ukraine started, the EU showed that it will not leave its eastern borders unprotected and it granted candidate status to Ukraine and Moldova. Candidate status for Bosnia and Herzegovina means that we also care for the security on our southern border.

Enlargement was, is and will be more than anything else a peace and security project. Therefore, I call on all the countries in the Western Balkans to carefully read these reports as constructive criticism from a friend, from family, and to do the necessary homework to catch up on this momentum.

At this moment, all European capitals are focusing on enlargement. Hesitation would be detrimental for the future of Western Balkan countries. Our doors are open and it is cold out there for those who are not part of the family.

**Delara Burkhardt (S&D).** – Frau Präsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Endlich wurde verstanden, dass Erweiterungspolitik mehr ist als nur jährlich wiederkehrende Länderberichte. Sie ist Hoffnung auf Demokratie, auf Sicherheit und auf eine glückliche Zukunft. Die Empfehlung der Kommission, Bosnien und Herzegowina zu einem Beitrittskandidaten der EU zu machen, ist ein großartiges Signal. Bis sich aber konkret was ändert – so ehrlich müssen wir sein –, wird es noch dauern. Weiterhin werden viele junge Menschen das Land verlassen, weil sie keine Zukunft sehen. Es gibt kaum bis wenig Fortschritt bei der grünen Agenda.

Und statt demokratische Reformen im Land zu unterstützen, die gewählte Parlamentarier beschließen, entscheidet der Vertreter der internationalen Gemeinschaft eine umfassende Wahlrechts- und Verfassungsreform, die die ethnische Spaltung verhärtet. Diese Reform bricht nicht nur mit europäischen Standards, sondern auch mit der ersten Schlüsselkategorie, deren Erfüllung wir selber von dem Land fordern. Und die Kommission sagt dazu bisher gar nichts. Vielleicht nutzen Sie ja gleich die Gelegenheit, Herr Várhelyi.



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Hören wir also auf, uns gegenseitig auf die Schulter zu klopfen. Entwickeln wir eine Partnerschaft auf Augenhöhe mit konkreten Erfolgen in der ökologischen Transformation, in der Schaffung einer europäischen Sicherheitsarchitektur und einer echten Perspektive für die jungen Menschen in der Region.

**Γεώργιος Κύρτσος (Renew).** – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, για να επιτύχει η διαδικασία διεύρυνσης στα Δυτικά Βαλκάνια πρέπει να υπάρξει και βελτίωση σε θέματα ελευθερίας των μέσων ενημέρωσης. Σύμφωνα με την έκθεση των Ρεπόρτερ Χωρίς Σύνορα, η κατάσταση στην Αλβανία επιδεινώθηκε και η χώρα πήγε από τη θέση 83 στη θέση 103 επί συνόλου 180 χωρών. Επίσης, η Βοσνία και Ερζεγοβίνη υποχώρησε από τη θέση 58 στη θέση 67, ενώ η Σερβία βρίσκεται στη θέση 79. Δυστυχώς, η Ελλάδα και η Βουλγαρία δίνουν το κακό παράδειγμα σε ό, τι αφορά την ελευθερία των μέσων ενημέρωσης. Η Ελλάδα, με την πολιτική Μητσοτάκη, έπεσε από τη θέση 70 στη θέση 108 και έγινε η χειρότερη στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση. Η Βουλγαρία ανέβηκε από τη θέση 112 στη θέση 91, αλλά έχει ακόμα δρόμο.

Επιβάλλεται, λοιπόν, βελτίωση στην Ελλάδα, που είναι χειρότερη και από τα Δυτικά Βαλκάνια σε θέματα ελευθερίας των μέσων ενημέρωσης, για να επιχειρηματολογήσουμε με μεγαλύτερη αξιοπιστία υπέρ των ευρωπαϊκών αξιών και κριτηρίων στις υποψήφιες προς ένταξη χώρες.

**Maximilian Krah (ID).** – Frau Präsidentin, meine sehr verehrten Damen und Herren Kollegen! Ich verstehe ja die Begeisterung, die EU um weitere Länder erweitern zu können. Aber zur Wahrheit gehört, dass keines dieser Länder, auch nicht Bosnien und Herzegowina, nach den bisherigen Kriterien reif für den EU-Beitritt ist. Und in Bosnien und Herzegowina ergibt sich ja das Demokratiedefizit schon durch diese eigenartige Rolle des Hohen Beauftragten, der ja nicht gewählt ist, aber eine unglaubliche legislative und exekutive Macht hat.

Wenn wir also diese Länder für uns gewinnen wollen und auch die Mehrheit der Menschen für uns gewinnen wollen, dann wird dies wohl vorher nur über eine neue Integrationsstufe gehen. Aber eine Vollmitgliedschaft würde diesen Ländern nicht gerecht werden. Aber sie würde eine unglaubliche Zahl von Problemen, die diese Länder haben, und auch von Unzulänglichkeiten in die EU importieren. Und zwar solche, die wir nicht lösen können. Und wir haben schon genug davon.

**Dorien Rookmaker (ECR).** – Voorzitter, commissaris, sommige problemen lossen zich vanzelf op, en sommige zaken behoeven aandacht en actie. Goed bestuur staat of valt met het kunnen maken van onderscheid tussen deze twee.

De politieke bezwaren tegen toetreding van Albanië, Montenegro, Noord-Macedonië en Servië tot de Unie verdwijnen onder druk van de misdragingen van Poetin. Aanvullende eisen die de heer Borrell voorstelt, zijn onverstandig. Het leidt tot onnodige vertraging en dat kunnen we ons niet permitteren.

Hoe kan Servië zich conformeren aan het buitenlands beleid en het veiligheidsbeleid van de EU, als dat helemaal niet bestaat? Over welk buitenlands beleid heeft mijnheer Borrell het? Over dat van de Commissie, dat van Duitsland, dat van Hongarije of misschien zelfs dat van Polen?

Terwijl de politieke hindernissen worden genomen, verschijnen er juridische en administratieve hindernissen aan de horizon. De Commissie maakt in hoog tempo nieuwe wetgeving voor de Green Deal en de crisisbestrijding en dat maakt het voor kandidaat-lidstaten lastig om alle wet- en regelgeving in te voeren vóór de toetreding een feit wordt. Het is dus belangrijk dat we vaart maken. Er zullen dan veel transitieafspraken moeten worden gemaakt en dat leidt tot complexiteit en gedoe.

Daarom verzoek ik de leden ... *(de voorzitter onderbreekt de spreker)* ... met de nodige aandacht en haast te benaderen ... *(de voorzitter ontnemt de spreker het woord)*

**Gheorghe Falcă (PPE).** – Doamnă președinte, domnule comisar, stimați colegi, agresiunea rusă împotriva Ucrainei a reprezentat un nefericit, dar bun prilej pentru guvernările din Balcani să reconsidere și să reevalueze influența Moscovei în regiunea lor.

Este, în același timp, un bun prilej ca la nivel european să reconsiderăm dinamica relațiilor noastre cu țările respective, mai ales în ceea ce privește sprijinul clar de care acestea au nevoie pe drumul aderării lor la comunitatea noastră politică și de valori.

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Și vreau să salut cu acest prilej recomandarea Comisiei de către Consiliu pentru acordarea statutului de țară candidată pentru Bosnia-Herțegovina. Este un semnal extrem de puternic pentru întreaga zonă, iar atașamentul nostru față de procesul de integrare europeană și euroatlantică, susținut democratic de oameni și cerut de aceștia, trebuie să fie baza pentru a avea cât mai multe lucruri concrete.

**Alessandra Moretti (S&D).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, non possiamo più rimandare la sveglia che detta il ritmo della politica di allargamento, suonata da tempo e l'ingiustificata guerra di Putin in Ucraina non ha fatto che trasformare questo suono in allarme.

È arrivato il momento, già da tempo in realtà, di affrontare con impegno e credibilità la questione dell'allargamento dell'Unione ai Balcani occidentali. Stiamo parlando di una parte della famiglia europea che rischiamo di perdere perché delusa e scoraggiata dal nostro procedere a rilento. In Serbia i sondaggi dicono che solo il 46 % della popolazione è favorevole all'adesione all'Europa, una percentuale che cala di mese in mese.

Anni di temporeggiamento europeo hanno lasciato campo libero alla feroce propaganda russa che, a colpi di disinformazione e *fake news*, ha attirato nella propria orbita l'opinione pubblica. La politica di allargamento oggi più che mai è un investimento strategico per la pace, la sicurezza, la stabilità di tutto il continente.

Ovviamente la sveglia europea non basta. È essenziale che i paesi in questione percorrano con determinazione la strada delle riforme necessarie. Solo attraverso garanzie concrete sullo Stato di diritto, la normalizzazione dei rapporti con il vicinato e l'allineamento a una politica di sicurezza e di difesa comune, potremmo arrivare davvero ad unirli sotto la stessa bandiera europea.

**Sunčana Glavak (PPE).** – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, kolegice i kolege. Paket šalje ohrabrujuću poruku državama zapadnog Balkana da i dalje ostaju prioritet Europske unije. Osim pregledâ situacije po državama koje smo čuli, najznačajnija poruka bila je davanje uvjetnog statusa zemlje kandidatkinje za Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Na ovaj način potiče se političke elite u zemlji na suradnju, ali moraju se poduzeti i neophodni iskoraci u smjeru ustavne reforme i izmjene izbornog zakona.

Važnost reformi iznova je potvrđena i početkom listopada, kada su Hrvati po četvrti puta preglasani u izboru za hrvatskog člana zajedničkog predsjedništva. Krajnje je vrijeme da se okonča ova nepravедna praksa. Uz to, Europska komisija i zastupnici u Odboru za vanjske poslove Europskog parlamenta poslali su jasnu poruku Republici Srbiji. Međutim, srpske vlasti moraju prestati biti dvolične.

Europska unija je glavni politički trgovinski partner Srbije, s otvorenim pristupnim pregovorima. Unatoč tome, Srbija odbija usklađivanje s vanjskopolitičkom i sigurnosnom politikom Europske unije. Posebno je problematičan izostanak po pitanju osude ruske agresije na Ukrajinu.

Srbija treba odlučiti gdje je njezina budućnost i to treba učiniti bez odgode. Izražavam duboku zabrinutost zbog slobode medija u Republici Srbiji i vladavine prava, koje su na vrlo niskim razinama. Politički momentum postoji. Sada je odgovornost na njima da se dokažu.

**Sven Simon (PPE).** – Frau Präsidentin, meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Ich glaube, wir haben gesehen im Haus, dass es einen sehr breiten Konsens dafür gibt, dass die Völker des Westbalkans unsere Ehrlichkeit verdienen. Sie verdienen, dass wir Wort halten.

Im Juni 2003 hat der Rat bei seinem Gipfel in Thessaloniki den Menschen in den sechs Balkanstaaten eine Beitrittsperspektive gegeben. In den vergangenen zwei Jahrzehnten ging es dann aber nur sehr mühsam voran – eine lange Zeit. Eine so lange Zeit, dass ein Vakuum entstanden ist, das Moskau, Peking und Ankara nur allzu gern für ihre Zwecke nutzen. Das ist die geostrategische Größenordnung, über die wir sprechen. Deshalb müssen wir Europäer Glaubwürdigkeit wiederherstellen. Deshalb ist auch das Erweiterungspaket, Herr Kommissar, ein richtiger Schritt.

Dabei dürfen wir es aber nicht belassen. Es braucht Visafreiheit für den Kosovo, zügige Verhandlungen mit Nordmazedonien, Albanien und Montenegro. Die Europäische Union muss auf dem Westbalkan wieder agieren, statt nur auf globale Geopolitik und regionale Krisen zu reagieren.

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**Stanislav Polčák (PPE).** – Paní predsedajúcej, já navážu na pana kolegu Simona. Já naprosto souhlasím s tím, co říkal ve své řeči. Bylo obrovskou chybou přibouchnout dveře do Evropské unie balkánským zemím a já chci úvodem svého projevu jasně podpořit členství těchto zemí v Evropské unii.

Myslím si, že politika rozšiřování Evropské unie by se měla dostat do priorit Evropské unie a do středobodu našeho zájmu. My, když jsme toto pole vyklidili, tak jej obsazuje Rusko, případně Čína. Vidíme zde i zájmy Ankary. Jednoznačně podporuji vstup těchto zemí do Evropské unie a myslím si, že je také dobré zhodnotit jejich pokrok, který učinily. Ať je to v řadě kapitol, které již mají naplněné. Myslím si, že udělení statutu kandidátské země Bosně a Hercegovině vlastně vůbec nic nebrání. Je to jenom otázka politické vůle.

Samozřejmě stále zbývá zlepšit postup v řadě kapitol, ať je to svoboda projevu nebo ochrana menšin, svoboda tisku, ale mírové uspořádání na Balkáně podle mého názoru bez trvalého členství těchto zemí v Evropské unii prostě není možné. Proto – opakují naposled – pokud si to tyto země budou přát, prosím, dejme jim evropskou budoucnost.

*Catch-the-eye procedure.*

**Tomislav Sokol (PPE).** – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, snažna prisutnost Europske unije ključna je za stabilnost jugoistočne Europe. Stoga ohrabruje da je Europska komisija uvjetno preporučila status kandidata za Bosnu i Hercegovinu.

S tim u vezi pozdravljam odluku visokog predstavnika Schmidta, kojima su nametnute izmjene izbornog zakonodavstva i Ustava Federacije BiH. Međutim, sustavna reforma izbornog zakonodavstva, koja će do kraja osigurati ravnopravnost hrvatskog naroda, tek treba uslijediti i o njoj će ovisiti dinamika europskih integracija BiH. Nedopustivo je da Bošnjaci i dalje biraju lažnog hrvatskog predstavnika u Predsjedništvo BiH. Željko Komšić politička je i moralna sramota za Europu, a vjerujem da na kraju ovog mandata zaslužen odlazi u ropotarnicu povijesti.

S druge strane, u Srbiji je vidljivo nazadovanje u europskom procesu, a ono se najbolje očituje u hegemonističkom konceptu Srpskog sveta, posebice u odnosu na Crnu Goru, kao i prevrtljivoj politici prema Rusiji. Sve dok se Srbija jasno ne odredi pripada li politički, kulturno i civilizacijski Zapadu, za nju nema mjesta u Europskoj uniji.

**Domènec Ruiz Devesa (S&D).** – Señora presidenta, señorías, desde luego, quiero aprovechar la ocasión para reiterar mi apoyo al proceso de ampliación de la Unión Europea a los Balcanes Occidentales sin reservas. Celebro realmente el estatuto de candidato que se ha otorgado a Bosnia y Herzegovina.

Pero sí quería hacer una precisión que no se ha hecho —diría— en el marco de este debate hasta ahora, y es importante: no podemos desvincular el proceso de ampliación del proceso de profundización de la Unión Europea. No podemos ir a una Unión de treinta, treinta y dos, treinta y cinco Estados y seguir decidiendo las sanciones, la política exterior, por unanimidad.

Por tanto, tengamos bien presente que son dos procesos que tienen que ir de la mano: ampliación —ampliar el espacio de la democracia europea—, pero también, al mismo tiempo, profundizar la democracia europea en cuanto a su funcionamiento, su legitimidad y su eficacia.

**Irena Joveva (Renew).** – Gospa predsednica. Predstavljajte si naslednje: nekaj vam obljubijo, ampak se zlažejo. Ponovno vam obljubijo, vi čakate, spet se vam zlažejo. Počutite se izdano, zmedeno. Čakate. Postanete sumničavi. Čakate na še več obljub, ampak tokrat ne pričakujete več veliko, ker vas je že izučilo. Znana glasbena skupina zapoje takole – bom kar v originalu: „Prazna obječanja su najbolja reklama (Prazne obljube so najboljša reklama. op.prev.)“

In tako, drage kolegice in dragi kolegi, se počutijo naši sosedje z Zahodnega Balkana – nič manj Evropejci kot jaz, ti ali kdor koli drug, navzoč v tej sobi. Obljube delajo dolg in moramo jih spoštovati.

In znotraj Unije moramo glede vladavine prava, svobode medijev, človekovih pravic in vseh ostalih kriterijev biti enako strogi, kot to upravičeno zahtevamo od naših sosedov. A tudi v Uniji imamo nekaj držav, ki so vse prej kot dober zgled. Prijatelji na Balkanu, vi pripadate ovdje jednako kao i svi mi (Prijatelji na Balkanu, sem spadate enako kot mi vsi. op. prev.).

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**Joachim Stanisław Brudziński (ECR).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Szanowni Państwo! Była mowa tutaj już wielokrotnie o tym, że albo Unia Europejska otworzy drzwi dla obywateli państw Bałkanów Zachodnich, albo w tych państwach coraz większe wpływy będą miały takie państwa jak Rosja, Chiny, a nawet Arabia Saudyjska czy Iran. Dlatego w interesie całej Unii Europejskiej jest utrzymanie wysokiej dynamiki procesu rozszerzania. Ta polityka unijna odgrywa jeszcze większą rolę w obliczu rosyjskiej agresji na Ukrainę i destabilizujących działań podmiotów trzecich, zwłaszcza Rosji, w państwach nią objętych.

Pełne dostosowanie do wspólnej polityki zagranicznej i bezpieczeństwa Unii Europejskiej powinno mieć priorytetowe znaczenie i musi być dostosowane do poszczególnych kandydatów na równych zasadach, bez stosowania podwójnych standardów. Należy zabiegać o inkluzywność wszystkich dokumentów rozszerzeniowych, w tym konkluzji Rady Unii Europejskiej, które w jak najszerszym stopniu powinny odzwierciedlać ostatecznie pozytywne decyzje, takie jak przyjęcie ram negocjacyjnych dla Albanii i Macedonii Północnej czy, nawet przede wszystkim, przyznanie Ukrainie i Mołdawii statusu kandydata do członkostwa w Unii i perspektywy europejskiej dla Gruzji.

**Karlo Ressler (PPE).** – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, htio bih danas govoriti ovdje, prije svega, o Bosni i Hercegovini. Pozdraviti prijedlog Europske komisije za davanje statusa kandidata državi koja je prošla možda najkrvaviji i najteži put do svoje samostalnosti, do očuvanja svoje opstojnosti i sada se nalazi u jednoj posebnoj, specifičnoj, situaciji: na putu prema stabilnosti, na putu prema demokratizaciji zemlje, ali isto tako i na putu prema Europskoj uniji.

Kolegama bih htio poručiti da svatko kome je stalo, istinski stalo do Bosne i Hercegovine, mora razumjeti da se pokušaji podčinjavanja Hrvata u građane drugog reda jednostavno ne mogu isplatiti, da ne mogu uspjati, a ne samo da su oni, što također jesu, duboko i moralno pogrešni. Svaki konstitutivni narod treba imati pravo na legitimno zastupanje i, jedino uz uvažavanje sva tri konstitutivna naroda s punom ravnopravnošću, možemo misliti i tvrditi da Bosna i Hercegovina ima europsku budućnost i zbog toga mi je drago da je to prepoznala i Europska komisija preporučujući također rad na izmjenama Izbornog zakona kao preduvjet bilo kakvog daljnjeg napretka.

**Bogdan Rzońca (ECR).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Ta bardzo interesująca debata dobiega końca. Chciałbym poruszyć jeszcze jeden aspekt i zadać pytanie panu komisarzowi, dlatego że mało w zasadzie mówiliśmy o tym przy całym entuzjazmie dla rozszerzenia Unii Europejskiej (za tym też jestem) o Bałkany Zachodnie. Chciałbym zapytać o ekonomiczny aspekt tego rozszerzenia, dlatego że co jakiś czas pokazują się szacunki, jak to będzie wyglądało, jeśli chodzi o przyłączenie na przykład tych kilku krajów do Unii Europejskiej. Jak wtedy będzie musiała zmienić się wspólna polityka rolna, fundusze spójności itd. Czy są w tej materii jakieś w tej chwili dane, o których może nam Pan tu powiedzieć?

**Clare Daly (The Left).** – Madam President, every country should be free to choose the path it wishes to take in order to ensure its prosperity as far as I'm concerned. So if countries in the Western Balkans want to join the EU, that's absolutely fine, as long as that's truly what the citizens desire.

But it is very clear from the Commission statement, and indeed from many comments of colleagues, that this strategy isn't motivated by concern for Western Balkan citizens, but rather it is rooted in a geopolitical power-grab to enlarge our gang so we can keep fighting the Russians.

They have to choose between Russia or us. Why, we all live on the same continent? Look where that strategy has landed Ukraine, when Zelenskyy was elected on a platform of making peace with Russia. and I find it absolutely ironic that to read the Commission statement talking about the necessity of these countries to reinforce democracy and rule of law when we have flagrant breaches in France, Spain, Bulgaria and so on.

Traditionally, these countries have been brought into Europe to boost NATO and to be a pool of cheap labour. It's about time we started respecting them for their own national rights and develop a cooperation of equals.

*(End of catch-the-eye procedure)*

**Olivér Várhelyi, Member of the Commission.** – Madam President, honourable Members, as you know, since the very first day of this Commission, we have taken enlargement to be our political priority.

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The report on it demonstrates that this is not just empty words, as it was said here by some, but this is delivering results now, because it is the EU's strategic interest to get the Western Balkans fully integrated within the European Union. Only this can give us long-term stability, peace and prosperity, not only in the Western Balkans but also in the European Union.

Now, I noted three questions.

First of all, I want to thank this House for the support for the candidate status of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is a very important political decision, an offer, if you will, to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. And I do hope that I can continue to count on the support of this House. Of course, much needs to be done still and in that, of course, the electoral reform is an urgent priority as it is very clearly established in our report.

My answer to Mr Dzhambazki is that we are following closely what has happened, and I understand that there are police proceedings ongoing. And, of course, we are not in a position to comment on these proceedings. However, I want to underline that, of course, Article 2 of the Treaty continues to apply as a criteria for becoming a Member.

And, finally, an answer to Mr Rzońca. This is not the time to discuss the possible impact but let me give you the perspective. The entire region is 18 million people. And we are a region of 450. The entire region will not be integrated on the same day. So, I think that the impact on, for example, the CAP should not be something we shouldn't be able to address.

**President.** – That concludes the debate. The next point on our agenda is the Commission statement on: Fighting sexualised violence – The importance of the Istanbul Convention and a comprehensive proposal for a directive against gender-based violence.

## 15. Boj proti sexuálnemu násiliu – Význam Istanbulskeho dohovoru a komplexný návrh smernice proti rodovo motivovanému násiliu (rozprava)

**President.** – I am glad to see Commissioner Dalli with us, I will give her immediately the floor. Commissioner, the floor is yours.

**Helena Dalli, Member of the Commission.** – Madam President, honourable members, fighting sexualised violence and the importance of the Istanbul Convention and the comprehensive proposal for a directive against gender-based violence is what we are discussing today.

The scale of sexualised violence and violence against women in Europe is very high. One in three women in the European Union has experienced physical and or sexual violence, and one in twenty women has been raped. Reports and personal accounts indicate that rape and sexualised violence are being used as weapons of war in Ukraine.

About one in five Europeans hold victim-blaming views, claiming that women make up or exaggerate claims and that violence against women is often provoked by the victim. We cannot, of course, tolerate this and must take a stance and end victim-blaming and rape culture. Excusing aggressive behaviour and shaming those who speak out about their experience has desensitised society to the horrors of rape and sexual assault. In the EU, 27% of people think that sexual intercourse without consent could be justified under certain circumstances, such as when the victim is drunk or when the victim does not clearly say no, or when the victim does not physically fight back. But these can never be considered as consent. This is why the Commission put forward a legislative proposal on combating violence against women and domestic violence.

The proposal contains a host of measures to ensure that we protect victims from sexualised violence and prevent it from happening in the first place. It also proposes the introduction of a harmonised definition of rape based on the lack of consent. Only a yes is yes.

Immediate specialised support is particularly important in cases of sexualised violence. The proposal would ensure that victims have immediate access to rape, crisis or sexual violence centres.

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Victims of sexualised violence are often confronted with insensitive or gender-stereotypical treatment during law enforcement proceedings. This can have serious consequences in terms of secondary victimisation and ultimately denies these victims the right to justice. Training sessions for law enforcement officials and judges are therefore of the utmost importance. The Commission's proposal further seeks to prohibit judges from asking unnecessary and possibly traumatising questions about the victim's sexual history.

The proposal further seeks to prevent gender-based violence, including sexualised violence, by ensuring that awareness-raising campaigns aim to dispel harmful gender stereotypes.

The measures I just mentioned are only a selection of those included in this comprehensive proposal, which covers the criminalisation of certain offences amounting to violence against women, the protection, support and access to justice for victims of violence against women and domestic violence, and the prevention of such forms of violence. Parliament's full support is needed as a co-legislator to make sure we now introduce harmonised and comprehensive provisions and take a united stand against gender-based violence.

The proposal is modelled on the Council of Europe's Istanbul Convention, which has proven to be a comprehensive legal instrument to prevent and combat gender-based and domestic violence and protect the victims. So I stress here again, as already stated in the Commission's gender equality strategy, that we remain committed to the EU's accession to the Istanbul Convention. The Istanbul Convention is our international standard and engagement to which the EU wants to live up, just as we do to other international texts, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. We are counting on the Council to make sure that the EU now finalises accession to the convention, following the EU's signature in 2017.

**Frances Fitzgerald**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, Commissioner, as co-rapporteur on the proposal for a directive on violence against women and domestic violence, I am working just extensively to ensure women across the Union are protected alongside my co-rapporteur, Evin Incir.

With this new directive, we must ensure that standards across Europe are raised and that it actually builds on the ground-breaking Istanbul Convention. However, be prepared for the legal basis of sexual exploitation to be challenged. Let us in this Chamber make sure that the legal definition of sexual exploitation includes rape and female genital mutilation. If this was to be questioned as we progress with this directive, what an insult that would be to the women of Europe and beyond.

Right now, the European Parliament has a chance to create meaningful change. What we actually need is a fully ratified Istanbul Convention and a strong European directive on this topic. Why? Because everyone has the right to a life free from violence.

However, the pervasiveness of violence against women in our society means that this is not yet a reality for women and girls. One in three women globally will experience sexual or domestic violence within their lifetime. And the statistics are horrifying. Overall, every ten years, a city the size of Marseilles, Amsterdam or Zagreb disappears, as 850 000 women are murdered every ten years. Even more so in times of war, as we see in Ukraine. Ukrainian women are experiencing this first-hand, as rape becomes a weapon of war used by Russian soldiers

For too long, and I think most people in this House agree, there has not been enough action on the issue of violence against women. This is seen most notably in the failure of a number of Member States to ratify the Istanbul Convention.

This new directive should provide significant protection to those victims and introduce preventative measures to help address the pervasive nature of this phenomenon. We must ensure that the fundamental rights of women and girls are secured.

**President**. – Owing to technical problems concerning interpreting, the speaker is invited to repeat the final part of her speech.

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**Frances Fitzgerald**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – (start of speech off-microphone) ... I won't repeat it all. Basically, what I was saying is that the statistics are really horrifying. I don't need to go into them again here. But let me just give one statistic: overall every ten years, a city the size of Marseille, Amsterdam or Zagreb disappears as 850 000 women are murdered every ten years.

I mentioned as well, of course, the Ukrainian war and how Ukrainian women are experiencing first-hand the fact that rape becomes a weapon of war used by Russian soldiers.

We need more action, we need it quickly. Violence is so pervasive. I hope the new directive will give significant protection to those victims and introduce preventative measures to help address the pervasive nature of this phenomenon, because we have to ensure that the fundamental rights of women and girls are secured.

The Istanbul Convention being fully implemented and a strong directive really gives us that opportunity.

**Evin Incir**, *för S&D-gruppen*. – Fru talman! Hot, skräck, slag, mord. Det tar aldrig slut. År efter år, decennium efter decennium, århundrade efter århundrade, i alla samhällen, i alla samhällsklasser. Det könsbaserade våldet borde ha förpassats till historien i en modern tid som vår, men patriarkatet är här och nu och det vill något annat.

I hemmet, till och med i politiken, i skolan, på gator och torg, i krig men också i fred utsätts kvinnor och flickor för våld: sexuellt, fysiskt, psykiskt, ekonomiskt och digitalt.

Var tredje kvinna i EU beräknas ha drabbats av våld, mer än var femte kvinna har drabbats av våld i nära relationer. Många av oss kvinnor, även här i vårt parlament, har levt eller lever i denna verklighet. Det sker både offline och online.

Det avskyvärda våldet är inte ett naturfenomen. Flickor föds inte under rosa täcken och pojkar föds inte under blå täcken. Det är något vi tvingas på. Ojämställdheten som bottnar i patriarkatet kan förpassas till historien, men för det krävs både mod och vilja av var och en av oss här inne: modet att våga stå upp emot orättvisor och viljan att uppnå ett jämställt samhälle.

Vi kvinnor, flickor, hbtqi-personer och alla andra som dagligen lever med hat, hot och våld har fått nog. Förändring är inte längre ett kanske – det är ett måste. Det är smärtsamt att EU fortfarande har sex länder, Bulgarien, Tjeckien, Ungern, Litauen, Lettland och Slovakien, som ännu inte har ratificerat Istanbulkonventionen, som är det första juridiskt bindande regionala instrumentet om våld mot kvinnor i Europa.

Nu har vi i EU för första gången tagit ett helhetsgrepp genom konkreta åtgärder för att komma till rätta med ett av vår tids största problem. Att EU går fram med ett så skarpt och omfattande lagförslag, som direktivet för att bekämpa mäns våld mot kvinnor och våld i nära relationer, är historiskt. Jag kommer i egenskap av medföredragande, tillsammans med min kollega Fitzgerald, göra det jag kan för att stärka det ytterligare.

Det är vår skyldighet gentemot kvinnor och flickor att få slut på våldet, få slut på mordet. Vi måste arbeta förebyggande genom att börja i tidig ålder. Vi måste stödja offren och vi måste få slut på straffriheten som råder.

**María Soraya Rodríguez Ramos**, *en nombre del Grupo Renew*. – Señora presidenta, señora comisaria, se calcula que cincuenta mujeres son asesinadas víctimas de la violencia de género cada semana en la Unión Europea. Una cada seis horas. En España, en mi país, han sido asesinadas hasta este momento treinta y cuatro mujeres víctimas de la violencia de género. Esta es la máxima expresión de la violencia contra las mujeres, la punta de un iceberg que esconde malos tratos, agresiones sexuales, acoso, ciberviolencia, trata, vulneración de derechos sexuales y reproductivos y violencia sexual. Una violencia que no hace más que aumentar año tras año en nuestros países. Estamos viendo cómo en Ucrania convierten el cuerpo de las mujeres en un campo de batalla.

Y, sin embargo, frente a este drama, estamos viendo cómo crecen los movimientos antigénero, aquellos movimientos que niegan la violencia de género, que banalizan la violencia sexual. Frente a esto, no podemos ser complacientes ni inactivos. Tenemos que combatirlos.

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Y, por eso, en esta legislatura tenemos que conseguir dos grandes hitos históricos, si me permiten. Que el Consejo ratifique el Convenio de Estambul. El Tribunal de Justicia de la Unión Europea ha dejado claro que no hay excusas jurídicas para no hacerlo, solo excusas políticas. El Consejo debe ratificar el Convenio de Estambul. Y debemos aprobar una directiva sobre la lucha contra la violencia de género que proteja por igual a todas las mujeres en la Unión Europea y que no deje un lugar de impunidad para los asesinos y autores de crímenes contra las mujeres.

**Diana Riba i Giner**, *en nombre del Grupo Verts/ALE*. – Señora presidenta, señora comisaria, es crucial que la Unión Europea cuente con una legislación europea ambiciosa a la hora de atacar la violencia machista, una de las principales violaciones de derechos humanos que existe en el planeta y que afecta a, ni más ni menos, una de cada tres mujeres. Europa debe ser un referente mundial en la lucha contra esta lacra.

Por eso, por un lado, quiero dar la bienvenida a la propuesta que ha hecho la Comisión para dotar a la Unión de una directiva sobre la violencia contra la mujer que establezca unos mínimos comunes en todos los Estados miembros.

Pero, por otro lado, les tengo que decir que no es suficiente. La Comisión sabe que aquí, en esta Cámara, se aprobó un informe que reclamaba la inclusión de la violencia machista en el artículo 83 de los Tratados, un hecho que nos permitiría construir una propuesta legislativa mucho más ambiciosa que la que han presentado.

Sabemos que hay reticencias. Sabemos que el contexto no es fácil. Pero mucho me temo que, cuando hablamos de los derechos de las mujeres, estas reticencias siempre existirán y el contexto nunca será el idóneo. Por eso, es el momento de unir fuerzas, de ser valientes políticamente. Trabajemos juntas por una nueva directiva que haga historia, pero, sobre todo, que salve vidas.

**Annika Bruna**, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, le débat que nous avons aujourd'hui est malheureusement plus que jamais d'actualité, au moment où nous apprenons avec effroi le supplice qu'a subi la petite Lola il y a quelques jours à peine en France. Alors oui, il est plus que temps de lutter efficacement contre les violences à caractère sexuel, à commencer par celles exercées sur nos enfants.

La semaine dernière encore, j'ai rencontré des femmes déterminées qui ont eu le courage de témoigner sur les abus sexuels commis par des hommes puissants qui agissent impunément depuis des décennies. Des prédateurs sexuels protégés par l'omerta peuvent commettre leurs méfaits sans être inquiétés, notamment dans les sphères de pouvoir. Et j'en veux pour exemple les récentes affaires des institutions européennes ou encore des agences de mannequinat.

La culture du silence est coupable de l'impunité des agresseurs. Il est temps d'y mettre fin. C'est un enjeu moral et de société.

**Margarita de la Pisa Carrión**, *en nombre del Grupo ECR*. – Señora presidenta, señora comisaria, señorías, que alguien se autoprocleme defensor de las mujeres no quiere decir que lo sea. Miren los resultados.

Ante el drama de la violencia, analicemos las causas: alcoholismo, adicciones, desórdenes afectivos, hedonismo... Ideas culturales radicales que denigran a la mujer. Para fomentar el respeto hemos de educar en virtudes, construir vínculos sanos y ordenados, no hipersexualizar la sociedad o cosificar a las personas. La ideología de género estigmatiza y criminaliza al varón de forma generalizada. Es un tópico injusto que destruye la igualdad real entre hombres y mujeres, y provoca miedo y desconfianza. Y, además, impide reconocer a los verdaderos agresores. Quien cometa estos actos debe ser perseguido, no quedar impune, para que no pueda volver a ser una amenaza para sus víctimas.

Las mujeres en esta situación necesitan unos servicios sociales que se impliquen, que les den soluciones de verdad: acompañamiento profundo, psicológico, afectivo, espiritual, según sus necesidades concretas. Los recursos hoy se pierden por el camino financiando asociaciones y ONG activistas que no ayudan y, en cambio, sí que generan enfrentamiento social. Muchas veces la atención a la mujer se limita a ofrecerle el inhumano recurso del aborto.



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Las leyes ideológicas, como la llamada «sí es sí» en España, lejos de proteger a la mujer, están desvirtuando los tipos delictivos y devalúan las penas. Esto a quien ampara no es a la mujer, sino a los verdaderos agresores.

**Έλενα Κουντουρά**, *Εξ ονόματος της ομάδας The Left*. – Κυρία Πρόεδρε, κύριοι συνάδελφοι, στην Ευρώπη, μία στις τρεις γυναίκες έχει υποστεί σωματική σεξουαλική βία και μία στις είκοσι γυναίκες έχει πέσει θύμα βιασμού. Μόνο στην Ελλάδα, τους τελευταίους οκτώ μήνες έχουν κακοποιηθεί σεξουαλικά 300 παιδιά και έχουν γίνει 19 γυναικοκτονίες. Τα στοιχεία αυτά σοκάρουν, ενώ τα πραγματικά περιστατικά είναι πολύ περισσότερα, καθώς οι γυναίκες είτε από φόβο, είτε από ντροπή, είτε από έλλειψη εμπιστοσύνης στις αρχές, δεν καταγγέλλουν όσα εφιαλτικά βιώνουν. Οι κακοποιητές, οι βιαστές και οι παιδόφιλοι βρίσκουν έδαφος στα κενά της γονεϊκής και της κοινωνικής μέριμνας, στη φτώχεια, τις ανισότητες και τις πατριαρχικές αντιλήψεις που κυριαρχούν ακόμη και σήμερα στην Ευρώπη.

Είναι ανάγκη, λοιπόν, να διασφαλίσουμε ότι η οδηγία για την έμφυλη βία θα είναι φιλόδοξη και θα υιοθετεί τις συστάσεις του ψηφίσματος για τον αντίκτυπο της ενδοοικογενειακής βίας και των δικαιωμάτων επιμέλειας στις γυναίκες και στα παιδιά. Κυρία Επίτροπε, το Δικαστήριο της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης τον Οκτώβριο του 2021 γνωμοδότησε ότι ακόμα και αν δεν έχουν κυρώσει όλα τα κράτη μέλη τη Σύμβαση της Κωνσταντινούπολης, η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση μπορεί να την κυρώσει και οφείλει να το κάνει άμεσα.

**Arba Kokalari (PPE)**. – Fru talman! I Europa pågår just nu fruktansvärda övergrepp på ukrainska kvinnor och barn, där ryska soldater använder våldtäkter och mord som vapen i sin krigföring. I Iran kämpar kvinnor för sin rätt till ett liv i frihet, i ett land där våld mot kvinnor i hemmet och våldtäkt inom äktenskapet är tillåtet.

I en värld som denna måste EU leda vägen och visa att kampen mot förtrycket, mot våldet mot kvinnor, är en kamp för frihet, för mänskliga rättigheter, för jämställdhet.

Om EU ska vara en trovärdig aktör när det gäller kvinnors rättigheter måste vi också agera här på hemmaplan, för alldeles för länge har våldet mot kvinnor försumrats i medlemsländerna. Fysiskt och sexuellt våld drabbar var tredje kvinna inom EU. Det är stopp på det nu. Vi har nu en chans att förändra på riktigt i vår tids frihetsfråga. Genom att våld mot kvinnor kriminaliseras, att Istanbulkonventionen genomförs i hela EU, kan vi med kraftfulla medel trycka tillbaka våldet på riktigt.

Fru kommissionär, det är dags att gå från ord till handling om att vi menar allvar, om att kvinnors rättigheter är mänskliga rättigheter.

**Łukasz Kohut (S&D)**. – Pani Przewodnicząca! Całują w ręce, bredzą o moralności, a później zwalczają prawo chroniące kobiety przed przemocą. Prawicowi populiści atakują prawo, które wspiera ofiary. Atakują prawo, które chroni rodziny. Atakują konwencję stambulską, nawet tutaj, w Strasburgu, gdy pojawia się tak fundamentalna kwestia jak przemoc ze względu na płeć, to PiS głosuje przeciwko. Głosuje przeciwko dyskusji. Głosuje przeciwko kobietom. Tam, gdzie dochodzi do przemocy, nie ma miejsca na brednie o ideologii. Tam, gdzie jest przemoc, jest miejsce do dyskusji o tym, jak chronić ofiary i jak karać sprawców. Ale widzimy wyraźnie, że tym nie jesteście zainteresowani. My, w przeciwieństwie do was, nie zaglądamy ludziom do łóżka. Wy macie jakąś chorą obsesję, obsesję na punkcie seksu i płci, obsesję, którą co tydzień pokazuje prezes całej Polsce. Obsesję, którą gracie politycznie.

Mieszkańcy Polski oczekują normalności, która nie jest definiowana na partyjnych zjazdach przez bezdusznego starszego pana. Oczekują normalności, w której Fundusz Sprawiedliwości służy wsparciu ofiar, a nie inwigilacji opozycji. Oczekują normalności, w której kobiety nie są zmuszane przez państwo do heroizmu. Oczekują normalności, w której minister sprawiedliwości nie atakuje dokumentu zwalczającego przemoc w rodzinie. Przywrócimy normalność, państwo prawa i wartości europejskie już wkrótce.

**Samira Rafaela (Renew)**. – Madam President, finally, we have a very important proposal on fighting gender-based violence. But it is very important that this proposal works for all, and that all women are included. This is about intersectionality. So I really much wish that we pay attention to the victims of marital captivity.

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A lot of women were manipulated into a bad situation, and at the end they end up in their marriage, and they are captured and they cannot go anywhere. They cannot escape the situation, they are vulnerable for domestic violence, all kinds of violence they are vulnerable to. And also when it comes to honour-related violence, and this is something that we need to emphasise in the debate.

This is something that we need to pay attention for, because this issue is in the dark. It is basically a shadow in this proposal, and it's a dark reality for these women. It's a difficult issue to detect, it's a difficult issue to monitor. But this is exactly why we need to find solutions to detect this issue, and to protect women that are victims of marital captivity.

**Karima Delli (Verts/ALE).** – Madame la Présidente, Madame la Commissaire, mes chers collègues, il y a cinq ans, ici, dans cet hémicycle, je criais: «la peur et la honte doivent changer de camp!».

On est cinq ans plus tard, rien n'a changé. On le sait, une femme sur trois en Europe a subi des violences physiques ou sexuelles, plus de la moitié des femmes ont été victimes de harcèlement, une femme sur dix a été violée, sept meurent chaque jour sous les coups de leur conjoint ou ex-conjoint. Et rappelez-vous que le COVID a créé une pandémie fantôme, celle des violences domestiques.

Ces données sont glaçantes, mais nous, les femmes, nous continuerons à être debout! Nous sommes présentes en force dans cet hémicycle: aujourd'hui, sur 25 orateurs, seulement deux sont des hommes! Nous sommes debout pour rappeler que l'Union européenne a signé en 2017 la convention d'Istanbul. Nous sommes debout pour dire que six pays sur 27 agissent au mépris des droits des femmes.

Madame la Commissaire, nous sommes là pour légiférer. Vous devez garantir la protection des femmes et des filles par tous les moyens, même au-delà des traités.

**Ангел Джамбазки (ECR).** – Г-жо Председател, Комисар, насилието над жени и деца е и трябва да бъде престъпление, и всяко престъпление трябва да бъде преследвано, обвинявано, осъждано и наказано. И така е редно и така трябва да бъде, защото това престъпление е отвратително.

Обаче тук дебата е малко по-различен, защото Истанбулската конвенция не е този документ, който да запази жените и децата от домашно насилие или от всякакво насилие, основано на пола. Истанбулската конвенция има далеч по-големи, по-широки и по-различни цели и вие отлично знаете това. В Истанбулската конвенция има идеология, която за част от нас е неприемлива и затова ние се противопоставяме на този документ, и същевременно ви казваме не взимайте справедливата кауза за защита на правата на жените като заложник за идеологически промени, насочени към семейната традиция, към семейството и т. н.

И ви дам два примера. Как твърдите, че защитавате правата на жените, а насърчавате спортист, който е роден мъж, да отиде да се състезава в женска лига, в плуване, в бокс, в борба или в каквото и да било.

И още нещо, как твърдите, че насърчавате и защитавате правата на жените, а наричате традиция практиката в някои общности, мюсюлмански или в махалите в България да се женят насила 12 годишни деца. Това не е защита на правата на децата и на жените, тъкмо напротив. Завършвам с призива Истанбулската конвенция не е подписана от нас, няма да бъде подписана .....

**Eugenia Rodríguez Palop (The Left).** – Señora presidenta, señora comisaria, esta mañana hemos hablado aquí sobre el blanqueamiento de la extrema derecha antieuropea y me parece oportuno comenzar mencionando que el origen de este debate es una propuesta del Grupo ID para hablar sobre violencia contra las mujeres, sin mencionar que es violencia de género, o sea, sin dejar claro que son las mujeres quienes la sufren y los hombres quienes la ejercen, sin referirse al Convenio de Estambul ni a la propuesta de Directiva de la Comisión.

Afortunadamente, otros grupos hemos reaccionado para evitar que las antifeministas usen a las mujeres víctimas de violencia para colar sus excentricidades. Dicen que se preocupan por las mujeres, pero, ¿a quién quieren engañar? ¿Acaso creen que somos tontas? Nos matan por ser mujeres, pero la extrema derecha dice que la violencia no tiene género, que es la ideología de género la que origina la violencia y que los hombres sufren persecución a manos de las feministas. Se les llena la boca pidiendo sanciones para los agresores, pero solo si son extranjeros, porque, en su ficción particular, esos agresores no pueden ser esposos, padres, hombres blancos, ricos y nacionales, españoles muy españoles. Esos, si matan, es solo por amor o en legítima defensa.

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Dicen estar con las mujeres, pero solo si son reinas del hogar y se acomodan a sus estereotipos. No pelean por las mujeres, sino solo por sus mujeres. Se sientan en esta Cámara para oponerse al Convenio de Estambul o a la violencia de género como eurodelito y van a intentar minar la Directiva de la Comisión. Y, si algo prospera, utilizan al Consejo para bloquearlo.

Señores y señoras de la extrema derecha, ya está bien. A otro perro con ese hueso, que, aunque la mona se vista de seda, mona se queda.

**Rosa Estaràs Ferragut (PPE).** – Señora presidenta, sin igualdad Europa no existe. Europa es el futuro de la igualdad entre todos.

La violencia de género es una de las violaciones más graves de los derechos humanos. Un tercio de las mujeres de la Unión Europea —se ha dicho aquí— ha sufrido violencia física o sexual a lo largo de su vida y los datos indican que ha aumentado después de la pandemia. Ha habido simultáneamente una pandemia oculta.

Se produce en todas partes: en el hogar, en la escuela, en el trabajo, en la calle, en internet. Tenemos ahora una guerra, la guerra de Ucrania, en la que la violación es utilizada como un arma masiva por parte de los soldados rusos. Siguen violándose en todo el mundo los derechos fundamentales de las mujeres y, por eso, es muy importante este debate.

En primer lugar, hay que hacer una solicitud a todos los Estados miembros para que ratifiquen el Convenio de Estambul, el tratado internacional de mayor alcance para poder luchar contra esta lacra; también la propuesta de Directiva que presentó en el mes de marzo la Comisión, una directiva para atacar con todos los instrumentos que poseemos la violencia contra las mujeres.

Necesitábamos y necesitamos una respuesta global, unida y coordinada. Establecer un marco jurídico europeo coherente, donde quede claro que no es un tema coyuntural, sino que tiene carácter estructural y debe combatirse siguiendo criterios comunes.

Por eso, con ese debate y con todas y todos juntos, apostamos por un sólido mensaje de compromiso para combatir esta lacra. Toda la humanidad saldrá beneficiada. No es invencible y debemos ejercer, sin duda, un liderazgo decisivo en esta lucha.

*(La oradora acepta responder a una intervención realizada con arreglo al procedimiento de la «tarjeta azul»).*

**Younous Omarjee (The Left),** *intervention «carton bleu».* – Madame la Présidente, ma chère collègue, merci pour votre intervention. Dans ce débat, comme l'a souligné Karima Delli, seuls deux hommes sont intervenus à la tribune et nous ne sommes ici que deux ou trois hommes.

La question que je vous pose est la suivante: cela vous inquiète-t-il ? Quels enseignements en tirez-vous pour notre assemblée? Car à l'évidence, ce débat extrêmement important sur la convention d'Istanbul contre les violences sexuelles à l'encontre des femmes est un combat qui doit concerner d'abord et avant tout les hommes.

**Rosa Estaràs Ferragut (PPE),** *respuesta de «tarjeta azul».* – Efectivamente, la lucha contra la violencia de género no es un tema solo de las mujeres, es un tema de la humanidad, de hombres y mujeres.

No me cabe ninguna duda de que los hombres que representan al pueblo europeo, usted, pero también los que no están aquí, nos siguen desde sus despachos, están implicados en esta lucha. Es verdad que sería deseable que tomaran la palabra, pero no me cabe ninguna duda de que, en todos los partidos, como en mi Partido Popular, hay hombres absolutamente implicados en esa lucha. En el mío, en el socialista, en Renew. Todos los partidos de aquí —estoy segura— están implicados. La comisaria ha venido acompañada de un grupo de hombres de la Comisión. Estamos implicados porque, si no, no sería una lucha razonable. Estamos todos implicados en esta lucha y así debe ser.

**Evelyn Regner (S&D).** – Madam President, dear Commissioner Dali, we have adopted three resolutions underlining the same thing: violence, and especially sexual violence, is not acceptable in the European Union, not in any of our Member States and not in our own House. We need mediators and we need trainings for everyone.

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I'm disgusted to see that someone convicted for rape did not only get away unpunished within the European institutions, but even got rewarded by getting more than a million of taxpayers money, a salary while being out of service. No wonder that victims do not dare to speak up.

Our institutions need to stop this culture of tolerating sexual violence immediately. In December, 76% of Members of this House approved stronger measures, and I want to see them implemented by our own administration now. Make zero tolerance for any kind of harassment a reality – now.

**Karen Melchior (Renew).** – Fru formand! På en politistation forsøger en kvinde at få hjælp. Hendes ekskæreste havde nu opsøgt hende. Hun var ellers flygtet til en anden by, for at komme væk fra ham. Hun havde videomateriale med, og igennem to år havde hun anmeldt ham og spurgte nu frustreret: »Kan I ikke gøre noget her og nu?« Politiet svarede, at det kunne de ikke, før manden havde gjort hende fysisk fortræd eller overtrådt en lov eller et tilhold. Partnerdrab er den største enkeltstående drabstype i Danmark, og ofrene er oftest kvinder. Men vi har endnu ingen handlingsplan for at forebygge disse drab. Og det er på trods af, at forskning viser, at det er den mest forudsigelige forbrydelse, hvis man ser faresignalerne og reagerer i tide. Derfor, når en kvinde i et voldeligt forhold henvender sig til vores myndigheder, bør hun modtages af folk, der kan tage de rette skridt for at beskytte hende med det samme. På baggrund af forskning og viden kan vi sikre, at partnerdrab forebygges. Det kræver handling for at udbrede viden og redskaber. Medlemslandene skal lægge planer for, hvordan de vil handle. Vi skal sikre, at medlemslandene lytter til forskning, taler med hinanden og lærer af hinanden. Partnerdrab kan forebygges, men vi gør det ikke endnu. Mange af de dræbte kvinder havde søgt om hjælp. Forgæves. Det her kan og skal vi gøre bedre.

**Pierrette Herzberger-Fofana (Verts/ALE).** – Madame la Présidente, la convention d'Istanbul inclut, dans son article 38, les mutilations génitales féminines, qui constituent une violence sexuelle et une violation des droits des femmes à la santé sexuelle et reproductive ainsi que de leur intégrité physique.

Dans cette optique, une association de la société civile en Allemagne a élaboré, en collaboration avec le gouvernement, une lettre de protection qui a pour but de briser le tabou par la sensibilisation et de préserver ainsi l'intégrité physique des jeunes filles de la diaspora et de les protéger. La lettre de protection met l'accent sur les conséquences juridiques pour toute personne qui aurait l'intention de pratiquer une excision. Elle sert aussi de bouclier aux familles d'émigrés qui ne peuvent se soustraire à l'emprise de la famille lorsqu'elles retournent dans leur patrie ou lorsqu'elles envoient leurs filles en vacances dans leur pays d'origine.

C'est un signal fort qui informe les communautés sur l'illégalité de la pratique des mutilations et ses effets néfastes pour la santé des femmes et des filles qui en sont victimes. Il est nécessaire de sensibiliser les communautés qui pratiquent les mutilations sans les discriminer, sans les stigmatiser. La lettre de protection peut être un instrument efficace pour éradiquer les mutilations en Europe. Elle viendra renforcer la directive, et je souhaite que cette lettre de protection fasse des émules et qu'elle soit introduite dans tous les États membres de l'Union européenne.

**Anne-Sophie Pelletier (The Left).** – Madame la Présidente, Madame la Commissaire: humiliées, insultées, harcelées, tabassées, violées, tuées; le continuum des violences sexistes et sexuelles faites aux femmes perdure depuis trop longtemps. Même si la Convention d'Istanbul est le texte le plus protecteur des droits des femmes, encore trop peu d'États l'ont ratifiée et beaucoup trop peinent à la mettre en pratique.

Devant la parole et le courage des femmes, nous ne pouvons que nous incliner, les écouter et les respecter. Alors exigeons une directive forte contre les violences sexistes et sexuelles faites aux femmes, afin de défendre leurs droits fondamentaux.

Nous sommes toutes des martyres de la cause. Assez! Défendons la relève féministe empreinte de sororité et de solidarité. Femmes du monde entier, nous vous croyons!

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**PRZEWODNICTWO: EWA KOPACZ***Wiceprzewodniczka*

**Nathalie Colin-Oesterlé (PPE).** – Madame la Présidente, Madame la Commissaire, votre proposition de directive pour lutter contre les violences faites aux femmes et les violences domestiques va tout à fait dans le bon sens. En tant que rapporteure pour mon groupe, le PPE, en commission des libertés civiles, je crois qu'il est urgent de nous inspirer fortement du modèle espagnol pour lutter efficacement contre ce fléau.

N'attendons pas de ratifier la convention d'Istanbul pour lutter dès maintenant contre ces violences. Les coups, eux, n'attendent pas et la violence se répand partout dans notre société. Chaque jour, ce sont des dizaines de femmes et de jeunes filles qui sont victimes d'un viol, de tortures ou de mutilations génitales. Chaque jour sur le sol européen, sept femmes meurent sous les coups de leur conjoint. Trop de femmes acceptent inconsciemment la violence conjugale, qu'elle soit psychologique, verbale, physique, entraînant jusqu'à la mort de la victime. Toutes ces femmes doivent être protégées. À nous de prévenir ces violences et d'apporter aux victimes des réponses concrètes.

Développons le 112 européen des violences conjugales, un numéro disponible 24 h sur 24, 7 jours sur 7, pour que n'importe quelle femme dans la détresse puisse obtenir une solution, peu importe son lieu d'habitation, son âge et son origine. Incitons les États membres à aider, notamment financièrement, ces femmes, pour qu'elles puissent quitter le domicile conjugal. Octroyons bien plus facilement des ordonnances, des téléphones «grave danger», la délivrance d'ordonnances de protection et de bracelet électronique. Créons un véritable réseau européen de points d'information sur les violences, mais également un réseau d'échange d'informations et de coordination pour apporter un soutien individualisé à chaque victime. Construisons un cadre clair et précis au niveau européen avec, dans chaque État membre, chaque région, chaque collectivité, des guichets uniques permettant d'orienter, de conseiller et de protéger les victimes. Magistrats, policiers, services sociaux, élus et collectivités, nous devons tous être formés pour être acteurs de cette lutte contre les violences.

**Sylvie Brunet (Renew).** – Madame la Présidente, Madame la Commissaire, merci pour cette directive ambitieuse visant à lutter contre les violences sexistes, même si elle doit être améliorée, notamment sur les questions de harcèlement sexuel au travail, de formation des professionnels en contact avec les victimes et de la situation des personnes handicapées. Ce sont des combats prioritaires que je vais essayer de mener en tant que rapporteure fictive pour mon groupe au sein de la commission de l'emploi.

Au-delà des avancées nécessaires que va apporter cette directive, je me demande comment et pourquoi, en 2022, la convention d'Istanbul n'est toujours pas ratifiée par six États membres et donc par l'Union européenne, alors que sept femmes par jour meurent sous les coups de leur partenaire en Europe et que les violences continuent.

Nous attendons donc beaucoup de la présidence tchèque, qui n'est hélas pas présente, du Conseil et de la Commission pour, enfin, lutter efficacement contre les violences faites aux femmes.

**Alexandra Geese (Verts/ALE).** – Frau Präsidentin! Weltweit und in Europa erlebt jede dritte Frau physische oder sexuelle Gewalt, meistens übrigens von ihrem eigenen Partner. Und heute kommt digitale Gewalt dazu. Frauen werden gezielt mit digitalen Medien angegriffen, beleidigt, bloßgestellt, isoliert, beschimpft, erpresst und bedroht, um sie zum Schweigen zu bringen.

Und wir haben weltweit ein starkes Instrument, um Gewalt gegen Frauen ein Ende zu setzen: die Istanbul-Konvention. Und wir arbeiten hier in der EU an einer Richtlinie zur Bekämpfung von geschlechtsspezifischer Gewalt. Aber leider ist die Istanbul-Konvention heute die Zielscheibe einer globalen Kampagne von rechtsextremen und rechtsgerichteten Organisationen, Parteien und Regierungen, die Menschen gegen die Ratifizierung dieser Konvention aufhetzen. Und ich habe die Befürchtung, dass genau das auch in diesem Haus gegen die Richtlinie zur Bekämpfung geschlechtsspezifischer Gewalt geschehen wird.

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Und deswegen möchte ich alle demokratischen Kolleginnen und Kollegen hier bitten und auch alle demokratischen Regierungen, ganz besonders im Rat, sich ganz besonders stark für den Schutz von Frauen gegen Gewalt und für eine starke Richtlinie einzusetzen. Denn Frauenrechte sind Menschenrechte. Und die lassen wir uns nicht nehmen.

**Sandra Pereira (The Left).** – Senhor Presidente, é fundamental que a sociedade esteja desperta e focada no combate à violência contra as mulheres, seja de que natureza for, violência doméstica, tráfico de mulheres, violência no namoro, prostituição ou, ainda, o assédio laboral e sexual. Sobretudo, há que encarar que as raízes destas formas de violência residem nas crescentes desigualdades sociais, situação que atinge particularmente as mulheres.

Vivemos tempos em que regressam velhas formas de exploração, com o agravamento da pobreza e da exclusão social, da vulnerabilidade dos mais pobres. A prostituição é disso exemplo, constituindo uma dilacerante forma de violência exercida essencialmente sobre as mulheres. É também expressão de desigualdades sociais e uma forma de escravatura que atenta contra o corpo e a dignidade das mulheres.

A erradicação da violência exige necessariamente uma mudança dos modelos políticos, económicos, sociais e culturais que visem a eliminação de qualquer tipo de violência contra as mulheres, mas que ambicionem também a erradicação da pobreza e a eliminação das desigualdades, o reforço da proteção social e laboral, com o fim da precariedade e o aumento dos salários. E as mulheres agradecem.

**Elżbieta Katarzyna Łukacijewska (PPE).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Pani Komisarz! Szanowni Państwo! W XXI wieku nie może być przyzwolenia na przemoc i gwałt. W XXI wieku powinny być chronione ofiary, a nie sprawcy. I to nie ofiary gwałtów i przemocy powinny bać się zgłaszać przestępstwo. To przestępcy powinni bać się wysokiej kary.

W XXI wieku powinna być jasna definicja wykorzystania seksualnego i gwałtu obowiązująca we wszystkich krajach Unii Europejskiej. To nie ofiary powinny być zmuszane do odpowiedzi na pytania, czy swoim ubiorem, makijażem czy wyglądem nie prowokowały sprawców. W XXI wieku nie może być tak, że to ofiary wolą milczeć, niż zgłaszać przestępstwo.

90% przestępstw o charakterze seksualnym nie jest zgłaszanych, a w pozostałych dziesięciu tylko jeden na cztery przypadki kończy się wyrokiem dla sprawców, zazwyczaj w zawieszeniu. Silne instrumenty prawne i polityka „zero tolerancji” to wsparcie i ochrona kobiet. Ratyfikacja konwencji stambulskiej i uznanie przemocy ze względu na płeć za przestępstwo w Unii Europejskiej to kroki, które musimy niezwłocznie poczynić.

Niestety mam też świadomość, że zmiany mogą nastąpić tylko przy wsparciu mężczyzn, a dzisiaj ich jak na lekarstwo na tej sali. Mam nadzieję, że będziemy czuli to wsparcie.

Na koniec chciałabym powiedzieć brawo dla tych krajów, które ratyfikowały konwencję stambulską i brawo dla obecnej tu pani przewodniczącej Ewy Kopacz, która miała odwagę i ratyfikowała konwencję stambulską w Polsce, gdy stała na czele rządu.

**Pina Picierno (S&D).** – Signora Presidente, signora Commissaria, onorevoli colleghi, le donne continuano a morire, continuano a essere oggetto di violenza, succede nel mondo, succede in Europa, nella nostra Europa, e io continuo a dire che questo, se ci pensate bene, è l'unico fatto drammatico che ci accomuna davvero.

Non ci accomunano i diritti, esistono diritti diversi a seconda del paese nel quale si nasce, non ci accomunano le libertà, esistono libertà diverse a seconda del paese nel quale si nasce, l'unica cosa che ci accomuna per il fatto di essere donne, mi verrebbe da dire per la colpa di essere nate donne, è il fatto di essere continuamente oggetto di violenza.

E questo riguarda tutte le donne, in qualsiasi condizione sociale, in qualsiasi condizione economica, in qualsiasi religione credano. E questo fatto terribile costituisce un limite insopportabile alla nostra dignità, alla nostra libertà e, in definitiva, care colleghe e cari colleghi, alla nostra vita.

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E allora certo, è necessario intervenire sul piano normativo, è necessario continuare sulla strada segnata dalla Convenzione di Istanbul, ma ricordo ancora una volta a quest'Aula e anche ai colleghi che fanno interventi piuttosto originali, che la Convenzione non è un punto di arrivo, ma è soltanto un punto di partenza. Sono le norme minime che poi andrebbero approfondite e rafforzate negli Stati membri.

Penso allora alla direttiva contro la violenza sulla quale stiamo lavorando, su cui stiamo intervenendo a livello parlamentare per offrire una protezione minima uniforme per tutte le donne presenti sul territorio dell'Unione, ma fatemi dire, colleghi e colleghe, che oltre a un livello normativo, prima ancora vorrei dire del livello normativo, sul livello culturale, sociale, istituzionale su cui continuiamo a registrare un'insopportabile carenza. Allora, solo quando avremo creato una cultura piena della parità di genere, le norme potranno avere piena applicazione.

Insomma, cara Commissaria, care colleghe, cari colleghi, c'è ancora tanto lavoro da fare, troppo, quest'Aula continuerà a farlo, per le donne di oggi e per le donne che verranno.

#### *Zgłoszenia z sali*

**Sunčana Glavak (PPE).** – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, kolegice i kolege, samo četrnaest posto žena prijavljuje nasilje. Svaka šesta žena u Europi žrtva je obiteljskog nasilja, a svakih sedam žena svaki dan umire od posljedica takvog nasilja.

Nasilje nad ženama uzrok je i posljedica i siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti žena, čime se posebno povećava rizik od nemogućnosti izlaska iz te situacije. Ali žene su jake. Dozvolite mi da vam kažem jedno zanimljivo istraživanje tvrtke McKinsey: tvrtke s najvećom spolnom raznolikošću u svojim izvršnim timovima imaju 26% veću vjerojatnost za iznadprosječnu profitabilnost. Kada bi se ženama pružile jednake prilike do 2050. BDP po stanovniku u Europskoj uniji mogao bi se povećati za 3,15 bilijuna eura.

Zato vas pitam: zašto tek tako isključiti polovicu talenata, znanja, iskustava, sposobnosti - jer žene čine 51% europske populacije, 226 milijuna ženskih glasova. Zamislite kako bi odjeknule kada bi progovorile jednim glasom protiv svih onih slabića koji dižu ruku samo zato jer su one žene.

**Ana Miranda (Verts/ALE).** – Senhor Presidente, Senhor Comissária, pertenço a um partido feminista e, por conseguinte, queremos que se trilhe o caminho para ratificar a Convenção de Istambul e damos as boas-vindas à proposta de diretiva.

No meu país, uma em cada quatro mulheres que sofrem violência machista é menor. Precisamos de julgados de violência, ajuda económica, social e laboral para as vítimas.

Estou orgulhosa porque o meu partido promoveu no parlamento galego a lei da violência vicária ou entre os casais em que os homens acusam as mulheres através dos seus filhos. Estou muito orgulhosa.

A extrema direita nega a violência de género. Não têm vergonha, senhores e senhoras da extrema direita? Já o dissemos neste Parlamento, em 2018, na resolução sobre o avanço do neofascismo na Europa. O neofascismo está cheio de negacionistas da violência de género.

**Silvia Sardone (ID).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la Convenzione di Istanbul è un trattato internazionale per affrontare la violenza contro le donne.

Bene, oggi abbiamo votato il progetto di bilancio generale dell'Unione europea per l'esercizio 2023 e c'era un emendamento che chiedeva che il bilancio dell'UE non finanziasse alcuna campagna futura che possa promuovere l'hijab. Bene, quest'Aula ha votato contro.

Allora, da un lato siete solidali con le donne iraniane che stanno lottando per le loro libertà, tra cui quella di non portare il velo islamico e, dall'altro, avete deciso che il Parlamento e l'Unione europea possano finanziare campagne che promuovono proprio quel velo contro il quale le stesse donne in Iran stanno manifestando.

Allora, io la trovo un'ipocrisia vomitevole e vi chiederei almeno un po' di coerenza per rispetto di quelle tante donne che stanno rischiando anche la loro vita per difendere la libertà di non portare il velo islamico.

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(Koniec zgłoszeń z sali)

**Helena Dalli**, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, *(start of speech off mic)* ... I promised you during the hearing in the year 2019 that I would work for the EU's accession to the Istanbul Convention, and in the meantime, I will also present our own proposal for legislation, and that is what I am doing. I am glad that many of you are in agreement with this legislative proposal.

Data from the United Nations shows that around 47 000 women and girls were killed by their intimate partners or family members, mainly men, in 2020, so, on average, one woman or girl every 11 minutes. So indeed, this is a topic that should concern men, and I say this every time that there is this kind of debate in this Parliament or anywhere else. I always feel in these circumstances that we are preaching to the converted. So, of course, more men are welcome and actually expected to speak in these kinds of debates. In this debate, we had 29 women who spoke. Only two men put their name on the list to speak, and one came here to tell us no to the Istanbul Convention. That's the situation which we have to fight against every single day. It seems that men don't want to hear us speak on this topic when we know that, every 11 minutes, a woman and a girl are killed by their intimate partner or a member of their family every day.

I said we must continue to pursue accession to the Istanbul Convention. As we promised, we prepared, as I said, the directive to have a European instrument to fight violence against women. I urge the co-legislators to adopt this as soon as possible please.

We must work also on prevention. Of course, this goes without saying, and we must work more for women's financial independence, which is directly linked to the situation of violence in families of domestic violence, because it is very difficult for a woman to leave an abusive relationship if she is financially dependent on her abuser, especially so if she has children.

So in all our other work that we are doing with regard to more women in the labour market, we know that there are 7.7 million women who are not in the labour market because of care responsibilities and, therefore, that is why we have our care package. It is all linked – because if these 7.7 million women are in the labour market, are working, are earning their livelihood, then it will be less likely for them to accept living in situations of domestic violence. Our goal is clear: to eliminate violence against women and girls and support the survivors wherever this happens, whether in private and public spaces or at work. A zero-tolerance policy on sexualized violence and rape should become the norm everywhere.

The EU will stay at the forefront of this international mobilisation to defend the rights of every woman and every girl to live freely and safely no matter where they live in Europe. We stand with all women and we will defend the support and protection of all women and girls because women's rights are the pillar of just, open, developed and democratic societies. No one and nothing should be allowed to deprive women of our freedom.

**Przewodnicząca**. – Zamykam debatę.

*Oświadczenia pisemne (art. 171)*

**Sylwia Spurek (Verts/ALE)**, *na piśmie*. – 16 lipca 2019 r. Ursula von der Leyen, wówczas kandydatka na Przewodniczącą Komisji Europejskiej, powiedziała: Unia powinna przystąpić do konwencji stambulskiej. I zadeklarowała: przystąpienie do konwencji to jeden z kluczowych priorytetów Komisji. Od powołania Komisji, od objęcia przez Ursulę von der Leyen funkcji szefowej Komisji minęło już 1190 dni. To pokazuje, jak Pani von der Leyen traktuje swoje obietnice i kluczowe sprawy dla obywaterek UE. Przypomnę, bo być może Komisja o tym zapomniała, że równość jest jedną z wartości Wspólnoty. Przypomnę, bo być może Komisja tego nie wie, że przemoc wobec kobiet to jedna z najbardziej drastycznych form dyskryminacji. To, że kobiety nie mogą czuć się bezpiecznie we własnym domu, to jedna z największych patologii XXI wieku! I nie wystarczy dyrektywa antyprzemocowa. Potrzebujemy całościowego systemu przeciwdziałania przemocy wobec kobiet, którego fundamentem jest konwencja stambulska. Potrzebujemy jasnego sygnału dla milionów Europejki, że Komisja na serio traktuje ich problemy, że zajmie się kwestiami działań prewencyjnych, edukacji, podnoszenia świadomości, ochrony kobiet i ścigania sprawców! Cieszyłam się, że kobieta staje na czele Komisji. Miałam nadzieję, że zdrowie i bezpieczeństwo kobiet staną się w końcu ważne. Dziś mija 1191 dzień kadencji Ursuli von der Leyen, a konwencja stambulska nadal nie jest przez Unię ratyfikowana.



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## 16. Politická situácia v Tunisku (rozprava)

**Przewodnicząca.** – Kolejnym punktem porządku dziennego jest oświadczenie Komisji w sprawie sytuacji politycznej w Tunezji (2022/2869(RSP)).

**Olivér Várhelyi**, *Member of the Commission.* – Madam President, honourable Members of this House, thank you for this exchange on the political developments on this important partner and close neighbour for the EU. It falls at a very timely moment in the run up to the 17 December legislative elections, a key appointment for Tunisia in this delicate transitional period.

We know that political transitions are challenging. The one that the Tunisian people started in 2011 is no exception. This is why the EU considers it crucial to continue to side with the Tunisian people, as we have been doing during the past decades, not only economically, but also politically.

At the same time, our support has been based on shared principles and values that the Jasmine Revolution brought along. We firmly believe that the Tunisians want to preserve these values. For this reason, the EU has not hidden its apprehensions regarding some of the measures taken in the past few months in Tunisia. Our message has been very clear since the beginning, privately and publicly when needed.

As High Representative Vice-President Borrell stated in the declarations on behalf of the EU in the past months, respect for democratic *acquis*, the rule of law, the separation of powers, and respect for fundamental rights and freedoms are paramount. We remain convinced that these are essential for the success of any political processes and the long-term prosperity of Tunisia.

We are also very sensitive and attentive to the hard times that Tunisia is experiencing economically. The Russian aggression against Ukraine is having a heavy impact on all, but there is no doubt that the Tunisian economy is among those paying the highest toll in terms of food and energy security. This adds to the damages resulting from the COVID 19 pandemic.

This is why the EU is determined to continue to support the Tunisian people in this challenging economic context, and we remain ready to accompany them in the substantial and difficult, yet needed, structural reforms they will have to undertake.

We welcome the staff level agreement between the Tunisian authorities and the IMF to support Tunisia's economic growth, job creation and macroeconomic stability. The EU stands ready to contribute to this programme and the overall stability of Tunisia, including through a rapid disbursement of the next tranche of our budget support of EUR 40 million and consideration of new macro-financial assistance. We are hopeful that the Tunisian people and authorities will make the wisest choices for the future of Tunisia, which can only happen as a result of inclusive dialogue and continuing on a large consensus.

On our side, the EU institutions, together with our Member States, remain committed to finding the most appropriate means to continue supporting Tunisia in this difficult, but crucial time. This includes ways to express our concerns as necessary, always with constructive criticism, which we consider to be the most effective form of dialogue with partner countries.

**Gheorghe-Vlad Nistor**, *în numele grupului PPE.* – Doamnă președintă, domnule comisar, stimați colegi, există o alegație medievală care, în mod fals, cred eu, este atribuită lui Dante Alighieri, care spune că drumul spre iad este pavat de bune intenții. Eu cred că așa trebuie să ne gândim la acțiunile, deciziile și mișcările președintelui Sayed din ultimii ani. Gândiți-vă, Tunisia este locul în care a început totul, locul în care Primăvara arabă a început. Dar Tunisia este, pe de altă parte, țara care a stat multă vreme sub un regim autoritar, cel al lui Ben Ali. Și atunci întrebarea pentru mine este: ce alegem? E clar, președintele Sayed nu este un democrat convins. Tehnicile pe care le folosește pentru a-și impune autoritatea nu sunt deloc democratice, chiar dacă sunt uneori sofisticat justificate constituțional. Dar există ceva ce trebuie luat în considerare în considerare: Tunisia, Algeria, Marocul și, din nefericire, Libia sunt vecinele Europei. Sunt dincolo de Marea Mediterană. Și orice se întâmplă acolo poate afecta geostabilitatea politică a zonei. Eu cred că a venit momentul ca acest Parlament, ca și toate celelalte instituții europene (Comisia e mult mai aproape de acest tip de abordare), să aibă în vedere și situația, și consecințele geopolitice ale unei atitudini față de un stat sau altul.

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**Andrea Cozzolino**, *a nome del gruppo S&D*. – Signora Presidente, signor Commissario, onorevoli colleghi, proprio ieri, Commissario, una bambina è giunta sull'isola di Lampedusa. Ha solo quattro anni, è senza genitori ed è tunisina. È solo l'ultimo episodio che dimostra quanto grande sia il malessere che attraversa la società tunisina e, ancora di più, quanto grande e aperta sia la duplice sfida che sta davanti alla Tunisia in questo momento della sua storia.

Innanzitutto, quella drammatica sul piano sociale ed economico e quella cruciale sul piano politico e democratico. Gli esiti sono ancora molto incerti, i segnali sono contraddittori.

Grazie all'UGTT si è siglato un importante accordo sui dipendenti pubblici, aprendo la strada per la concessione di un prestito di 1 miliardo e 900 milioni, che eviterà il default dello Stato da parte del Fondo monetario internazionale, fatti che salutiamo, credo, tutti positivamente e incoraggiamo.

Assai più incerta e carica di rischi è la sfida sul terreno politico e democratico. Saïed ha scelto la strada di concentrare su di sé i principali poteri ed è andato avanti sulla riforma costituzionale e la nuova legge elettorale, con la quale, il 17 dicembre, si eleggerà il prossimo nuovo Parlamento. Seguiamo con crescente preoccupazione questa fase, più di una delegazione del Parlamento europeo si è recata a Tunisi e ha incontrato i diversi protagonisti, abbiamo fatto appello sulla necessità di un dialogo inclusivo e costruttivo tra tutte le forze politiche.

Non siamo indulgenti con un sistema politico corrotto, che ha provocato danni alla Tunisia o una politica spesso divisa, come ancora adesso, però sentiamo la necessità di ritornare a essere vigili e attenti, come Commissione e come Parlamento, nell'interesse del popolo tunisino e della nostra solida amicizia con esso.

**Jan-Christoph Oetjen**, *im Namen der Renew-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar! Zweifelsohne ist Tunesien einer der wichtigsten Partner der Europäischen Union in der Region. Aber Tunesien hat leider den falschen Weg eingeschlagen, seitdem Präsident Saïed an der Macht ist, nämlich den Weg in eine Diktatur. Die Verfassung, die gerade beschlossen wurde – mit einer Beteiligung von nicht einmal 30 %, wenn man den offiziellen Zahlen überhaupt glauben will –, ist illegitim und stätet den Präsidenten mit einer Machtfülle aus, die es nur in Diktaturen gibt.

Was passiert in der Folge? In der Folge wurden gerade 57 Richter ihres Amtes enthoben, weil sie nicht bereit waren, gegen politische Oppositionelle zu ermitteln und zu urteilen. Gegen Politiker, die für Demokratie kämpfen in Tunesien. Ich bin solidarisch mit diesen Richtern, meine sehr verehrten Damen und Herren, und es ist eine Schande, dass ein Präsident diese Richter einfach absetzen kann.

Die Regeln für die Wahlen, die im Dezember abgehalten werden sollen, werden kurzerhand per Dekret vom Präsidenten geändert, sodass politische Parteien nicht mehr richtig partizipieren können, ihre Kandidaten nicht aufstellen können und die Wahlen zur Farce werden dadurch, dass im Prinzip nur Marionetten des Präsidenten gewählt werden können. Meine sehr verehrten Damen und Herren, wir müssen Tunesien unterstützen. Ja, wir sind solidarisch mit dem tunesischen Volk. Wir dürfen aber nicht den Weg Tunesiens in eine Diktatur unterstützen.

**Mounir Satouri**, *au nom du groupe Verts/ALE*. – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, chers collègues, parfois, c'est en se rendant sur place qu'on prend la mesure d'une réalité, qu'on arrive à sentir la température. J'ai eu l'occasion, début septembre, de me rendre en Tunisie, de rencontrer des acteurs de la société civile, des défenseurs des droits humains, des Tunisiennes, des Tunisiens. Je suis allé à Tunis et j'ai fait le trajet jusqu'à Tabarka pour rencontrer une jeune maire, élue à l'occasion d'un scrutin partiel, qui est poursuivie par les autorités nationales parce qu'elle a osé permettre à de jeunes diplômés au chômage de gagner un peu d'argent en tenant les plages et en proposant des chaises et des parasols durant l'été.

La liste des reculs de la démocratie, je tiens à vous l'assurer, est très longue: état d'exception devenu pérenne, élections sans transparence, attaques judiciaires contre des responsables politiques, procès militaires contre des civils, intimidation d'élus locaux; c'est ça la réalité tunisienne aujourd'hui. Le basculement sécuritaire et antidémocratique détricote chaque acquis de la révolution tunisienne. Vous savez, ce grand mouvement de soulèvement dans le monde arabe que nous avons soutenu. Nous nous étions dit qu'enfin, il y avait peut-être là un processus démocratique et que nous devions le soutenir.

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Quand j'y suis allé, les ONG, les associations parlaient encore de manière ouverte. Elles acceptaient même qu'on cite le nom de leur association, leur nom personnel. Ce n'est plus le cas depuis quelques jours. J'ai eu l'occasion d'échanger avec des associations. Elles me disent: «surtout, tu ne nous cites pas. Tu ne donnes ni notre nom, ni celui de l'organisation à laquelle on appartient».

Vous voyez qu'aujourd'hui, après avoir détricoté les institutions, ce sont les associations, la société civile qui sont attaquées. Il y a 20 000 associations en Tunisie qui avaient participé aux lois contre les violences faites aux femmes, contre les discriminations, contre la corruption. C'est cela qui est menacé. Et c'est grave pour l'Union européenne, parce qu'à Tunis, il y a aussi des associations qui, à partir de la Tunisie, travaillent à travers nos programmes pour la Libye, pour la Palestine.

Ce qui se passe en Tunisie n'est pas simple. L'Europe doit voir clair dans ce qui se joue en Tunisie et dans ce qu'est en train de mettre en place le président Kaïs Saïed. Oui, il faut soutenir la Tunisie! Il faut permettre aux Tunisiens de faire face à la crise de la COVID, à la crise énergétique. Il faut donner de l'argent, mais il faut aussi soutenir les citoyens, soutenir les acteurs, soutenir la démocratie, parce c'est notre responsabilité et qu'il en va de notre honneur.

**Thierry Mariani**, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Madame la Présidente, à force d'entendre ces débats en urgence sur les droits de l'homme et le monde méditerranéen, je me pose une question: existe-t-il une option préférentielle pour les Frères musulmans ici, au Parlement européen? Nous sommes en droit de nous poser la question, vu les déclarations faites aujourd'hui par l'UE et les associations dites de défense des droits de l'homme au sujet de la Tunisie, comme ce fut d'ailleurs le cas hier avec l'Égypte.

Quand ce pays était dirigé par les Frères musulmans d'Ennahdha, sous perfusion d'argent occidental, nous ne trouvions rien à redire. Heureusement, le peuple tunisien a été courageux et a dit stop à la régression de ses mœurs et de ses finances. Le président Saïed est arrivé. Il est arrivé avec un soutien populaire extrêmement important. Il tente de rétablir l'autorité politique et l'autorité présidentielle. Il tente de renouer le dialogue de Tunis avec les institutions financières internationales. Il tente aussi de rétablir une certaine stabilité politique.

De quoi la Tunisie souffre-t-elle aujourd'hui? D'abord, d'un voisinage compliqué. Ensuite, d'une crise inflationniste où pour le peuple tunisien, la priorité est de vivre plutôt que de survivre. Alors que la Tunisie vient de parvenir à un accord – cela a été dit – avec le FMI, nous devrions plutôt réfléchir à ses côtés sur la manière de coopérer afin de renforcer la coopération régionale en Méditerranée. C'est notre intérêt sur le plan migratoire, c'est notre intérêt sur le plan sécuritaire, c'est notre intérêt sur le plan géopolitique, tant les liens culturels avec ce pays sont forts. Nous avons besoin d'un Maghreb fort, capable d'offrir des opportunités économiques à ses enfants, de lutter contre les islamistes et de participer à l'équilibre de toute cette région de l'Afrique.

Depuis 2019, le président Saïed essaye de renforcer l'État, condition essentielle pour que la Tunisie retrouve son envergure régionale et internationale, et je ne pense pas que multiplier les ingérences pour le contraindre à suivre certaines recettes qui ont systématiquement échoué depuis 2011 soit une bonne chose.

Chers collègues, pour vous, la Tunisie est en face de l'Europe, pour nous, elle est avec l'Europe, dans un intérêt partagé pour notre bien commun: la Méditerranée.

**Jan Zahradil**, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Madam President, Commissioner, Tunisia is the country which started the Arab Spring, a very promising movement at the beginning, which later on, in most cases, ended up in vain. I still believe, however, that Tunisia is one exception, a country which started to build genuine parliamentary democracy with a full-blooded spectrum of well-defined political parties. Of course, it is a country which faces extremely difficult economic circumstances and it is surrounded by complicated neighbours like, for instance, unstable Libya and also hit by an unstable security situation and also a country literally next door to us and therefore important.

In two months, Tunisia is facing parliamentary elections, hopefully stabilising the situation, and we in the EU should therefore just now carefully calibrate what we say and what we do. I believe that we should avoid any interference, reminding about some bad old habits of patronising the others, because that definitely would not be helpful for mutual trust.

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I visited Tunisia several times. I was networking their political parties. I have full trust in their human potential and ability. So please, let's not spoil the game. Let's be sensitive and patient and let's continue to build an equal and fair partnership with Tunisia.

**Emmanuel Maurel**, *au nom du groupe The Left*. – Madame la présidente, depuis l'avènement de la démocratie en 2011 en Tunisie, l'optimisme et les nombreux espoirs qu'avait soulevés la révolution tunisienne ont fait place, il faut bien le dire et les collègues l'ont dit, à une forme de scepticisme, d'inquiétude, voire de déception. Aujourd'hui, chacun mesure les risques qui planent sur cette jeune démocratie avec qui nous entretenons de si étroites amitiés.

Dans ce pays durement touché par la crise sanitaire et sociale, la paralysie de l'Assemblée des représentants du peuple, mais aussi l'incurie d'une classe politique issue de la révolution, avaient créé dans l'opinion tunisienne une demande d'ordre et de stabilité. C'est ce qui expliquait notre retenue au moment des événements de 2021.

Mais depuis, que s'est-il passé ? Le marasme économique demeure, de même que les inégalités, l'inflation, le déficit public. Et le pouvoir présidentiel, il faut le dire, s'est considérablement raidi. Il y a eu l'épisode de la Constitution, un référendum avec un très faible taux de participation, une forme de résignation dans le peuple et une Constitution qui, il faut l'admettre, s'éloigne des standards démocratiques que les espérances de la révolution auraient pu nous faire escompter. Il y a eu aussi des mesures qui limitent la liberté d'expression et le pluralisme politique, avec une loi électorale largement contestable.

Dans ce cadre-là, que peut-on faire en tant qu'Européens ? Bien sûr, ne pas s'immiscer dans les élections législatives. Bien sûr, ne pas brandir de sanctions, ce serait absurde. Je pense quant à moi qu'il faut quand même rappeler la Tunisie à ses engagements internationaux et poursuivre le dialogue avec la société civile, les mouvements des droits des femmes, les associations, les syndicats, car vous savez à quel point l'UGTT a un rôle central dans ce pays.

Ce qui se passe en Tunisie nous concerne parce que nous sommes persuadés, ici, que l'avenir de l'Europe se joue aussi de l'autre côté de la Méditerranée. Alors maintenons ce lien d'amitié mais soyons vigilants et exigeants, un partenaire ferme mais exigeant.

**Fabio Massimo Castaldo (NI)**. – Madam President, dear Commissioner, dear colleagues, I am deeply saddened by the trajectory of Tunisia, a country for which I deeply care. It was once defined as the lighthouse of democracy in North Africa and in the Muslim world. This light is now dimmed, and since President Saied's decision to suspend and then to close the parliament, we have assisted to the painful process of dismantling the progresses achieved previously.

Now, the people are once again in the streets protesting against the illegal suspension of democracy, the judicial persecution of political leaders and NGO activists and the catastrophic economic and social situation with a constitution that was not shared by the large part of the population.

Dear colleagues, I have an appeal and a request. The appeal is for Presidency Saied: it is not too late to bring back Tunisia on the right path. Do not deprive the brave Tunisian citizens for what they fought so hard for.

On our side, it is time to reflect on our relationship. We helped and we must continue to help the Tunisian people in the future, but our support to the government cannot be unconditional. We need to see democracy clearly coming back in Tunisia, and we must be clear also with President Saied. Only in this way we can be a decisive player in bringing back the enticing aroma of jasmine that ten years ago led us to believe that a different path was, and is still, possible.

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**Gheorghe Falcă (PPE).** – Doamnă președinte, domnule comisar, stimați colegi, în orice situație, dar mai ales în contextul actual, agravat de invazia rusă în Ucraina, deficitul de democrație în interiorul Uniunii Europene, dar și la granițele sale reprezintă un motiv de îngrijorare și, în același timp, un nou prilej de acțiune coordonată între instituțiile europene și statele membre. Este și cazul evenimentelor din Tunisia, pe care cred că nu trebuie să le tratăm cu ușurință la niciun nivel, dar pe care cred că trebuie să le tratăm totuși constructiv. Desigur, chiar și la nivel diplomatic, Uniunea Europeană se exprimă de multe ori cu puterea exemplului, ceea ce este esențial. Dar cred că avem obligația, în limitele tratatelor noastre, să sprijinim, mai ales să-i apărăm pe toți cei care luptă democratic pentru libertate, prosperitate și demnitate. Uniunea Europeană are obligația de a menține dialogul viu cu Tunisia și, odată cu el, speranța tunisienilor pentru stabilitate și pentru un viitor mai bun.

**Hannes Heide (S&D).** – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar! Die wirtschaftliche und soziale Krise in Tunesien hat in den letzten Tagen einen dramatischen Höhepunkt erreicht. Der Staatsbankrott konnte am Wochenende nur durch einen 1,9 Milliarden schweren IWF-Kredit verhindert werden. Und der IWF verlangt unpopuläre Reformen, etwa die Gehälter im aufgeblähten öffentlichen Dienst einzufrieren und Subventionen für Energie und Lebensmittel zu kürzen. Gerade diese Sparpläne werden für viele Tunesierinnen und Tunesier einmal mehr schmerzhaft sein. Schon seit Wochen gibt es Grundnahrungsmittel wie Reis und Zucker überhaupt nicht mehr zu kaufen, sogar Flaschenwasser war zeitweise rationiert, zudem ist Treibstoff knapp.

Die Regierung gibt neben dem Krieg in der Ukraine Spekulant\*innen die Schuld, die Lebensmittel horten, um sie dann teuer auf dem Schwarzmarkt zu verkaufen. Wirtschaftsexperten wiederum sehen die Schuld in der schlechten Haushaltspolitik. Kurzfristige Kredite allein sichern freilich keine nachhaltige Zukunft. Eine tunesische Studentin fasst in einem Interview zusammen: Wenn das Geld nicht für Reformen eingesetzt wird, fließt es wieder nur in die Taschen der Elite, die mit ihrer Politik die Jugend außer Landes treibt. Viele Tunesierinnen und Tunesier suchen den Weg nach Europa. Erst vor wenigen Tagen mussten 18 junge tunesische Flüchtlinge nach einem Bootsunglück ihr Leben lassen. Die Europäische Union muss alles tun, damit die Menschen im Land wieder eine Perspektive haben. Tunesien muss schnellstmöglich zurück zu Demokratie und damit zu Stabilität und auch zu Optimismus.

**Frédérique Ries (Renew).** – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, des milliers de Tunisiens étaient dans la rue, ce week-end encore, pour dénoncer la pauvreté, pour dénoncer le chômage, pour dénoncer ces pénuries incessantes qu'ils vivent au quotidien, appelés et coalisés, certes, par l'opposition, par Ennahdha, évidemment, le parti islamiste au pouvoir après le printemps de Tunis. Mais il n'empêche que les Tunisiens vivent, et ce depuis de trop longs mois, une double peine.

La lutte contre la corruption, promesse cardinale du candidat Saïed, reste lettre morte – jusqu'ici, en tous les cas – et ne saurait justifier ce raidissement des pouvoirs dans les mains du seul président jusqu'à la dissolution, en mars dernier, du Parlement tunisien. Il n'y a pas de gouvernance sans Parlement et sans contre-pouvoirs, sans justice indépendante, sans une presse libre. Je veux bien croire – j'entendais le premier orateur parler de Dante –, je veux bien croire aux bonnes intentions du président, mais son chemin n'est pas le bon. L'autocratie n'est jamais le bon chemin.

L'Union européenne doit bien évidemment maintenir le dialogue, essentiel, un dialogue vigilant, un dialogue exigeant, avec le partenaire tunisien. Pas de gel, mais pas de soutien tacite non plus, car il ne saurait être question ici d'alourdir encore le fardeau des Tunisiens. La démocratie tunisienne est fragile, nous devons les aider à la reconstruire. «Side with the Tunisian people», c'étaient vos premiers mots, Monsieur le Commissaire, et ils restent plus que jamais d'actualité.

**Maximilian Krah (ID).** – Frau Präsidentin, meine Damen und Herren Kollegen! Tunesien hat 1956 seine Unabhängigkeit erlangt, und zwar von einem europäischen Land, von Frankreich. Das heißt, dass in erster Linie einmal die Tunesier dafür verantwortlich sind, was in Tunesien geschieht. Ich wundere mich doch immer bei diesen Diskussionen, dass man den Eindruck hat, das Europäische Parlament wisse besser, wie man Tunesien regiert.

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Das ist nicht unsere Aufgabe, sondern unsere Aufgabe kann es nur sein, in den bilateralen Beziehungen unsere Interessen zu vertreten und Rücksicht auf die Stabilität der gesamten Region zu nehmen. Rücksicht auf die Stabilität der ganzen Region nimmt man nicht, wenn man die dortige Regierung destabilisiert, wenn man sie einseitig kritisiert und wenn man übersieht, dass die Krise in Tunesien eben auch eine Folge der Sanktionspolitik ist, die wir als Reaktion auf die russische Intervention in der Ukraine eingeschlagen haben.

Insofern glaube ich, dass wir lernen müssen, ein wenig weniger eurozentristisch – um nicht zu sagen neokolonial – aufzutreten und auch uns selbst zu hinterfragen. Tunesien helfen wir nicht durch eine Destabilisierung seiner Regierung, sondern durch eine Respektierung seiner Autonomie und Unabhängigkeit und durch ein Verständnis dafür, dass die Ökonomie ein Ende von Krieg und Sanktionen braucht.

**Gilles Lebreton (ID).** – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, la construction de la démocratie n'est pas un fleuve tranquille, c'est plutôt un chemin semé d'embûches. Nous, Français, nous en savons quelque chose. Il nous a fallu la révolution de 1789, le terrible épisode de la Terreur, puis une longue succession de régimes plus ou moins autoritaires, pour que nous parvenions enfin, dans les années 1870, à stabiliser notre démocratie.

La Tunisie est en train de vivre cette aventure difficile mais passionnante de la construction de sa démocratie. La révolution de 2011 a prouvé la détermination du peuple tunisien à prendre son destin en main. De graves difficultés économiques ont toutefois retardé la réalisation de ces objectifs, à tel point qu'une partie de la société a pu céder à la tentation de l'islamisme.

C'est dans ce contexte de crise que le président Saïed a pris les pleins pouvoirs en juillet 2021. Je veux croire en sa sincérité quand il affiche sa volonté de redresser son pays et d'instaurer une vraie démocratie. Il a tenu ses engagements. Une nouvelle Constitution a été adoptée par référendum en août dernier et des élections législatives auront lieu en décembre.

Chers collègues, faisons le pari de la confiance, soutenons le président Saïed, aidons la Tunisie.

*Zgłoszenia z sali*

**Mick Wallace (The Left).** – Madam President, IMF, EU and World Bank-forced austerity and neoliberal reforms are ripping apart the social safety net in Tunisia, creating a long-running food and fuel crisis that has been made worse by the war in Ukraine.

The IMF is currently forcing the government to reduce food subsidies in exchange for a new loan that would go to pay off previous loans. The debt servicing impacts public spending on education and health care. Recent EU assistance is conditional on freezing public sector hiring, which means that they won't have drivers for the ambulances that we gave them, and a brain drain as well because the qualified doctors will leave and go to Europe looking for work.

Tunisia needs credit to import wheat, fuel and medicine and the political West are engaging in debt-trap disaster capitalism, forcing reforms that are undoing the possibility of a dignified life for millions of people. We worry about migrant flows, but we create them with our neo-colonialism.

*(Koniec zgłoszeń z sali)*

**Olivér Várhelyi, Member of the Commission.** – Madam President, honourable Members, the debate today showed a large consensus to remain committed to a strong partnership with Tunisia. We are well aware of the challenging circumstances the country is experiencing and of the importance of choices of Tunisians in these delicate times, both politically and economically.

As High Representative / Vice-President Borrell has repeatedly mentioned, we will continue to be attentive to the developments, and to pass all the important messages clearly but constructively, with the joint objective to see a sustainable future for this important partner.

**Przewodnicząca.** – Zamykam debatę.

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## 17. Aktívna úloha Lukašenkovho režimu vo vojne proti Ukrajine (rozprava)

**Przewodnicząca.** – Kolejnym punktem porządku dziennego jest oświadczenie Komisji w sprawie czynnej roli reżimu Łukaszenki w wojnie przeciwko Ukrainie (2022/2882(RSP)).

**Olivér Várhelyi, Member of the Commission.** – Dear President, honourable Members of the Parliament, let me thank this House for again having the situation in Belarus on the agenda.

In addition to the appalling human rights violations that continue and even worsen, Mr Lukashenko has become an accomplice in Russia's war of aggression in Ukraine. The EU has condemned this involvement of Belarus in the aggression against Ukraine in the strongest possible terms, and calls on it to refrain from such action and to abide by its international obligations, including under the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

So far, Belarussian troops have not taken directly part in the war on the ground in Ukraine. On Saturday, 8 October 2022, the Belarussian Government accused Ukraine of planning an attack on the territory of Belarus, clearly without any foundation. Such accusations serve only the purpose of further escalation of the security situation in the region.

While Belarussian troops have so far most likely not participated directly on the ground, the very recent missile strikes and drone attacks against Ukrainian civilians from the territory of Belarus are utterly unacceptable. We urge the Belarussian authorities to refrain from any further involvement of Belarus in this brutal and illegitimate undertaking.

It is clear that a large majority of Belarussians are against active participation in this war. It would have disastrous consequences for the Belarussian population, for Ukraine and for the independence and sovereignty of Belarus. The decision to get further involved in the war would be met by new and strong restrictive measures. All those taking part in the illegal war of aggression and those responsible for war crimes will be held accountable.

**Thijs Reuten, on behalf of the S&D Group.** – Madam President, *(start of speech off microphone)* ... the powerful defiance of the Belarussian people, whose only wish is to live in freedom and dignity, terrifies this regime. Now, Russia's losses in Ukraine threaten his dictatorship. Every single one of Lukashenko's moves today, from his absurd rhetoric and invitation for more Russian troops, to his ruthless crackdown on remaining democratic activists and unions, is a blatant sign of his weakness.

We should give Lukashenko no reason to relax. We must stand ready to help Ukraine prevent another assault from Belarussian territory and, if necessary, defend itself. Inclusion of Belarus in the upcoming ninth package is crucial. We must be ready to bring the full force of our sanctions crashing down on the regime the very moment one Belarussian army boot crosses the border into Ukraine.

The battle for Ukraine's freedom is also the fight for a democratic Belarus. I therefore urge you, President, but also Commissioner, to be creative in this fully unique situation and explore ways for our House and our Union to formalise relations with the Belarussian people and its democratic representatives in Tsikhanouskaya's United Transitional Cabinet. Ukraine will win. Belarus will be free.

**Petras Auštrevičius, Renew frakcijos vardu.** – Ponia posėdžio pirmininke, Komisijos nariai, gerbiami kolegos. Lukašenka, kuris yra neteisėtai užgrobęs valdžią Baltarusijoje, toliau remia Rusijos agresiją ir tiesiogiai dalyvauja kare prieš Ukrainą. Praėjusią vasarą pasitelkdamas migrantus, Lukašenka pradėjo hibridinę ataką prieš kaimynines Europos Sąjungos valstybes: Lietuvą, Lenkiją ir Latviją. Šiandien jis įgalina Rusijos agresiją prieš Ukrainą, leisdamas naudoti Baltarusijos teritoriją mirtinomis atakoms, griaujančioms Ukrainos miestus ir naikinančioms civilius gyventojus. Paskutiniuose pareiškimuose Lukašenka spekuliuoja nepagrįstomis grėsmėmis Baltarusijai ir neteisėtai grasina panaudoti karinę jėgą prieš taikius kaimynus, tarp jų ir Europos Sąjungos valstybes nares.

Raginu Europos Sąjungos išorės veikslių tarnybą ir valstybes nares būti ryžtingoms ir pagaliau sumažinti savo diplomatinę buvimą Minske. Bei atitinkamai siųsti Baltarusijos diplomatus – okupantus iš savo sostinių. Neatleistina, kad tie patys asmenys, kuriems siūloma taikyti sankcijas ir patraukti baudžiamojon atsakomybėn už nusikaltimus žmogiškumui, naudojami diplomatinio imunitetu Vakaruose. Mūsų solidarumas su Baltarusijos žmonėmis turi išlikti. Turime ir toliau tvirtai remti proeuropietišką Baltarusijos opozicijos veiklą ir suteikti būtina paramą. Aš pabrėžiu paramą laisvės kovotojams, kurie Kalinausko ir Vyčio batalionuose kaunasi už Ukrainos laisvę. Aš raginu Europos Komisiją, kuri šiuo metu rengia devintąjį sankcijų paketą, papildomai į jį įtraukti Baltarusijos kariškius ir valdininkus, atsakingus už karinę agresiją prieš Ukrainą ir represijas prieš Baltarusijos pilietinę visuomenę. Už mūsų ir Jūsų laisvę! Žyvie Belarus!

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**Rasa Juknevičienė**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, two war criminals – Lukashenko and Putin – are holding the Belarusian nation captive and terrorised.

Lukashenko is responsible not only for stealing the elections, but also for giving Belarus sovereignty away to Russia. Lukashenko and the Iranian regime are helping Russia in its war of aggression against Ukraine. They are responsible for the war crimes. They must be sanctioned and face justice in an international tribunal.

At the same time, Lukashenko feels vulnerable and scared. He would have opened a second front against Ukraine, but he knows the true will of the Belarusian people – they are against the Russian aggression, they seek to be good neighbours for Ukrainians. The Kastuś Kalinoŭski Regiment in Ukraine, formed of Belarusian volunteers, is the true expression of that will.

There are nearly 1 500 political prisoners of Lukashenko's regime. The number is growing. I invite each one of you to become a godparent to one of the political prisoners. Your postcards, your telephone call to their family will be a precious signal of support. Let's make sure not one of them is forgotten.

I also invite the European Parliament to formalise relations with a democratic Belarus, led by Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya. Free and democratic Belarus is possible, but we have to help Ukraine to win this war. Ukraine's victory will bring victory for free Belarus and free Russia. Let's do our utmost to achieve this victory.

*(The speaker used slogans in non-official languages)*

**Viola von Cramon-Taubadel**, *im Namen der Verts/ALE-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Viktoria und Bogdan, ein junges Paar aus Kiew, erwarteten ihr erstes Kind. Beide wurden vor zwei Tagen zusammen mit ihrem ungeborenen Kind getötet. Die Drohne, die ihr Haus traf, kam vermutlich aus Belarus.

Damit zum Thema: Lukaschenko und Putin stehen sich in ihren Verbrechen nichts nach. Man muss ihnen mit den gleichen Mitteln begegnen. Lukaschenko terrorisiert sein eigenes Volk. Er hat die demokratischen Proteste im Jahr 2020 brutal niedergeschlagen, Tausende inhaftiert, viele gefoltert und getötet. Auch er hat sein Land verraten und dieses für den eigenen Machterhalt Putins Regime völlig ausgeliefert. Gegen den erklärten Willen der Bevölkerung ließ er russische Truppen und Raketen in Belarus zu, nur um die ukrainische Bevölkerung zu terrorisieren und zu ermorden.

Gleichzeitig ist Lukaschenko auch ein Feigling. Seine Armee beteiligt sich nicht aktiv am Krieg gegen die Ukraine. Aber nicht etwa aus moralischen Gründen, sondern weil er Angst hat, die belarussische Armee könnte im Falle eines Marschbefehls nach Kiew ihre Panzer auf Minsk selbst richten. Und Lukaschenko ist ebenso ein notorischer Lügner. Er behauptet, die Wahlen vor zwei Jahren gewonnen zu haben, sich nicht am Krieg zu beteiligen sowie nur das Beste für sein Volk zu wollen – lauter Lügen. Am Ende werden Lukaschenko und Putin hoffentlich das gleiche Schicksal teilen und sich vor dem selben Gericht verantworten müssen. Je früher, desto besser.

**Anna Fotyga**, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Madam President, Commissioner, against the will of the Belarusian people, the usurper Lukashenko turns his country into a bridgehead for the Russian army, thus becoming an accomplice in the war of aggression against Ukraine. He gave his consent to launches of more than 700 rockets on Ukrainian territories and numerous drones.

Together with Putin and other perpetrators of war crimes and crimes against humanity, he has to be brought to justice.

**Mick Wallace**, *on behalf of The Left Group*. – Madam President, our problem with Lukashenko is that he took sides in the war, just like we did, and we damned everyone that stayed neutral. The Special Advisor to the Commander of Ukraine's army, Dan Rice, just told CNN that Russia is trying to get to the negotiating table to try to go back to the 2014 lines, but Ukraine won't have it.

Why don't we start peace talks for a deal based on a version of the Minsk 2 Agreement, a text that was mediated by the French and the Germans? We know this war could have been avoided, and peace talks are an option. But our leaders choose war, even when we know that the majority of Europeans do not want war.



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We tabled an amendment in the last plenary, and we called for the EU and Member States to explore all options for a peace deal and to try to end the war. It was defeated 436 votes to 118 against peace. Whose interest are these warmongers serving?

Commissioner, you say that the people of Belarus don't want war. I agree with you 100%, but I think the people all across Europe don't want war. This war – it might suit the US and NATO – it does not suit the people of Europe. We should be working for peace.

**Andrzej Halicki (PPE).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Drodzy Państwo! Białoruś to nie Rosja, to oczywiście. Ale z terytorium Białorusi....

*(Przewodnicząca przerwała mówcy – brak tłumaczenia ustnego)*

Pani Przewodnicząca! Drodzy Państwo! Białoruś to nie Rosja, to oczywiście, ale z terytorium Białorusi Łukaszenka pozwala wystrzeliwać rakiety na cywilne obiekty w Ukrainie. Bez pomocy Łukaszenki niemożliwa byłaby zbrodnia w Buczu. Łukaszenka sprzedaje terytorium Białorusi za ruble i dziś rosyjskie grupy wojskowe w zasadzie okupują ten kraj, bo Łukaszenka nie ma akceptacji swojego społeczeństwa. Białorusini nie akceptują udziału w tej wojnie i wsparcia dla tych działań. Dlatego musimy bardzo mocno w 9. pakiecie objąć sankcjami Łukaszenkę i jego reżim, ale jednocześnie udzielić maksymalnego wsparcia białoruskiemu społeczeństwu i opozycji, która zjednoczona dzisiaj ma swoją reprezentację.

Apeluję o to, by Tymczasowa Rada, Swietłana Cichanouska, ale Rada przede wszystkim, stała się partnerem wszystkich instytucji europejskich. I jedna rzecz, nie nazywajmy Łukaszenki prezydentem. To uzurpator, to zbrodniarz wojenny, jego miejsce jest przed Trybunałem Haskim, tak jak Putina. Obaj są zbrodniarzami wojennymi i osiągnię ich sprawiedliwość. Na Białoruś wolną i demokratyczną nie tylko czekamy, ale musimy wspierać działania, żeby była faktem. Będzie wolna i demokratyczna Białoruś, Żywie Białaruś!

**Juozas Olekas (S&D).** – Gerbiama Pirmininke, gerbiamas Komisijos nary, gerbiama kolegosa, Lukašenkos režimas ir toliau aktyviai palaiko Rusijos vykdomą karą prieš Ukrainą. Jis Baltarusijos teritorijoje priima Rusijos ginkluotas pajėgas, pradeda vykdyti baltarusių mobilizaciją bei iš savo saugyklų teikia ginklus Rusijai. Lukašenka dar kartą parodė, kad vienintelis jo tikslas yra režimo išsaugojimas. Dėl valdžios išsaugojimo jis pasirošęs paaukoti savo šalies suverenitetą, eiti prieš Baltarusijos žmonius, iš kurių net 80 procentų nepalaiko Rusijos karo prieš Ukrainą, valią. Tačiau pats Baltarusijos režimas yra išlaikomas Rusijos. Todėl Rusijos pralaimėjimas Ukrainoje yra tiesiausias kelias į Baltarusijos demokratizaciją. Europos Sąjungos atsakas turi būti tolimesnis Ukrainos karinis, finansinis ir humanitarinis rėmimas. Europos Sąjungos šalys turi nepasiduoti vis dažniau pasitaikantiems Baltarusijos režimo bandymams užmegzti kontaktus su Europos Sąjungos šalių narių vyriausybėmis. Europos Sąjungos pozicija aiški: Lukašenka yra neteisėtas prezidentas, kuris 2020 metais pavogė prezidentinius rinkimus. Europos Sąjunga turi ir toliau sankcijomis aktyviai spausti visus, kurie susiję ir palaiko Lukašenkos režimą. O pats Lukašenka turi atsidurti kartu su Putinu specialiajame tribunole.

Taip pat mes turime dar labiau paremti Baltarusijos opoziciją ir baltarusius, kurie dėl nuolatinių persekiojimų ir grasi-nimų buvo priversti išvykti iš savo šalies.

**Markéta Gregorová (Verts/ALE).** – Madam President, dear colleagues, Commissioner, do you remember the rigged elections in 2020? Those massive protests in civil society and international organisations claiming Lukashenko is not a legitimately elected president. So here we are now, two years later, talking about Lukashenko's helping a regime, a war criminal, and dragging Belarusian people to the war, just to please his puppet master in the Kremlin. This is what you get if you don't stop dictators once you have a legitimate chance.

Lukashenko is partially a product of our own weakness. I am thinking every other day about Kasia Budzko, whether I could walk into her cell and get her out. I can't because I don't have the power. But the Member States show on the example of Putin that they have the power to stop Lukashenko. And even though they are not here and they are not listening to either me or Kasia or... *(speech off mic)*... please do not make the same mistake again. Lukashenko and Putin must be stopped. We owe it to the victims of the war, and we owe it to all free people in the region.

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**Witold Jan Waszczykowski (ECR).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Panie Komisarzy! Zastanawiamy się od miesięcy, czy Białoruś przystąpi do wojny, czy jej żołnierze będą walczyć na Ukrainie. Przepytujemy na ten temat panią prezydent Cichanowską i polityczną diasporę demokratyczną.

Trzeba pamiętać, że Białoruś już jest zaangażowana w ten konflikt. Pierwszy etap konfliktu zaczął się latem ubiegłego roku. Wtedy zaczęła się hybrydowa akcja przeciwko Polsce i Litwie. Łukaszenka udostępnił miejsca do ataku na Ukrainę, udziela pełnego poparcia Putinowi.

Białoruś powinna być objęta podobnymi sankcjami jak Rosja – polityczno-dyplomatycznymi, ekonomicznymi i cywilizacyjnymi. Łukaszenka powinien być traktowany jak wróg pokoju, jak zbrodniarz wojenny. Zasluguje na Międzynarodowy Trybunał Karny.

**Lukas Mandl (PPE).** – Madam President, Commissioner, colleagues, ladies and gentlemen. In Belarus, there is something in place that's growing in Russia today, but it has been in place in Belarus for more than two years already. Since the stolen election, there has been a vibrant and active liberation movement, and we should not stop supporting this liberation movement. We should not take away our sight, our view on this liberation movement, which is active all over the world.

Belarus is the only country in Europe that was not represented at the so-called European Political Community (EPOC) event. I like the idea of the EPOC event, even while there are many questions that are open, but it is good that the countries of Europe come together in this broad format. Why was Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya, the head of the liberation movement, not invited to this event? Why was only Belarus not present? I would really ask, from this side of the European Parliament, to invite the liberation movement of Belarus. Even the Council of Europe has established a contact group with the liberation movement of Belarus.

As the title of today's parliamentary debate is about the war of Russia against Ukraine and the support for Belarus, I want again to emphasise that this is not only a war against Ukraine; this is a war against all of us. Belarus is also taking part not only militarily, conventionally in the action of war and in this aggression, but also via hybrid warfare. Just remember, not that long ago when Lukashenko tried to misuse refugees against our borders, against the European Union, and more and more. Let's stick together here and include the liberation movement in our action.

**Tonino Picula (S&D).** – Madam President, Mr Commissioner, there are so many evidences of an active role of the Lukashenko regime in the Russian aggression on Ukraine since day one. Belarussian troops may not have been involved in the conflict; still, dozens of thousands of Russian troops were deployed to Belarus. Belarussian airspace was used for launching attacks against Ukraine. The supply of weapons for Russian armed forces in Ukraine was organised over the territory of Belarus.

At the same time, Putin and Lukashenko continued holding meetings to discuss even closer cooperation. Therefore, our sanctions on Putin and his regime should be mirrored on Lukashenko and his cronies. It's evident that Lukashenko is malignant. However, his possibilities to influence geopolitics are lesser than Putin's.

Belarus, the oldest dictatorship in Europe, is a true example of the limited sovereignty theory in practice. Stolen elections and mass protest brought Lukashenko's regime under pressure. Putin's aggression against Ukraine might, hopefully, end it.

**Ivars Ijabs (Renew).** – Prezidentes kundze! Godātais komisāra kungs! Baltkrievijas pieaugošais atbalsts Krievijas agresijai ļauj mums skaidri redzēt to jauno teroristu valstu asi, kas ir Krievija, Baltkrievija, Irāna, Ziemeļkoreja. Jā, Baltkrievija ir iesaistīta Krievijas karā! Tā ir tikko kā arī atteikusies no kodolbrīvas valsts statusa, lai ļautu savā teritorijā izmantot kodolieročus un izvietot tos.

Manuprāt, tas liek Eiropas Savienībai rīkoties simetriski attiecībā pret Baltkrieviju — tieši tādā pašā veidā kā pret Krieviju. Pret Lukašenko — tieši tāpat kā pret Putinu, proti, attiecināt uz Baltkrieviju tikpat stingras ekonomiskās un politiskās sankcijas. Ir jāvērtina arī Baltkrievijas režīms, lai mazinātu tā spēju elementāri nodarīt ļaunumu Ukrainai un citām kaimiņvalstīm reģionā.

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Mēs Latvijā – tāpat kā Lietuvā un Polijā – jau bijām spiesti aizstāvēt savu teritoriju un arī Eiropas Savienības ārējo robežu pret Lukašenko hibrīdkaru jau kopš pagājušā gada vasaras. Tad Lukašenko par ieroci padarīja tūkstošiem migrantu, kurus tas noziedzīgi faktiski spieda pāri mūsu robežām. Šo uzbrukumu mēs atvairījām, un mēs atvairīsim arī nākošos, ja rīkosimies kopā un izlēmīgi, nevis ļaujot Putina — Lukašenko aliansei mūs visus sašķelt.

*(Posiedzenie zostało na chwilę zawieszono)*

**Sergey Lagodinsky (Verts/ALE).** – Madam President, dear friends, dear colleagues, dear Commissioner, we are talking about Belarus today and many things have been already said, but I wanted to emphasise one thing: this is the new three-fold structure of the Belarusian regime. The unholy trinity of Belarus as we see it now.

First of all, Belarus is a dictatorship, and we know the names, some of them were mentioned here today. Second, Belarus is an aggressor power. It is a war power, and it is a responsible power in this war, the brutal war that we are experiencing. Number three, Belarus is also no more an independent subject of international law, Belarus is an occupied territory, and this we have to recognise.

From that, we follow three things. We should double and quadruple our support for the Belarusian opposition, civil society and the officially recognised and elected President and her team. This was already mentioned here. Number two, we should make it very clear that a special seat will be reserved for Lukashenko in the tribunal against Russian crimes. This is something that we have to do now. We have to design the tribunals so that Belarus is also covered by them. Number three, we should cut our ties with Lukashenko, because not only he is a criminal against his own citizens, he is also not an independent state anymore.

**Ryszard Czarnecki (ECR).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Szanowni Państwo! Unia Europejska popełniała w swojej polityce na Białorusi pewne błędy, może naiwność, może czasem brak pewnej elastyczności, ale nie jest to miejsce i czas, aby o tych błędach mówić. Dzisiaj trzeba powiedzieć wyraźnie, że Białoruś stała się częścią maszyny wojennej Rosji Putina, że udostępnia swoje garnizony, poligony, sieć kolejową, również transport kołowy, aby zwiększać siłę agresji rosyjskiej, także aby wiązać wojska ukraińskie przy granicy z Białorusią, co w sposób oczywisty osłabia kontrofensywę Kijowa na kierunku południowym i wschodnim, co ma kluczowe znaczenie dla Rosjan.

Trzeba powiedzieć bardzo jednoznacznie, że Łukaszenka to nie jest to samo co Putin, ale dzisiaj trzeba bardzo twardo grozić sankcjami, a opozycję białoruską trzeba zapytać, czy aby na pewno ma tę samą wizję polityki zagranicznej, o której my myślimy, że ma. Bo mam czasem wrażenie, że niestety ma ona pewne złudzenia wobec Rosji, co szereg jej przedstawicieli niestety głosi.

**David Lega (PPE).** – Madam President, Commissioner, there is no free Ukraine without a free Belarus, and vice versa. The destinies of Ukraine, Europe and Belarus are interconnected, and therefore it is equally important to enforce the support of Ukraine's defence and, at the same time, enforce the support to the democratic movement in Belarus, because Belarussians don't support the war. Yet, Belarus is participating in the war. The Russian military constantly launches missile strikes on civilian facilities in Ukraine from Belarussian territory.

If the leader of Belarus were Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya, if the leader were the one that the Belarussian people wanted and voted for, then Belarus would not be part of the war. This is why the EU must do everything in our power to ensure the democratic transition in Belarus.

I ask the Commission to redouble its efforts to support democratic society in Belarus. To the Belarussian people: I stand in solidarity with you, who are being held hostage by the Lukashenko regime. You deserve to live in a sovereign, free and democratic country. You deserve peace and safety.

**Matthias Ecke (S&D).** – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Vergesst Belarus nicht! Diese Worte hat Swjatlana Zichanouskaja eindringlich an uns alle gerichtet vergangene Woche, als sie uns in Brüssel besuchte. Sie kämpft mit vielen anderen Mutigen für die Freiheit ihres Volkes – eines Volkes, das Diktator Lukaschenko seit Jahren in Gefangenschaft hält und entmündigt. Nun hat er sein Volk auch in einen völkerrechtswidrigen Krieg verwickelt. Er hat Belarus zum Aufmarschgebiet und zum Abschussgebiet für Russlands Angriffe auf die Ukraine gemacht.

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Das Regime muss seine Unterstützung für diesen Krieg unverzüglich einstellen. Lukaschenko und seine Lakaien gehören als Mitwirkende an Kriegsverbrechen auf die EU-Sanktionsliste. Eine überwältigende Mehrheit der Belarussen will nicht gegen ihr Nachbarvolk kämpfen. Wir dürfen ihnen die Tür nicht zuschlagen. Als EU sollten wir den Menschen aus Belarus Schutz gewähren, die nicht zum Kanonenfutter Lukaschenkos und Putins werden wollen. Wir stehen an der Seite der Gerechtigkeit, der Demokratie und des Völkerrechts. Wir vergessen euch nicht!

#### IN THE CHAIR: EVA KAILI

*Vice-President*

**Billy Kelleher (Renew).** – Madam President, stolen elections, political prisoners incarcerated, abuse of basic human rights, the list is endless. We saw first-hand in 2020, when Lukashenko stole the election and effectively crushed the opposition.

We stand with the people of Belarus in their hour. But we must do more. We must ensure that we bring forward sanctions, not against the Belarussian people but against the regime of Lukashenka and his cronies. He is but a Putin puppet at this stage.

When you look at the fact that troops crossed the border from Belarus to Ukraine on 24 February this year, where war crimes were committed in Bucha and Irpin, elsewhere north of Kyiv, those troops crossed the border from Belarus. Lukashenko is as responsible as Putin for the bodies that were taken out of those graves in Bucha and Irpin.

So we do need to be very, very powerful in our support of the opposition people, of Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya and others who stand for democratic accountability in Belarus. We should support them as much as we can in everything we do. And we should bring forward sanctions against the corrupt regime of Lukashenko and his cronies.

**Piernicola Pedicini (Verts/ALE).** – Madam President, Russia takes Crimea, and Ukraine attacks Donbas; Russia invades Ukraine and the USA and Europe send weapons to Ukraine, so Ukraine takes back Donbas, but Russia asks Belarus for help and Belarus deploys its armies on the border, so NATO does military exercises in the war area and Russia makes possible the use of nuclear weapons. Where are we going to? This is the problem. This is the question I have.

This plenary should represent European people, and the European people outside this room don't want this escalation. But I didn't listen to anyone making a proposal to stop the war, apart from someone. So my final question is, who does this plenary actually represent?

**Joachim Stanisław Brudziński (ECR).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! *I hope these translation problems are not a hybrid attack by Lukashenka (Mam nadzieję, że te problemy z tłumaczeniem to nie jest atak hybrydowy Łukaszenki).* A już zupełnie poważnie, chyba dla nikogo w tej Izbie nie jest tajemnicą, że Łukaszenka dzisiaj, obok takich postaci jak Kadyrow, to takie swojego rodzaju popychle Putina, bardzo użyteczne.

I byliśmy tego świadkami, kiedy rozpoczął się ten atak hybrydowy, o którym była tutaj mowa, na Polskę i na Litwę, jak w sposób niezwykle naiwny, również w tej Izbie, podchodzili Państwo do tego pomocnika Putina. Kiedy z tego miejsca atakowaliście mój kraj, Polskę, kiedy krytykowaliście rozpoczęcie budowy muru, tej zapory na granicy polsko-białoruskiej, padały tutaj niezwykle emocjonalne i niemądre – żeby nie powiedzieć ostrzej: głupie – słowa. Dzisiaj, kiedy Finlandia stawia taki mur na granicy z Rosją, na szczęście takie słowa nie padają.

A wracając na Białoruś, jest oczywiste, że wolni Białorusini, dumni Białorusini tego pomocnika Putina nie popierają. Ale on nadal pozostaje groźny, nadal pozostaje niebezpieczny.

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**Riho Terras (PPE).** – Madam President, dear colleagues, since 24 February, when Russia launched full-scale war against Ukraine, Aleksander Lukashenko, an illegitimate leader of Belarus, has been an accomplice to Putin and Russian Federation. The Belarusian military bases are being used by Russian Federation to prepare the troops for attacking Ukraine's cities, villages, Ukraine people.

Today, Putin declared martial law in illegally annexed territories of Ukraine. This is yet another example that he's running out of options. He depends more and more on the handful of cronies he has left, including dictator of Belarus. Though Lukashenko has avoided direct military involvement in this war, his words and actions speak for themselves. He owes Putin his position and has become fully dependent on Russian dictate. And with that, he has basically given up the statehood of Belarus.

It is essential that the EU treats Lukashenko regime as a co-conspirator to the crimes against Ukraine people and acts accordingly by introducing even stricter sanctions against the dictator and his regime.

**Isabel Santos (S&D).** – Senhora Presidente, a usurpação do poder por Lukashenko não é uma novidade e não ocorreu só em 2020. Todos nos recordamos das eleições de 2010, em que concorreu Andrei Sannikov contra Lukashenko e como foram manipuladas essas eleições. E como muitos, muitos bielorrussos acabaram detidos, devido aos protestos que ocorreram nas ruas da Bielorrússia.

Mais uma vez, o fenómeno repetiu-se em 2020. Mais uma vez, Lukashenko continuou à frente dos destinos da Bielorrússia, numa total usurpação do poder e numa absoluta manipulação, porque sim, sim, Lukashenko sempre foi o homem de mão e o fantoche de Putin.

Falemos agora também de um momento em que os tambores da guerra soam e os ataques vêm de território bielorrusso. É o momento de elevar o regime de sanções. É o momento de sancionar claramente Lukashenko e os seus sequazes. Mas é também o momento de olharmos para aqueles como Paulina Panasiuk e Bialiatski e os mais de 1300 presos políticos na Bielorrússia e ajudarmos a sociedade civil bielorrussa, de uma vez por todas, a libertar-se deste regime ditatorial.

**Liudas Mažylis (PPE).** – Madam President, we are dealing with a peculiar propaganda phenomenon. Lukashenko's regime dragged Belarus into the war against Ukraine, but claims the opposite. Even in this House, we sometimes hear that Lukashenko is not at war, or at least not yet.

He has been involved in the conventional full-scale war from the very beginning: granting soil, air and logistics to the Russians, allowing them to attack the northern territories of Ukraine. Now he is preparing a secret mobilisation in Belarus, motivated by military readiness checks. He has given his security forces full authority to carry out detentions, prohibit movement, listen to conversations and enter people's homes without hindrance. Thus, we can expect a new wave of repressions against the people of Belarus, or possibly even a new migration wave.

The European Union's response has to be based on sanctions, and we need them fast. We don't have to wait for more Belarussian dictator's provocative actions. To justify those actions, Lukashenko makes up lies that Ukraine and NATO are planning an invasion to Belarus. He is simply lying to his own people.

*The speaker used a slogan in a non-official language. Stop lying, batka.*

**Gheorghe Falcă (PPE).** – Doamnă președinte, domnule comisar, stimați colegi, cred că în ceea ce privește regimul autoritar din Belarus, orice iluzie privind o anumită normalizarea situației politice la nivelul pluralismului, libertății de exprimare sau transferului democratic al puterii atunci când oamenii decid, s-a spulberat. În acest moment, singura șansă a supraviețuirii regimului autoritar de la Minsk o reprezintă asocierea cu regimul criminal de la Moscova, ceea ce pentru Uniunea Europeană este inacceptabil, cu atât mai mult cu cât efectele acestei asocieri se răsfrâng negativ, tragic și periculos asupra cetățenilor din Belarus care luptă pentru libertate. Uniunea Europeană are obligația de a lua toate măsurile legale și morale pentru a împiedica o implicare directă a regimului de la Minsk în războiul declanșat de ruși împotriva Ucrainei. Acum este momentul să acționăm ferm și cu eficacitate. Orice altceva va avea un efect negativ asupra noastră și asupra aliaților noștri.

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**Colm Markey (PPE).** – Madam President, Commissioner and fellow Members, I welcome this debate this evening. There has not been enough focus on the role of Belarus in this war. By being complicit, Lukashenko is part of Putin's war machine.

Mr Lukashenko, it's clear the people of Belarus do not want this war. The Belarusian people want freedom and democracy. They want rid of Putin and they want rid of you. They stood against you in 2020 and they stand against you still today.

You say you can't pay your foreign debt because of sanctions. Well there's a simple solution: remove the Russian troops from your country and back the heroic Ukrainian people. If not, you will pay an even higher price.

We in Europe must get tougher on those who side with Putin. If Lukashenko continues to go down this road, his regime should be hit with the same sanctions as Russia. They must be held accountable for their actions.

We must support the democratic people of Belarus, the people that were elected in 2020. If Europe backs democracy, Europe will thrive. And I ask you today to support Ukraine, support the opposition in Belarus, and we must do more to support them and ensure that Putin's war comes to an end as soon as possible.

**Michaela Šojdrová (PPE).** – Madam President, *(start of speech off microphone)* ... government. Lukashenko has sold the Belarusian people's international sovereignty to maintain the dictatorship and his power. Lukashenko is just a servant to Putin. His dependence is so deep that he is willing to deploy his people into the joint regional military group while letting thousands of Russian soldiers move to Belarus.

Lukashenko is well aware that most Belarusians are against involvement in the Russian war. Hundreds of Belarusian volunteers are fighting for Ukraine. Belarusians do not want to fight Ukraine for Russian interests. We appreciate the courage and effort of the democratic opposition facing oppression in Belarus. The EU must maintain its pressure on the regime and implement appropriate sanctions.

We call on the Commission to submit this proposal and the Member States to respond appropriately. We support the democratic Belarusian opposition and its leader, Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya, in their fight, including journalists and students, who continue their fight in exile. We will stand by you until the freedom prevails.

*(Exclamation in Belarusian)*

**Janina Ochojska (PPE).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Tak samo jak Putin zmienił plany i zrezygnował z planu demokratyzacji Rosji z obawy o utrzymanie władzy, tak samo Łukaszenka zgodzi się na okupację własnego kraju, aby chronić swoją dyktaturę. Kolejnym dowodem na aktywną rolę Łukaszenki w tej wojnie są setki pocisków wystrzelonych z terytorium Białorusi w kierunku Ukrainy. Putin wciąż wywiera coraz większe naciski na Łukaszenkę, aby ten aktywnie włączył się do wojny lądowej.

Apeluję, żeby nie utożsamiać reżimu białoruskiego z narodem białoruskim. Pamiętajcie ich codzienne protesty przeciwko sfałszowanym wyborom? Wstyd mi, że pomiędzy moim krajem, Polską, a Białorusią stoi mur hańby. Każdy naród pragnie żyć w wolności i reżimy w Białorusi i w Rosji w końcu upadną, mur również.

*Catch-the-eye procedure*

**Clare Daly (The Left).** – Madam President, but I have to say it takes some neck for Irish MEPs, whose parties in government have allowed three million US troops to use Shannon Airport on their way to theatres of war in Afghanistan and Iraq, to come in here and give out about Belarus allowing Russian troops to do the same on the way to war in Ukraine.

If Belarus has an active role in the war in Ukraine, and I believe it does, well then so does Europe. We are supplying heavy weapons, tanks and artillery, military assistance, intelligence and logistics – all of these amount to support for a conflict party in international law, violating the law of neutrality, making us all conflict parties, providing a mechanism for a runaway escalation with the profound risk of a world-ending nuclear exchange.

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So why are we giving out about the sovereign country of Belarus for doing exactly what we are doing, albeit on the other side? All third countries, Belarus and the EU, should be reducing their role, urging a ceasefire and facilitating a peace agreement.

**Juan Fernando López Aguilar (S&D).** – Señora presidenta, el señalamiento de la Rusia de Putin como una amenaza a la paz y a la seguridad en Europa ha obligado a un buen número de Estados miembros a revisar su propio historial de relaciones políticas, diplomáticas, estratégicas y energéticas con la Rusia de Putin, pero no es el caso de Bielorrusia.

Nadie se ha llevado a engaño. Todo el mundo sabe que es la dictadura que más perdura de Europa. Lleva treinta años en un poder crecientemente represivo, falseando elecciones, y, por tanto, constituye, para empezar, una amenaza a la propia ciudadanía de Bielorrusia, que merece toda la solidaridad de la Unión Europea.

Ese es nuestro primer cometido, pero nadie puede ignorar que considerar a Bielorrusia también agresor de Ucrania y, por tanto, considerarle un actor diferenciado y complementario de Rusia en la guerra contra Ucrania, es una decisión que lleva implicaciones estratégicas que deben ser muy sopesadas, porque significa —reconozcámoslo— una internacionalización de la guerra, que llamamos «la guerra de Putin», para implicar a un tercer actor que, formalmente, sigue siendo un Estado soberano independiente.

Rusia ha sido recientemente expulsada del Consejo de Europa. Bielorrusia nunca estuvo en el Consejo de Europa. Nunca se le admitió como socio de la comunidad de Derecho y por la paz en Europa. Por tanto, señalar a Bielorrusia como un agresor de Ucrania es una decisión estratégica que tiene que ser ponderada con todas sus consecuencias.

**Miriam Lexmann (PPE).** – Madam President, dear colleagues, thank you very much. The illegitimate regime of Aleksander Lukashenko continues to press the Belarusian people and deny their desire for a free Belarus. On top of that, Lukashenko sold Belarus sovereignty to Kremlin, and his illegitimate regime is providing daily assistance to Russian terror against the brave Ukrainians.

Lukashenko, like Putin, is an aggressor and one day they must face justice. However, we must also ensure that as we continue to support the Ukrainian people against Russian aggression, we must also double our efforts to support the Belarusian people in their desire for freedom.

The Belarusian democratic opposition, whom we have supported for many years, now needs us more than ever to aid their efforts at home and from exile. Because, without a free, democratic and sovereign Belarus, there cannot be a free, democratic and sovereign Ukraine.

*(Exclamation in Belarusian)*

*(End of catch-the-eye procedure)*

**Olivér Várhelyi, Member of the Commission.** – Madam President, honourable Members of this House, let me thank the Parliament for again having the situation in Belarus on its agenda.

In addition to the appalling human rights violations that continue and even worsen, Mr Lukashenko has become an accomplice in Russia's war of aggression in Ukraine. We have condemned – all of us – the acts he's undertaking.

And for that reason, I think this House needs to continue to engage also with the opposition, the democratic opposition of Belorussia, and continue to reach out to them and invite them.

**President.** – The debate is closed.

## 18. Výsledky prvého zasadnutia Európskeho politického spoločenstva (rozprava)

**President.** – I give the floor to the Minister for European Affairs, Mr Bek, for the Council.

**Mikuláš Bek, President-in-Office of the Council.** – Madam President, honourable Members, Commissioner, on 6 October, historically, the very first meeting of the European Political Community took place in Prague. This meeting established a new political platform, a platform that is not just another format for cooperation in Europe, but a very powerful opportunity to restore peace and prosperity to Europe by bringing together leaders from European countries on an equal footing and in a spirit of unity.

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Challenges that we are facing today are not limited to the EU borders. That is why the meeting was attended not only by leaders of EU Member States, but also of other European countries with whom the EU has close relations and who share an interest in the peace and prosperity of the European continent.

Apart from the leaders of 43 European countries, the President of the European Council, Charles Michel, and the President of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, also participated in the discussion. The main goal of this meeting and of establishing this format was not to replace existing organisational structures nor processes, but to foster political dialogue and cooperation. I am happy to say that this goal was definitely fulfilled, as leaders addressed issues of common interest during a plenary session, a working dinner, for thematic roundtables and dozens of bilaterals.

The plenary session was opened by Prime Minister Fiala, who laid out the goals of the meeting of this unprecedented format and highlighted that it was Russia's unjustified and illegal aggression against Ukraine which led leaders from all around Europe to meet in one place.

During the four parallel thematic tables, two most pressing topics were discussed: the connection between energy, the climate and the economy and peace and security on the European continent.

Lastly, during the dinner, leaders had the opportunity to hear the main takeaways from the set thematic roundtables and discuss them further. No written conclusions were adopted, as the goal was not to weigh down productive discussions by difficult negotiations on an outcome text.

The first meeting was a definite success and Europe made a big step towards the strengthening of the security, stability and prosperity of the continent and devising common solutions for common challenges. However, our work doesn't end there, that is why all participating leaders decided to continue cooperation within the EPC format. Future meetings are planned to take place in Moldova, Spain and the United Kingdom.

**Olivér Várhelyi**, *Member of the Commission*. – Madam President, honourable Members of the Parliament, on 6 October, President von der Leyen and High Representative Vice-President Borrell participated in the first summit of the European Political Community in Prague, together with President Charles Michel.

It was a historic event with 44 European leaders who came to discuss how to preserve security, stability and prosperity through cooperation in Europe. The leaders shared a sense of usefulness to discuss strategic issues. In that regard, the Russian invasion of Ukraine was particularly raised by the leaders as a direct attack on European and global order.

It is also a frontal assault on the basic tenets of the post-Cold War European and international security order that Russia had signed up to itself. Hence a fundamental question: on what principles can we best organise the political and security order of Europe?

For the foreseeable future, it is impossible to conceive a new security order or peace architecture in Europe, of which Russia would be an integral part. Russia remains a geographical neighbour and a member of the international system, but right now we have to build a European security order without the Kremlin.

In Prague, European leaders sent a strong signal directed not only to Russia but also to the rest of the world about Europe's sincerity with regard to defending a rules-based multilateral order and enshrined in the UN Charter, and against the backdrop of Russia's weaponisation of energy and food that is affecting the European and global economy.

The Prague meeting demonstrated the need for a common resolve and action underpinned by a broader and longer-term strategic approach amongst Europeans. The European Political Community (EPC) represents an opportunity to put that common resolve into action. It provides for a political impulse and constitutes a vital structuring element across the continent.



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The EPC is also about a community in the original sense, since all participating states have a common interest in its broad objective: a community of shared principles through an alignment on principles that guarantee peace and stability on the continent. An illustration is an agreement facilitated by President Michel and President Macron to establish a civilian EU mission in Armenia alongside the border with Azerbaijan.

A community of resilience to reduce the exposure and vulnerability of our countries to risks and threats of an increasingly hybrid nature. This would include, inter alia, economic security and energy resilience. The connection of Ukraine to the European electricity grid when Russia weaponised energy is an example.

A community of cooperation aimed at strengthening economic cooperation, interconnectedness and cross-border sectoral cooperation. Hence the talks in Prague about energy interconnectors in the North Sea and the Balkans, and strengthening production capacity with countries such as Norway and Azerbaijan.

Finally, a community that adds value to existing institutions and formats. The EPC is complementary to the EU policies and the other regional frameworks, particularly enlargement, which remains our most relevant geopolitical tool. The EPC is not about competing with other existing international structures such as the OSCE and NATO, our most vital partners in upholding the Euro Atlantic security.

Honourable Members, we need to back up our words with actions to demonstrate alternatives to the Russian way of exploiting vulnerabilities by the power of the stronger. Therefore, we must seek to seize this momentum to show European unity and strength.

**David McAllister**, *on behalf of the PPE Group*. – Madam President, Commissioner Várhelyi, Minister Bek, ladies and gentlemen, dear colleagues, Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine has been a wake-up call for all of us. In this context, it is crucial that we intensify our relations with our strategic partners all over the globe, and especially with our like-minded neighbours in Europe.

In this regard, I very much welcome the inaugural meeting of the European Political Community. Minister Bek, let me thank the Czech Presidency for hosting, organising and making this event a success, *děkuji*.

This new platform has potential. The gathering of the 44 leaders delivered some concrete results, as Commissioner Várhelyi just mentioned. For example, the organisation of a civilian EU mission on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan, or in the case of agreeing on a future bilateral summit between the United Kingdom and France. As such, the European Political Community can foster political dialogue for the benefit of our entire continent.

However, it is clear that the European Political Community cannot replace existing EU policies and instruments, notably enlargement. It has to fully respect the European Union's decision-making autonomy. The European Political Community should not create a two-speed Europe.

Now, a strategic follow-up to a meeting in Prague is key to shape the future work of the EPC. This new format should be used to deliver concrete solutions to Europe's most pressing issues.

**Pedro Marques**, *em nome do Grupo S&D*. – Senhora Presidente, Senhor Comissário Várhelyi, Ministro Bek, colegas, a criação da Comunidade Política Europeia como fórum de diálogo político e cooperação ao mais alto nível é um passo na direção de soluções para a paz, a segurança, a estabilidade e a prosperidade na Europa.

A participação dos países europeus, naturalmente deixando a Rússia e a Bielorrússia de fora, mostrou uma frente unida a favor do multilateralismo do direito internacional, deixando o regime russo ainda mais isolado politicamente na sua guerra de agressão contra a Ucrânia. É importante prosseguir com este mecanismo de diálogo para fazer face a tantos desafios que o continente enfrenta, sem prejuízo dos níveis e estruturas institucionais existentes, cujo papel está consolidado e ao qual esta comunidade política europeia não deve, não pode sobrepor-se, como o Conselho da Europa, ou a OSCE.

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E sem prejuízo também de políticas da União, bem estabelecidas, nomeadamente a política de alargamento e a de vizinhança, que não podem ser enfraquecidas e, pelo contrário, precisam elas próprias de um forte impulso que deve, aliás, evoluir a par da reforma institucional e do aprofundamento da União.

Este é, assim, um espaço de diálogo entre Estados europeus, importante no momento atual, que deve reforçar a relevância geopolítica da Europa sem fragilizar nenhuma das nossas instituições.

**Marie-Pierre Vedrenne**, *au nom du groupe Renew*. – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, Monsieur le Ministre, le 6 octobre dernier, 44 pays souverains se sont retrouvés à Prague, rassemblés parce que ce qui nous unit est plus grand que ce qui nous différencie. Dialoguer ensemble, faire ensemble, c'est là le projet de la Communauté politique européenne.

Le 9 mai dernier, Emmanuel Macron a initié cette architecture pour relever, à l'échelle de notre continent, les défis d'un monde de plus en plus complexe. Et la présence de ces 44 États démontre l'impérieuse nécessité de cet espace de coopération complémentaire à l'action de l'Union européenne. De ce dialogue ressort, et doit ressortir encore davantage, l'unité européenne. De la condamnation unanime de l'agression de l'Ukraine par la Russie à la volonté d'agir concrètement et efficacement pour les peuples européens, ce rendez-vous constitue un premier pas réussi – merci à la présidence tchèque.

Sécurité, indépendance énergétique, cybercriminalité ou encore politique pour la jeunesse, il nous faut concrétiser encore davantage des projets politiques, économiques et culturels. Alors, plus que jamais, bâtissons ces passerelles entre nous; plus que jamais, répondons aux attentes des peuples européens; plus que jamais, soutenons la Communauté politique européenne.

**Jordi Solé**, *on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group*. – Madam President, the biggest achievement of the first European Political Community Summit is probably that it happened at the moment it happened. Bringing together 44 leaders from across the continent at a time of war and overlapping crises in Europe is something positive, particularly given the need for political and security cooperation, as well as the need to send another strong message to the Kremlin as regards its isolation.

A flexible format where leaders can meet and discuss issues of common interest and also hold bilateral or trilateral meetings is certainly not useless. There always has to be a space for dialogue. For instance, the fact that on the margins of the summit, the leaders of France, Azerbaijan, Romania and the President of the European Council could meet and discuss the armed conflict in the South Caucasus, apparently achieving some progress, is a positive spillover from the summit.

That being said, the summit was not exactly a meeting of democratic leaders, given the presence of certain authoritarian rulers who make a mockery of democracy. Macron's original idea of gathering, and I quote, 'democratic [European] nations that subscribe to our shared core values', will have to wait for better times. Nevertheless, we must hope that the European Political Community will become an instrument for dialogue that, at least in the long run, will contribute to the goal of bringing European states closer, not only in terms of interest, but also in values.

**Gilles Lebreton**, *au nom du groupe ID*. – Madame la Présidente, chers collègues, la Communauté politique européenne s'est réunie pour la première fois le 6 octobre dernier. Elle a rassemblé à Prague les présidents ou chefs de gouvernement de 44 États européens, parmi lesquels les 27 membres de l'Union européenne, mais aussi des États comme le Royaume-Uni, l'Arménie et l'Ukraine.

Cette nouvelle instance aurait pu être une bonne idée si elle avait préfiguré la création d'une Europe des nations de type confédéral. À terme, elle aurait alors pu constituer une alternative respectueuse de la souveraineté des États européens au modèle trop centralisateur de l'Union européenne.

Hélas, c'est de l'inverse dont il s'agit. Elle n'a en effet été créée, à l'initiative du président Macron, que pour attirer les États européens indépendants dans l'orbite de l'Union. C'est ce qui explique que le président du Conseil européen et la présidente de la Commission européenne aient été conviés à y siéger. Bien loin d'annoncer une Europe des nations, la Communauté politique européenne n'est donc que l'expression de l'impérialisme de l'Union qui tente de profiter de la fragilité du Royaume-Uni sous Liz Truss et de la détresse de l'Arménie et de l'Ukraine pour avancer ses pions.

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L'échec de la réunion du 6 octobre, qui n'a débouché sur rien, montre la vanité de cette entreprise. La Communauté politique européenne est morte, vive l'Europe des nations!

**Anna Fotyga**, *on behalf of the ECR Group*. – Madam President, Minister, Commissioner, despite question marks, I welcome the EPC's additional informal format to face the enormous security challenges we face in Europe. Good that UK and Turkey were there. Good that Russia and Belarus were not there. Good that Armenia and Azerbaijan used our table instead of the Moscow-based one.

I urge European leaders to invite the legitimate representative of Belarusian people to the next meeting of the EPC and discuss the security situation there.

**Helmut Scholz**, *im Namen der Fraktion The Left*. – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar, Herr Minister! Laut Petr Fiala bietet die EPG eine besondere Gelegenheit für Staaten, die dazu bestimmt seien, zusammenzuleben, aber normalerweise kaum Gelegenheit zum Reden bekommen. Hier stimme ich zu.

Wir brauchen Formate, um den politischen Dialog, die Suche nach Lösungen für die vielen komplizierten vor uns stehenden Aufgaben zu ermöglichen. Dafür brauchen wir jetzt politischen Weitblick und vielleicht noch viel mehr politischen Mut. Die EPG kann ein Schritt in diese Richtung sein. Wie können die 27 EU-Mitgliedstaaten gemeinsam mit vielen anderen politischen Kräften auf unserem Kontinent die alles entscheidende Frage nach einem radikal notwendigen sozial-ökologischen Umbau konkret angehen, um den Klimawandel zu bewältigen und wieder Frieden zu gewinnen?

1973, als die Konferenz über Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa begann, war noch nicht abzusehen, welche Bedeutung die Schlussakte von Helsinki einmal haben würde. Wir sollten uns daran erinnern. Angesichts der Herausforderungen sollten wir aus der EPG vielleicht ein handlungsfähiges Format à la KSZE 2.0 machen, das nicht nur Austausch und vertrauliche Gespräche sehr verschiedener und sicher nicht nur gleichgesinnter Partner ermöglicht, sondern in konkreten, verbindlichen Auflagen mündet. Lernen wir aus dem Scheitern von Paris 1990, schnüren wir jetzt ein Paket, um handlungsfähige Strukturen zu schaffen.

**Ivan Vilibor Sinčić (NI)**. – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, na sastanku lidera europskih zemalja od Islanda do Azerbajdžana u Pragu, razgovaralo se, među ostalim, i o energiji i energetske neovisnosti.

Hrvatski premijer otišao je ondje tek nekoliko dana nakon što se pokazalo da je upravo on donio odluku o gašenju naše rafinerije u Sisku i izvozu nafte iz Hrvatske. Gurnuo je našu hrvatsku kolonijalnu poziciju, pa iako imamo svoju sirovu naftu, nju sada izvozimo, a uvozimo gotove naftne derivate. Nakon ovog skandala, svaka normalna vlast daje ostavku, ali ne i korumpirani despoti u Hrvatskoj; odgovornosti njima nepoznat pojam. Naš predsjednik Vlade, koji radi protiv vlastite zemlje i njezinih energetske kapaciteta, ne može savjete o energetici, u Pragu, davati drugim državama. Nedavno su uhićeni ljudi naftne kompanije u Hrvatskoj, koje je postavio upravo on i njegova stranka, zbog velike pljačke plina.

U režiji te vladajuće stranke, u Hrvatskoj su se razvile razne koruptivne mreže koje potkapaju energetske sustav. Jedva su dočekali priliku da, pod krinkom poskupljenja energenata na međunarodnom tržištu, dodatno zagra-be u džepove građana kako bi uzeli sebi. Takvim ljudima trebalo bi zabraniti ulazak u europske institucije, a ne ih zvati da odlučuju o našim sudbinama.

**Lukas Mandl (PPE)**. – Frau Präsidentin, Herr Kommissar Várhelyi! Ich bewundere Ihr Durchhaltevermögen heute Nacht hier im Europäischen Parlament.

Meine Damen und Herren, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Es ist gut, dass wir hier parlamentarisch beraten, was die Regierenden in den Mitgliedstaaten machen. Sie haben die *European Political Community*, die Europäische Politische Gemeinschaft, ins Leben gerufen. Und ich sehe, um es mit einem Sprichwort auszudrücken, das Glas halb voll. Es ist gut, dass ganz Europa zusammenkommt, dass die EU sich gewissermaßen um das gesamte europäische Territorium kümmert, denn das ist auch ihr Auftrag, ihre Mission: allen auf diesem Kontinent das zukommen zu lassen, was Europa bedeuten kann, auch wenn das ein weiter Weg ist.

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Es wäre aber schlecht, wenn diese Europäische Politische Gemeinschaft dazu führt, dass vorhandene Prozesse der EU-Integration gewissermaßen in eine Schublade kommen, in einen Topf geworfen werden, und dann Prozesse, die sehr weit fortgeschritten sind in Richtung Europäische Union, möglicherweise noch weiter ins Stocken geraten, als es ohnehin schon passiert ist, vor allem mit dem Westbalkan.

In der Vergangenheit hat die Europäische Union sich sehr, sehr viele Fehler geleistet. Das darf nicht mehr passieren. Montenegro ist beitragsreif, mit Albanien und Nordmazedonien braucht es Beitrittsverhandlungen. Kosovo und Serbien gehört gelöst. Beide gehören in die Europäische Union, Serbien dann, wenn Serbien auch die europäischen Werte mittragen wird. Bosnien und Herzegowina hat jetzt Kandidatenstatus. Die Staaten der Östlichen Partnerschaft – Republik Moldau, Georgien, Ukraine – gehören anders integriert. Und wir brauchen ein viel besseres Verhältnis zur Schweiz und zu Großbritannien und Nordirland. Auch Aserbaidschan, Armenien waren vertreten in der *European Political Community*. Belarus gehörte vertreten mit der Befreiungsbewegung.

Also jeder Staat, der beteiligt ist, hat einen anderen Status. Das muss man weitersehen, dann kann das Zukunft haben. Und auch wenn es eine parlamentarische Dimension gibt, dann kann es Zukunft haben.

**Domènec Ruiz Devesa (S&D).** – Señora presidenta, queridos colegas, efectivamente, nos encontramos ante el proyecto de la Comunidad Política Europea que, a la vista de lo que fue la Cumbre de Praga —por cierto, muy bien organizada por la Presidencia checa—, un foro de encuentro entre Estados europeos, es decir, no solo entre aquellos que son miembros de la Unión Europea... Como digo, a la vista del resultado y de las expectativas que ha generado, es positivo que haya un foro que vendría a cubrir algún tipo de vacío, en la medida en que desarrolla una función que no es la de la OTAN, donde están los americanos, o la de la OSCE, donde también están los americanos, ni la del Consejo de Europa, que está dedicado fundamentalmente a la cuestión de los derechos humanos. En la medida en que haya un espacio de encuentro, de lanzar proyectos en común, de hacer frente común frente a la agresión rusa en Ucrania, me parece positivo.

Ahora bien, debe quedar claro, como ha señalado el alto representante, Josep Borrell, en su blog, que no puede ser una alternativa a la ampliación. Tiene que añadir valor a los formatos existentes —a lo que ya me he referido—, tiene que ser una comunidad de principios compartidos y tiene que tener una estructura muy ligera. No podemos crear más secretariados, nuevas estructuras, porque la estructura institucional que realmente existe, y que tenemos que seguir ampliando y profundizando a la vez, es la Unión Europea.

**Klemen Grošelj (Renew).** – Spoštovani! Evropska politična skupnost je pobuda, ki je prišla v za Evropo in EU pravem času. Nisem pa prepričan, ali bo prinesla tudi rezultate, ki jih zaostrene geopolitične razmere v širšem evropskem prostoru zahtevajo.

Sam upam in pričakujem, da gre za idejo ključnega povezovanja najširše možne skupnosti evropskih držav, ki so v danih zaostrenih geopolitičnih razmerah, ko se soočamo z agresijo in napadi ne samo na vrednote in načela, na katerih temelji EU, ampak na katerih temelji sodobna povojna svetovna ureditev, trdno zavezane k obrambi demokracije, človekovih pravic, vladavine prava in politikam krepitve mednarodnega sodelovanja ter spoštovanja mednarodnega prava. Torej koalicija držav, ki ne samo da ne sprejema, ampak zavrača svet, temelječ na surovi moči. In tu je skupnost, ki jo danes potrebujemo.

Nikakor pa ne sme postati Evropska politična skupnost nadomestilo za širitveni proces, saj ta zasleduje cilje Evropske unije, ki jih Evropska politična skupnost ne more uresničiti.

**Gunnar Beck (ID).** – Frau Präsidentin! Anfang Oktober trafen sich die Regierungschefs aller europäischen und kaukasischen Staaten sowie der Türkei, nicht aber Russlands und von Belarus, in Prag zum ersten Treffen der Europäischen Politischen Gemeinschaft EPG, einer neuen Einrichtung – neu, aber unklar ist ihr Zweck und was genau sie vom Euro-parat unterscheidet.

Einziges Thema: der Ukraine-Krieg. War der Zweck, illegale Angriffskriege zu verurteilen? Warum war dann der Präsident von Aserbaidschan anwesend, der einen Angriffskrieg gegen Armenien anzettelte? Ging es um Geschlossenheit gegenüber Russland, so zeigen Ungarn und Macrons Haltung: Auch die EU ist nicht einig. Und bessere französisch-britische Beziehungen bedürfen keiner 41 anderen Regierungschefs. Eigentlich ging es nur ums Händeschütteln und unverbindliches Lächeln in schweren Zeiten. Das Benzin und die Treibstoffe für die Prag-Reise hätte man sich sparen können – eingedenk der Energiekrise gewiss sinnvoller.

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**Cristian Terheş (ECR).** – Madam President, dear colleagues, dear guests, after the Second World War in Europe, a group of eight statesmen, mostly Christians, came together and found ways not only how to reconcile themselves with each other, but how to bring peace to prosperity in Europe.

To do so, they came up with a European project founded on two pillars: safeguarding the respect of fundamental rights – and that's how we have the Council of Europe now. And the other one, it is economic cooperation – and we have the European Communities. The European Community later became the European Union, which from an economic cooperation between sovereign states, became a political union, which currently is undermining, unfortunately, the sovereignty of our nations.

The European Political Community now proposed by Macron, seems to want to replace the other pillar of the European project, mainly safeguarding the fundamental rights of all the people. Europe is not a political community, but a mosaic of free and sovereign nations and states. If we want to defend and protect the rights of all of our citizens, we should keep it so.

**Sunčana Glavak (PPE).** – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, suočeni s krizom bez presedana, svjesni smo potrebe za otvorenim dijalogom s našim europskim susjedima. Početkom listopada, dakle, svjedočili smo okupljanju lidera zemalja Europe na događanju koje će u bližoj budućnosti definirati i odnos Europske unije s ostalim državama kontinenta - osnivanju Europske političke zajednice.

Dakle, kolegice i kolege, radi se o platformi, rekla bih, za poticanje političkog dijaloga koji nam je uvijek potreban i suradnju s ciljem rješavanja pitanja od zajedničkog interesa te jačanje stabilnosti, sigurnosti i blagostanja. Pri tome je potrebno još jednom naglasiti kako ona ne zamjenjuje niti jednu političku organizaciju, strukturu ili proces. Naprotiv, Europska politička zajednica dokaz je važnosti razmjene mišljenja u teškim vremenima u kojima se nalazimo. Organiziranjem ovako širokog formata za razgovor, dodatno smo pokazali i dokazali važnost multilateralizma u današnjim međunarodnim odnosima.

Uz to, Europska unija potvrdila je kako i dalje ima moć okupljanja država u svom bližem susjedstvu. Ovakav iskaz meke moći nosi značajnu geopolitičku težinu na kontinentu koji se suočava s najvećim sukobom od Drugog svjetskog rata. Da, razgovaralo se o brojnim izazovima: od poštivanja međunarodnog prava, gospodarstvu, energetske sigurnosti... I da, tamo je bio i hrvatski premijer.

Hrvatska će povećanjem kapaciteta LNG terminala na otoku Krku imati mogućnost za opskrbu i Slovenije, Slovačke, Bosne i Hercegovine i Mađarske i to upravo zahvaljujući Vladi koju šest godina, upravo danas, vodi premijer Plenković. Stoga su bizarne ocjene populističkog karaktera koje smo čuli maloprije, čiji su autori, kolege, bili gosti Rusije na različitim političkim skupovima.

**Tonino Picula (S&D).** – Poštovana predsjedavajuća, europska politička zajednica najprije mora dokazati što ona nije. Ne smije ni na koji način usporiti procese daljnjeg proširenja Europske unije, a još manje postati alternativa punopravnom članstvu u Europskoj uniji.

U jeku ruske agresije na Ukrajinu i dalekosežnih geopolitičkih promjena, doista ne smijemo razvodniti nakon dugo vremena obnovljeni interes za politiku proširenja. Osim toga, bit će vrlo teško održati jednu strukturu koja bi se pozicionirala negdje između utvrđenih procedura Europske unije i labavosti neformalnog političkog foruma. Isto tako, skepsu proizvodi činjenica kako jedna tako široka mreža sudionika podrazumijeva izuzetno heterogeno društvo, po mnogim karakteristikama. S toliko različitih interesa u igri raste šansa da nijedan u konačnici ne bude zadovoljen.

Konačno, smatram da takva zajednica, uvodeći divergentne političke vrijednosti, predstavlja neizvjesnu korist za sam europski projekt. Zahtjev Velike Britanije da se npr. uklone zastave Europske unije s osnivačkog skupa, možda najbolje ilustrira dubinu proturječja između ambicija i realnosti europske političke zajednice.

**Charles Goerens (Renew).** – Madame la Présidente, la Communauté politique européenne, qui est-ce ? Pour le moment, ce sont 44 chefs d'État et de gouvernement européens qui se sont rencontrés à Prague pour échanger sur les menaces qui pèsent sur nos démocraties. Ce sont des pays qui connaissent des degrés d'intégration européenne différents; 27 sont membres de l'Union européenne, 30 sont membres de l'Espace économique européen, 28 sont membres de l'OTAN, tous sont membres du Conseil de l'Europe et de l'OSCE.

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Cela m'inspire deux remarques. Premièrement, si, comme décidé à Prague, cette structure est appelée à devenir pérenne, elle n'a pas vocation à se substituer au Conseil de l'Europe ni à l'OSCE. Deuxièmement, la date de la première réunion a été bien choisie pour montrer qu'au-delà de nos divergences traditionnelles, nous refusons la barbarie. Enfin, il y a lieu de saluer que la plupart des pays européens restent soudés autour d'un socle de droits et de devoirs qu'implique l'adhésion aux valeurs civilisatrices qui sont le fondement du monde libre.

**Zdzisław Krasnodębski (ECR).** – Pani Przewodnicząca! Pomimo niektórych głosów sceptycznych ja uważam, że europejska wspólnota polityczna może odegrać ważną rolę w uzgadnianiu wspólnego stanowiska i konsolidacji państw europejskich w obecnej sytuacji agresji Rosji na Ukrainę. Najważniejszy jest format tego gremium. Biorą w niej udział państwa, które nie chcą przystąpić do Unii Europejskiej, jak Szwajcaria, lub do niej powrócić, jak Wielka Brytania. I przypominam, że europejska wspólnota polityczna i kulturowa jest szersza niż sama tylko Unia Europejska. Wielka Brytania udziela większej pomocy militarnej Ukrainie niż takie państwa jak Niemcy i Francja, a więc tym samym bardziej niż te państwa przyczynia się do bezpieczeństwa krajów członków Unii sąsiadujących z Rosją. Szwajcaria udziela Ukrainie pomocy humanitarnej. Dobrze więc, że pojawia się nowy format, w którym możemy współpracować z takimi i pozostałymi państwami.

**Michaela Šojdrová (PPE).** – Paní předsedající, pane komisaři, dovolu mi, abych poděkovala českému předsednictví a řekla, že jsem hrdá na to, že se Vám podařilo zorganizovat toto Evropské politické společenství, dát mu podobu i obsah. Největší význam má tento projekt z hlediska geopolitického. Nepochybně je to prostor pro dialog, pro setkávání, ale právě s ohledem na ruskou agresi na Ukrajině je jasným vyjádřením jednoty kontinentu proti této agresi.

Evropské politické společenství se nesmí stát dvousečnou zbraní z pohledu rozšiřování Evropské unie. Na jedné straně může být vzpruhou pro země ve východním partnerství, které mají aspiraci na členství, a výrazem jejich angažmá na nejvyšší úrovni evropské politiky. Na druhé straně ale nemůže být pro tyto země tak trochu odkladištěm, nechťenou alternativou členství.

Francie v roce 1991 přišla s projektem Evropské konfederace, který měl v podstatě tento cíl: politicky navázat kontakt, dialog s postkomunistickými zeměmi a zároveň zabránit tomu, aby vstoupily do tehdejšího Evropského společenství. Postkomunistické země tuto vizi odmítly, protože jasně směřovaly k integraci do EU, a udělaly správně. To, že tato myšlenka není mrtvá, zde dnes připomněl pan kolega Lebreton.

Smysl a budoucí podoba Evropského politického společenství jistě budou v následujících letech krystalizovat. Obsahová orientace této platformy se ale jistě bude vždy týkat bezpečnostních otázek. Proto je účast Velké Británie a Turecka klíčová. Jedno je jisté již nyní. Praha se zapíše do dějin jako místo, kde se poprvé sešlo 44 představitelů evropských zemí v novém formátu. V učebnicích dějepisu bude fotografie lídrů z Vladislavského sálu Pražského hradu, tedy z místa, kde se tvořily celoevropské dějiny již v dobách císaře Karla IV. ve čtrnáctém století.

**Nacho Sánchez Amor (S&D).** – Señora presidenta, seguimos en la bruma. No sabemos si esto es una expectativa de lo que podría llegar a ser o es siempre un *talking show*, pero hay que recordar que muchas cosas en Europa empezaron siendo un *talking show*, como la propia Unión Europea. Hacen falta tiempo y un par de crisis. Pero para ello hay que resolver algunas dudas.

¿Esto va de valores o va de realpolitik? A valores se refirió Macron, a valores se refirió la señora Truss; pero estuvieron allí Turquía, Azerbaiyán o Serbia, lo que hace pertinente una pregunta: ¿a medio plazo es compatible la foto de Praga con la foto de Samarcanda, la foto de los autócratas? A la vuelta de la cumbre, el señor Michel ya no habló de valores, solo de intereses, y eso tiene un riesgo, comisario: que por ampliar el círculo alrededor o contra Rusia nos arriesguemos a rebajar nuestras exigencias democráticas.

Pero tampoco parece una organización de seguridad, a pesar de que la guerra haya sido su desencadenante, porque ahí hay amigos de Rusia y porque un sistema de seguridad en el que no estén la OTAN y los Estados Unidos, seguramente, no sea muy realista.

Por tanto, sigue siendo un objeto político no identificado y voy a permitirme coincidir con usted, sin que sirva de precedente: esto es, de momento, una oportunidad.

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**Nathalie Loiseau (Renew).** – Madame la Présidente, que n'avait-on entendu? «Ça ne marchera jamais», «encore une grande idée qui restera dans les tiroirs», «les Britanniques ne viendront pas», «la communauté politique européenne, on ne sait même pas ce que c'est». Puis 44 chefs d'État et de gouvernement ont décidé de se réunir et de la faire naître, cette Communauté politique européenne. Les 27 étaient là mais aussi, à distance, Volodymyr Zelensky, et aussi, dans la salle, Liz Truss ou les dirigeants des Balkans.

Il a fallu une vision, celle d'Emmanuel Macron, et il a fallu un moment, celui où notre continent comprend mieux que jamais qu'il est confronté aux mêmes défis, aux mêmes crises et à la même guerre, celle que la Russie mène contre l'Ukraine. L'heure n'est pas aux querelles stériles, elle est aux efforts pour s'unir et pour se rapprocher.

Quel sera l'avenir de la Communauté politique européenne? Celle-ci sera ce que tous en feront. Elle ne sera pas un substitut à l'adhésion des pays candidats à l'Union européenne, mais au contraire un complément. Elle n'effacera pas le Brexit, mais elle évitera que la trajectoire du Royaume-Uni et celle du reste de l'Europe ne s'éloignent. Surtout, nous avons collectivement une chance, celle de démontrer que l'Europe est beaucoup plus qu'un vieux continent, beaucoup plus qu'une petite presqu'île à l'ouest de l'Asie immense. Nous avons l'occasion de retrouver la fierté de ce que nous sommes: une civilisation, une promesse et un espoir.

**Elena Yoncheva (S&D).** – Madame la Présidente, Monsieur le Commissaire, chers collègues, si nous voulons que l'Europe soit forte pour mieux protéger les droits sociaux et économiques de ses citoyens, elle doit être indépendante.

L'autonomie stratégique, la construction de notre système de sécurité et de défense, sont la base de cette prospérité. Cela signifie aussi interdépendance, entre les États membres de l'Union européenne qui partagent des valeurs communes, mais aussi à travers la coopération avec d'autres pays européens. La protection des infrastructures partagées, après les attaques de Nordstream, devrait être une préoccupation et une politique communes. La Communauté politique européenne est aussi un forum où l'approche pragmatique de la Turquie et son rôle de médiateur dans la guerre en Ukraine pourraient être discutés.

Mais on ne peut pas aujourd'hui remplacer la responsabilité de l'Union européenne, où les décisions difficiles sont prises à l'unanimité, en prenant en compte les intérêts de chaque État membre. Il s'agit d'une garantie que nous resterons ensemble, pour être plus forts aussi.

**Barry Andrews (Renew).** – Madam President, Commissioner, I very much welcome the European Political Community (EPC), not least as a way to re-engage with the United Kingdom. The new Prime Minister has made some fairly poor decisions in the last few weeks, but this was a good one – to attend the EPC with immediate benefits for the UK, including hosting an EPC meeting next year or the year after, re-joining PESCO on military mobility and re-joining the North Sea Energy Cooperation Group.

Prime Minister Truss said, 'We always believed we would find new ways of working that reflected our shared values and interests.' She is partly walking back to the realisation that the pursuit of these shared values and interests require rules, they require cooperation and enforceable rules, and those enforceable rules require institutions, the very institutions that the UK walked away from just six years ago.

It is slightly ironic that while the UK liked the single market and disliked the European political union, now they are outside the single market and inside the European Political Community, and I don't want to be too glib about it because it is an excellent platform, not least for the improvement of Anglo-Irish relations.

**Brando Benifei (S&D).** – Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, la prima riunione della Comunità politica europea è stata un successo per il fatto di essere riuscita a creare un forum in cui tutti i paesi del nostro vicinato hanno potuto partecipare ed esprimersi, anche in quelle situazioni di tensione che osserviamo, anzi proprio il contesto di questo incontro ha portato ad alleggerirle, come nel caso dell'approccio tra Armenia e Azerbaigian nel corso di questa riunione.

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Ora serve continuità di azione e credibilità, per arrivare a plasmare una piattaforma che possa facilitare una risposta comune alla minaccia portata ai nostri confini da Putin e agire in maniera sempre più coordinata per affrontare le conseguenze della guerra, che colpiscono tutti.

Attenzione però a considerare la Comunità politica europea come un'alternativa istituzionale all'ingresso nell'Unione, in particolare per i paesi coinvolti nel vicinato orientale. Credo che sarà nostro compito discutere nei prossimi mesi di come inserire questa Comunità politica nella cornice dei trattati e definirne meglio gli ambiti e i limiti, garantendo un ruolo centrale al Parlamento europeo, non appena la Convenzione da noi richiesta per riformare profondamente questa unione aprirà i propri lavori.

*Catch-the-eye procedure*

**Stanislav Polčák (PPE).** – Paní předsedající, já považuji Evropské politické společenství za dobrou iniciativu a samozřejmě je to iniciativa, která vznikla na popud prezidenta Macrona. Určitě úspěchem českého předsednictví je, že se tolik států podařilo přivést na jedno místo, do Prahy, do České republiky – od Islandu přes Turecko, Velkou Británii, samozřejmě kavkazské státy.

Je důležité podporovat takovýto dialog lídrů a myslím si, že je také důležité podporovat ochranu demokratických hodnot, hodnot, které jsou vlastní i Evropské unii. Já vím, že existuje samozřejmě Rada Evropy, která má chránit mír a mírové soužití mezi národy v Evropě, a také základní lidská práva a svobody. Ale bohužel tato organizace je právě ochromena útokem Ruska na Ukrajinu, a proto je dobře, že takovéto společenství vzniká. Je ovšem důležité, aby toto společenství neodsunulo otázku rozšiřování Evropské unie do pozadí, aby i tyto státy, které se rozhodnou vstoupit do Unie, měly tuto platformu otevřenou, ale cestu do Evropy rovněž volnou.

**Miriam Lexmann (PPE).** – Madam President, I welcome the meeting of the European Political Community, because in this House we have come up with numerous proposals on strengthening cooperation with our wider European partners, including creative integration of those desiring it. I therefore want to congratulate the Czech Government on the success.

The summit made it clear that the Community can never be an alternative for those wishing to join the European Union. On the contrary, the success of the inaugural summit lay in the fact that it provided an inclusive format in which to discuss common challenges with our wider European partners.

These challenges are multiple: from responding to Putin's war of aggression against Ukraine through working together to rebuild the European security, to addressing the threats posed by the Chinese Communist Party and other totalitarian regimes. Only by working together in the spirit of unity and solidarity can European nations address the many challenges in front of us.

*(End of catch-the-eye procedure)*

**Olivér Várhelyi, Member of the Commission.** – Madam President, honourable Members, I believe there is indeed a great potential in this initiative. Russia's invasion of Ukraine has instilled further urgency and importance into our efforts to strengthen the EU's role as a security actor and provider.

Our ability to respond to threats and challenges benefits from the partnerships in Europe and beyond. Together, all European countries can devise pragmatic ways to cooperate and strengthen our collective capacities and leverage.

Going forward, our collective response should be articulated along the key principles. First, stay the course on a triple strategy: supporting Ukraine, pressuring Russia to stop its war of aggression, and addressing the wider fallout of the war.

Second, reflect on the strategic implications for European security. Russia seeks a new continental security architecture based on transactional relations and spheres of influence between great powers. Russia has tried to divide us, but it has achieved the opposite. Our unity, strength and resolve have never been greater. The next European Political Community (EPC) meetings are planned in Moldova, Spain and UK, where we all, all Europeans, can take this initiative further.



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The very fact that there is already clarity on the hosting of the next summits proves the degree of political interest and commitment to maintain this process. Obviously, the practice will show how it evolves and addresses some open questions, particularly regarding the scope and nature of political cooperation, i.e. on energy, as well as the nature of the institutional setup.

**Mikuláš Bek**, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Madam President, honourable Members, Commissioner, first of all, I should specify that I am addressing the plenary of this House in my national capacity and as a host of the event, not as a President of the Council.

Let me thank you for this debate and for the visibility that this Parliament has given to this momentous event that will resonate in the future.

There is no doubt that the situation will continue to be very challenging in more than one way – the winter period approaching, inflation rising in many countries, and Russian aggression against Ukraine continues to escalate further.

Let me assure you the European Political Community does not substitute the process of EU enlargement. Similarly, it does not replace existing platforms or organisations. I am confident that by establishing this format we also establish a platform where we can face these challenges more efficiently and in a united way and get back on the path of growth, as well as defend our values.

Even though it is the current geopolitical situation that motivated us to sit at one table, I believe that once the war is won and Europeans don't have to worry about the upcoming winter, all EPC participants will continue to meet and work on joint initiatives towards a more prosperous continent for the benefit of both our Union, as well as the countries outside the EU. Thank you very much once again for your attention.

**President**. – The debate is closed.

*Written statements (Rule 171)*

**Dita Charanzová (Renew)**, *in writing*. – Putin unified Europe. This was the message of the Prague summit. The image of unity and cooperation of 44 European countries gathering together to find a way forward is important. But it should not become just another summit of shaking hands and family pictures. It should not become a copy of the Council of Europe. It should not become a replacement of the EU accession process. It should be a new engine to revive the broader European agenda in our neighbourhood. But for that to happen we need to have a clear roadmap and set up priorities. And that is what is currently missing.

## 19. Celosvetová potravinová bezpečnosť v nadväznosti na zasadnutie ministrov poľnohospodárstva skupiny G20 (rozprava)

**President**. – Next item on the agenda: the Council and Commission statements on: Global food security as follow-up to the G20 Agriculture Ministers meeting (2022/2883(RSP)).

**Mikuláš Bek**, *President-in-Office of the Council*. – Madam President, honourable Members, Vice-President of the Commission, the alarming increase in the number of people facing acute food insecurity is a matter of great concern for all of us. Russia's war against Ukraine is severely exacerbating the already dire food security situation in many vulnerable countries and pushing more people into extreme poverty.

We all know the figures. Around 50 countries depend on Russia and Ukraine for at least 30% of their cereal imports and for over 20 countries, this is more than 50%. Thanks to the stable production supported by the common agricultural policy, food security in the EU is not at risk. This allows the EU, as a major global agri-food producer, to make an increased contribution to global food supplies.

Nevertheless, there are major issues we must address, among them ensuring affordability of food for all EU citizens and restoring fertiliser supplies to bring down fertiliser prices and avoid future food supply disruptions. At the same time, the EU must remain fully mobilised to help Ukraine export its agri-food production.

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This includes continuing to support the UN-led efforts to keep the Black Sea maritime route open and working on improving alternative export routes for Ukrainian cereals via the EU-Ukraine Solidarity Alliance. Our efforts are already bearing fruit. In September, no less than 40% of Ukrainian grains were exported through the Solidarity Alliance.

The exceptional circumstances in which we live have also provoked a firm and robust policy response from the EU towards third countries and regions to contribute to global food security. The Council will continue to oversee the ongoing EU action along the three well-known tracks: emergency relief and financial support to the most affected countries; helping vulnerable countries to build sustainable and resilient food systems and improve the livelihood of their farmers; and working together with our international partners to ease tensions on global agricultural markets.

The capacity of the EU to reach the most vulnerable depends on the effective coordination and cooperation of the international community. This is why we support the central role of the UN Global Crisis Response Group to coordinate the global efforts. We therefore welcome the recent call by the joint G20 finance and agriculture ministers meeting to take stock of ongoing policy responses and to identify potential gaps and areas where further action is needed.

G20 agriculture ministers have underscored the importance of addressing the current food crisis in a sustainable manner, and they have also highlighted the urgency of accelerating the transformation of our food systems. This is fully in line with the outcomes of the 2021 UN Food Systems Summit and the EU's own sustainability agenda, as set by the European Green Deal and the Farm to Fork Strategy.

This will require enhanced responsible investments by both private and public sectors at all levels to strengthen the long-term resilience of food systems in the poorest countries and to support, in particular, smallholders and family farmers. We all support the G20 agriculture ministers' reiterated commitment to halving global food waste and losses and to improve the transparency of global commodities markets and promote an open and predictable trade environment.

These are all critical and necessary actions to address the food crisis and move towards sustainable food systems. The EU will continue working with its international partners, including the Rome-based UN agencies, to mitigate the risks of disruption of supply chains and to control dangerous domino effects of surging global food prices.

The EU will also continue working with its like-minded partners to keep commodities markets open and avoid export restrictions and other trade-disrupting measures.

**Věra Jourová**, *Vice-President of the Commission*. – Madam President, honourable Members, honourable Minister, I welcome today's debate on food security, which follows the fruitful exchanges prior to the European Parliament resolution on 6 July this year on addressing food security in developing countries, as well as the discussion on fertilisers earlier this month.

Reports show an increasing number of acutely food-insecure people, now exceeding 200 million worldwide, and projections of famine in Somalia, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Yemen, Nigeria and South Sudan. The cause: Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which continues to have a dramatic impact on the Ukrainian people and on increasing food insecurity worldwide. This is the reason, honourable Members. It is not, as Russia claims, EU sanctions that deepen global food insecurity. Our sanctions were precisely designed to exempt agricultural products.

Russia's actions endanger the lives of many around the globe. They also actively hamper the work of multilateral bodies to address the food crisis. This disruption is particularly visible in organisations that require unanimity to operate, such as the G20.

At the G20 agriculture ministers' meeting in Bali on 28 September, for the first time in the history of the G20s, ministers were unable to agree on a communique. The Indonesian Chair of the G20 resorted to publishing merely a chair's summary of the discussions. The Chair's summary reflects that in all substantial areas, from the transition towards sustainable food systems to the importance of open, rules-based trade, G20 members have achieved consensus and even progress compared to previous years.

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However, Russia's insistence on denying basic facts and its attempt to instrumentalise multilateral forums to spread disinformation have led to a deadlock on a single paragraph. This illustrates why we must vigorously challenge Moscow's narrative. It is the Russian authorities that block the work of the international organisation. It is the Russian authorities that push for global food insecurity in the hope to blackmail countries to support their illegal and brutal aggression. In fact, the majority of G20 members condemned Russia's actions and Russia remained mostly isolated.

The diplomatic efforts of the EU vis-à-vis the G20 continue to be largely productive. Beyond the G20, the EU is fully committed to continue working with global partners alongside Member States in relevant organisations such as the United Nations or the WTO, and engage with regional groupings such as the African Union. With our partners in Africa, we already started preparing the next ministerial conference, to be held in summer 2023 in Rome.

In the UN General Assembly held in September, the EU was also vocal in the meetings, focusing on food security, with a dedicated summit on global food security, where we have again committed to strengthening international cooperation and partnership initiatives.

In the World Trade Organization, the EU is actively engaged in implementing the outcomes of the 12th Ministerial Conference. This engagement in multilateral forums is part of the EU's broader commitment to enhance food security worldwide and to stand with our Ukrainian neighbours. We need a coordinated response. We cannot afford to duplicate efforts.

Honourable Members, the EU has reacted quickly and resolutely to this complex crisis through a comprehensive response in the EU, through a range of measures to support farmers, the agri-food industry and consumers, and also, globally, using a Team Europe approach along four strands of action.

First, a solidarity strand to step up emergency aid and macro-economic support. Second, a production strand to drive the transition towards sustainable and resilient food systems, especially by investing in local small-scale producers and food entrepreneurs. Third, a trade strand to keep markets open and facilitate food trade by getting grains out of Ukraine, including via the EU-Ukraine solidarity lanes. This has allowed over 12.5 million tonnes of grains to leave Ukraine since May 2022. It was complemented by 6 million tonnes exported through the UN-brokered Black Sea Grain Initiative. And last, the fourth one, a multilateral strand, which I have just presented.

The EU backs these actions with a solid financial package and has already committed EUR 7.7 billion until 2024, with over EUR 2 billion of humanitarian food and nutrition assistance. A 32% increase as compared to 2021. Almost EUR 5 billion to support the transition to sustainable food systems in partner countries, including additional EUR 350 million in the ACP countries and EUR 225 million for the Middle East and North Africa to ensure better resilience. EU Member States and the European development banks should further increase this contribution. The extension of the Black Sea Initiative beyond 16 November is key. The sustainability of this deal should lead commercial insurers and shipping companies to make greater use of the Black Sea route. Thanks to these measures, global prices for key commodities, such as wheat and maize, have dropped around 20% by September, almost reaching pre-war levels.

However, another challenge is looming for the next harvest season. There are real concerns about the situation regarding the supply and affordability of fertilisers. The market situation for fertilisers, together with a general increase of input costs, impacts farmers and their planting decisions, as they may fear a squeeze in incomes. Agricultural production relies on fertilisers to achieve good yields. We are working to reduce dependency on mineral fertilisers. However, in the short term, lower use implies lower yields, in Europe and globally. Here again, Russia pretends sanctions are responsible for hampering global fertiliser availability and affordability.

We need to be clear: sanctions do not prevent Russia from exporting fertilisers to third countries. We have just recently provided additional written guidance to the Member States and industry to explain that. On the contrary, it is Russia itself who has adopted measures restricting the export of fertilisers to third countries, including the military destruction of export infrastructure through Ukraine.

In this context, the Commission plans to adopt a communication on fertilisers which will address the situation on the EU market and globally.

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**Norbert Lins**, *im Namen der PPE-Fraktion*. – Frau Präsidentin, Frau Kommissarin, Herr Minister, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Der Oktober ist der Monat des Erntedanks. Letzten Sonntag war Welternährungstag. Es gibt einen Grund, wieso wir diese Anlässe alljährlich feiern, nämlich der, dass unser tägliches Brot und die Verfügbarkeit von frischen und gesunden Lebensmitteln nicht selbstverständlich sind. Ich weiß, ich wiederhole mich, aber an dieser Stelle will ich noch einmal unseren europäischen Bäuerinnen und Bauern danken. Sie haben zunächst während der Pandemie und dann mit der Ukrainekrise gezeigt, dass sie unsere Versorgung mit Lebensmitteln sicherstellen können, trotz aller Schwierigkeiten.

In der Kommission scheint mir das Thema Ernährungssicherheit noch immer nicht die Bedeutung gewonnen zu haben, die es verdient. Man denke nur an das monatelange Ringen, die GLÖZ-7- und GLÖZ-8-Standards für die Fruchtfolge und das Stilllegen für nächstes Jahr auszusetzen, sodass unsere europäische Landwirtschaft ihren Beitrag für die Ernährungssicherung in der Welt leisten kann. Mit der SUR und dem *nature restoration law* warten aber schon die nächsten beiden Brocken auf die Bäuerinnen und Bauern, welche auf lange Sicht leider weniger als mehr Lebensmittel auf unseren Tischen bedeuten. Anders ausgedrückt: Egal, was dieses Jahr an Sicherung der Ernährung hätte gemacht werden können, die Kommission scheint das Thema Ernährungssicherheit immer noch nicht ganz oben auf die Agenda setzen zu wollen. Der Rest der Welt wird dies mit Erstaunen festgestellt haben.

Positiv hervorzuheben sind die *Solidarity Lanes*. Die Kommission muss schauen, dass der Ausbau der selbigen vorangetrieben wird. Denn ob die Getreidekorridore, welche seit knapp drei Monaten die Ausfuhr von Getreide aus der Ukraine per Schiff ermöglichen, weiter einfach so funktionieren, steht aus meiner Sicht in den Sternen. Die Weltgemeinschaft sollte sicherstellen, dass dies auch weiterhin möglich ist. Verlassen würde ich mich aber nicht darauf.

#### SĒDI VADA: ROBERTS ZĪLE

*Priekšsēdētājas vietnieks*

**Udo Bullmann**, *im Namen der S&D-Fraktion*. – Frau Kommissarin, Herren Präsidenten, werte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! *Leave No One Behind* — das war das Motto des Welternährungstags am 16. Oktober 2022. Niemand soll zurückbleiben.

Aber wie sieht die Wirklichkeit aus? Rund 830 Millionen Menschen hungern jeden Tag. Über 340 Millionen sind von einer akuten Hungersnot bedroht. Und rund 50 Millionen Menschen warten unmittelbar auf den Tod, es sei denn, es geschieht etwas Entscheidendes.

Hinter diesen Zahlen, werte Kolleginnen und Kollegen, stehen Menschenleben. Menschen, die nicht sterben müssten, weil diese Erde genug für alle hat. Und solange Menschen diesem Schicksal entgegengehen, solange nur ein Kind an Hunger sterben muss, ist diese Welt im Krieg. Im Krieg – dort, wo Waffen töten, aber auch dort, wo lautlos gestorben wird, weil Menschen das zum Überleben Notwendige vorenthalten wird.

Deswegen dürfen wir keine Ruhe geben, Kolleginnen und Kollegen. Und wir müssen handeln. Im Moment bringen wir nur rund 20 % der Mittel für humanitäre Hilfe auf, die es braucht. Die EU hat 100 Millionen zusätzlich zur Verfügung gestellt. Das ist gut. Aber wir müssen weitergehen und die Lücken schließen. Wir müssen die Extra-Gewinne abschöpfen. Es gibt unendlich viele neue Milliardäre im Big Business des Agrarsektors. Und wir müssen die Landwirtschaft nachhaltig machen, sodass sie diejenigen ernähren kann, die uns als Erzeuger ... *(Der Präsident entzieht dem Redner das Wort.)*

**Ulrike Müller**, *im Namen der Renew-Fraktion*. – Herr Präsident! Für die allermeisten Menschen in Europa war in den letzten Jahrzehnten die gesicherte Versorgung mit extrem günstigen und hochwertigsten Lebensmitteln eine Selbstverständlichkeit. Die COVID-Pandemie hat die Lieferketten bedroht. Eine große Kraftanstrengung war nötig, um die Versorgung mit lebensnotwendigen Dingen flächendeckend sicherzustellen. Hier gilt es zunächst, ein großes Lob an alle Beteiligten der Wertschöpfungskette der Ernährung auszusprechen, vor allem an die Bauernfamilien, ohne deren zuverlässige Arbeit die Versorgung nicht möglich wäre.

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Herausforderungen können nur durch ein beherztes und mutiges Handeln gemeistert werden. Und dies ist auch jetzt mit dem Krieg gegen die Ukraine nötig. Im November treffen sich 50 Agrarminister auf der OECD-Tagung, um die weltweite Nahrungsmittelkrise zu lösen. Ich möchte die Kommission fragen, was die Antwort der EU darauf ist. Zusammenarbeit und Koordination zwischen den G20-Mitgliedern müssen wir verstärken – natürlich. Wir müssen aber auch alle Mittel nutzen, um die Lebensmittelproduktion in der EU zu stärken. Maßnahmen sind vor allem im Bereich der Düngemittel erforderlich. Die Richtlinie über kommunales Wasser muss Phosphor separieren und in der Landwirtschaft wiederverwerten. Wir brauchen mehr organische Dünger und mehr Produktion von Biogas.

Auch in der Handelspolitik besteht Korrekturbedarf. Die Ernährungssicherheit muss bei der Flächennutzung beachtet werden. Ich möchte die Kommission fragen, wie sie die Vorschläge für die Wiederherstellung, die Entwaldung und das Bodengesundheitsgesetz miteinander in Einklang bringen will, damit die Ernährungssicherheit innerhalb der Europäischen Union nicht gefährdet wird.

**Benoît Bîteau**, *au nom du groupe Verts/ALE*. – Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Ministre, Madame la Commissaire, chers collègues, je voudrais d'abord saluer un point fort des conclusions du G20 agricole: les systèmes alimentaires durables sont la clé de la sécurité alimentaire. J'espère que cette affirmation simple sera plus audible pour les tenants, dans cette assemblée, du statu quo agricole si elle vient précisément du G20.

Cela dit, il y a une grande absente de ces conclusions: la spéculation financière sur l'alimentation. Évidemment, la guerre a et a toujours eu un impact majeur sur les cours agricoles. Le changement climatique, de plus en plus sévère, amplifie de façon inquiétante les menaces de crises toujours plus récurrentes. Mais comme à chaque crise alimentaire, certains profitent honteusement du chaos pour accroître leurs profits. Comment pouvons-nous accepter plus longtemps que les spéculateurs s'enrichissent alors qu'en Europe, les queues devant les banques alimentaires s'allongent et que, partout dans le monde, des centaines de millions d'hommes, de femmes et d'enfants subissent les affres de la faim?

Heureusement, nous pouvons encore y mettre un terme. Ce Parlement sera bientôt amené à se prononcer sur la révision du cadre réglementaire sur les marchés financiers. Alors, chers collègues, ne ratons pas l'occasion d'exclure de ces pratiques cyniques et indécentes l'accès à la nourriture.

**Rosanna Conte**, *a nome del gruppo ID*. – Signor Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, pochi mesi: è il tempo che è bastato per far precipitare la sicurezza alimentare mondiale. La guerra in Ucraina, la carenza globale, il panico generale.

Con un effetto a catena, le grandi potenze hanno iniziato a vietare le esportazioni agricole. Cina, India, Malesia e Stati Uniti hanno deciso di tutelarsi a danno di chi, come l'Unione europea, contava su questi prodotti. Infatti, in pochi mesi, l'Unione europea si è trovata ad affrontare una crisi che coinvolge combustibili, fertilizzanti e alimenti, in particolare grano, mais e oli vegetali. Queste materie prime stanno registrando scorte basse, produzione ridotta e catene di approvvigionamento interrotte.

Cosa fare? A livello globale, il vertice G20 a Bali ha chiesto un impegno formale alle principali economie mondiali per concentrarsi sulla sicurezza alimentare e revocare le restrizioni commerciali. A livello europeo, dobbiamo rivedere le politiche di approvvigionamento portate avanti finora, fortemente dipendenti dall'estero, bisogna ricominciare a produrre e potenziare la nostra sovranità alimentare.

Da italiana, voglio lodare i progressi in campo tecnologico e digitale del nostro settore agricolo che, unendo innovazione e tradizione, continua a fornirci prodotti sicuri e di qualità. Produzioni locali che dobbiamo valorizzare, non sabotare dall'interno con follie come il Nutri-Score, che ingrassano le multinazionali a danno dei cittadini.

Ora è il momento di concretezza, per assicurare il cibo sulle nostre tavole. Basta ideologia.

**Zbigniew Kuźmiuk**, *w imieniu grupy ECR*. – Panie Przewodniczący! Pani Komisarz! Panie Ministrze ! Nie ulega wątpliwości, że w związku z pandemią COVID, a także agresją Rosji na Ukrainę, świat znalazł się w stanie globalnego kryzysu bezpieczeństwa żywnościowego. Jeżeli 40% importu pszenicy do Afryki pochodziło z dwóch krajów, to znaczy właśnie z Rosji i Ukrainy, jeżeli 50% zapotrzebowania na zboże Światowego Programu Żywnościowego pochodziło z Ukrainy, to agresja Rosji na Ukrainę spowodowała pełną destabilizację na rynku żywnościowym. Co więcej, Rosja zrobiła wszystko, żeby zdestabilizować rynek żywnościowy, niszcząc zasiewy na Ukrainie i niszcząc infrastrukturę, a na koniec blokując także porty czarnomorskie. Szkoda w takim razie, że na Bali podczas spotkania ministrów rolnictwa grupy G20 nie udało się wskazać Rosji jako głównego sprawcy tego, co się dzieje na rynku żywnościowym.

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W tej sytuacji należy rzeczywiście podkreślić ogromną rolę Unii Europejskiej w budowaniu korytarzy solidarnościowych, tych drogą lądową, a później udział także w negocjacjach powodujących odblokowanie portów czarnomorskich.

Cały wysiłek Unii Europejskiej, Komisji Europejskiej powinien pójść w stronę zwiększenia możliwości produkcyjnych europejskiego rolnictwa. Dobrym krokiem jest zawieszenie odłogowania gruntów czy też zapowiadana przez komisarza Wojciechowskiego strategia nawozowa. Miejmy nadzieję, że wyjdzie ona naprzeciw oczekiwaniom rolników. W świetle tego na przykład projekt rozporządzenia redukującego zużycie pestycydów, jeszcze w tak absurdalny sposób, że o 50% we wszystkich krajach, niezależnie od tego, ile tych pestycydów zużywają, jest po prostu nie do przyjęcia.

**Sandra Pereira**, em nome do Grupo The Left. – Senhor Presidente, as conclusões dos ministros da agricultura do G20 estão muito longe de responder à atual situação de emergência e de escassez alimentar que alguns povos sentem. Pelo contrário, as medidas apontadas procuram apenas satisfazer mais um mercado, o das inovações e da agricultura tecnológica.

Mais uma vez, vemos os líderes mundiais a curvarem-se, a regozijarem-se com a perspectiva de abertura ao agronegócio, à agricultura intensiva, agora, com o pretexto do acesso às novas tecnologias.

O velho problema da escassez alimentar e da falta de segurança e soberania alimentares é resultado da agenda neoliberal, que prioriza os lucros corporativos, em detrimento das necessidades dos povos e dos pequenos agricultores. É, pois, necessário mudar a lógica de produção em função do lucro para a produção em função da necessidade, alterar o modelo de produção, ou concretizar uma política que assegure aos pequenos e médios produtores a garantia de preços justos e compensadores e garantir o direito à alimentação saudável e adequada, assegurando a soberania e a segurança alimentares dos povos.

E sobre isto o G20 nada disse!

**Herbert Dorfmann (PPE)**. – Herr Präsident, Frau Vizepräsidentin, Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Zugang zu gesunden Lebensmitteln ist nicht ein Luxus, das ist ein Menschenrecht. Und es bleibt unsere Verpflichtung, alles dafür zu tun, damit dieses Recht allen Menschen in der Welt zukommt und niemand Hunger leiden muss oder gar daran sterben muss. Und da waren wir eigentlich auf einem guten Weg. In den letzten Jahren war Hunger in der Welt eigentlich kaum mehr eine Frage der Verfügbarkeit von Lebensmitteln, sondern es war eine Folge von Konflikten und von Krisen, welche eine Verteilung oft unmöglich gemacht haben.

Seitdem aber die Versorgung aus der Ukraine – einem der größten Lebensmittelexporteure der Welt – ausgefallen ist, sehen wir, wie schnell wir auch wieder in ein Problem der Verfügbarkeit hineinschlittern können. Weniger Angebot treibt die Preise in die Höhe. Viele Staaten können dann finanziell nicht mehr mithalten. Und deshalb brauchen wir jetzt auch kurzfristige finanzielle Maßnahmen, um diesen Staaten unter die Arme zu greifen. Und ich denke, die in Bali auf der G20-Sitzung vorgeschlagene Finanzfazilität ist dringend notwendig und sinnvoll.

Aber wir müssen dann schon auch darüber nachdenken, wie wir mittel- und langfristig Menschen weltweit ernähren wollen. Und das wird nur gehen, wenn Landwirtschaft gleichzeitig nachhaltig und eben auch intensiv und produktiv ist. Jene, die glauben, wir könnten hier in Europa Landwirtschaft so weit extensivieren, bis keine Produktion mehr übrig bleibt, müssen sich einfach bewusst sein, dass sie mit einer solchen Politik den Hunger in der Welt fördern. Deshalb brauchen wir eine Landwirtschaft, die gleichzeitig fortschrittsorientiert, wissenschaftsbasiert, nachhaltig, intensiv und produktiv ist.

**Hannes Heide (S&D)**. – Herr Präsident, Frau Kommissarin, Herr Minister! Auch von 2019 bis 2021 wurden genug Kalorien produziert, um die Weltbevölkerung zu ernähren. Demnach gibt es sogar einen Überschuss von 24 %. Dennoch steigt die Zahl der Menschen, die akut Hunger leiden, rasant und weiter an. Die aktuellsten Daten der Vereinten Nationen sind alarmierend. Die Ernährungsunsicherheit hat ein Zehnjahreshoch erreicht, angetrieben von steigenden Lebensmittel- und Energiekosten und auch von den Folgen des Krieges. Aber grundsätzlich haben wir genug Lebensmittel auf dieser Welt. Das Problem ist der Zugang dazu, ihre Verteilung. Und Hunger ist die direkte Folge von Armut. Drei Beispiele, wie drastisch sich Klimawandel, Kriege und Inflation in ohnehin gebeutelten AKP-Staaten auswirken: Im Sudan stiegen die Lebensmittelpreise innerhalb eines Jahres um fast 150 %, in Äthiopien um 50 %, auf den Salomonen haben sich Reis- und Milchpreise verdreifacht.

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Mit der Zusage eines Zuschusses von 100 Millionen Euro für den Treuhandfonds Armutsbekämpfung und Wachstum des IWF hat die Europäische Union letzte Woche rasch gehandelt. Das ist ein erster Schritt. Es braucht jedoch zusätzliche Finanzmittel, Schuldenerlassprogramme und eine effektive Bekämpfung der Korruption. Denn es sind 50 Milliarden Dollar erforderlich, um die akute Ernährungsunsicherheit in den nächsten zwölf Monaten zu beenden. Niemand soll an Hunger leiden, weder in Afrika, weder in Europa noch sonst wo auf dieser Welt.

**Dacian Cioloș (Renew).** – Doamnă vicepreședintă, criza alimentară a început înainte de izbucnirea războiului în Ucraina. Războiul nu face decât să accentueze o criză alimentară care era deja prezentă în mai multe regiuni din lume.

De altfel, în ultimii ani, din 2015 încoace, vedem că ne îndepărtăm de obiectivul de a pune capăt foametei și securității alimentare, obiectiv pe care ni l-am fixat.

Și asta arată că sistemul alimentar pe care încercăm să îl construim și la nivel global este unul fragil. În politica noastră de parteneriat, faptul de a furniza doar *input*-uri țărilor partenere nu o să ne ajute să eradicăm foamea pe termen lung. Evident, în situații de criză, cum e cea prezentă, trebuie să intervenim cu ajutoare alimentare acolo unde este urgent nevoie.

Însă, pe termen mediu, pe termen lung, trebuie să ne gândim la o politică de investiții în primul rând coerentă, să recunoaștem faptul că, așa cum noi, în Uniunea Europeană avem o diversitate de modele agricole, așa există și în țările partenere și să recunoaștem și să integrăm această diversitate în politica noastră de cooperare și de parteneriat și, în același timp, să ne asigurăm că avem coerență între politicile noastre europene, între politica agricolă, politica de mediu.

Trebuie să permitem agricultorilor să producă și să ne gândim și la durabilitate, dar și politica comercială și politica de pe lanțul alimentar trebuie să fie coerente, altfel nu o să ne atingem obiectivul.

**Martin Häusling (Verts/ALE).** – Herr Präsident, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! 828 Millionen Menschen hungern, wissen nicht, was sie morgen zu essen haben. Unsere primäre Aufgabe muss sein, das *World Food Programme* entsprechend auszustatten, dass wir akute Hilfe leisten. Aber wir müssen uns auch den langfristigen Ursachen zuwenden – warum hungern so viele Menschen? Ein Grund ist die Klimakatastrophe. Man schaue sich nur in Afrika um. Viele Länder haben gar keine Ernten mehr. Deshalb ist der Kampf gegen die Klimakatastrophe unsere vordringliche Aufgabe.

Putin, ja, nutzt Hunger als Instrument im Krieg. Aber wir müssen auch ganz klar sehen: Armut ist die Hauptursache für Hunger. Ungerechte Verteilung von Nahrung ist ein Kernproblem. Und deshalb müssen wir uns damit beschäftigen: Wie gehen wir eigentlich mit Nahrungsmitteln in Europa um? Wir geben immer noch Getreide in den Tank. Wir geben immer noch viel Getreide in den Futtertrog – das muss sich ändern. Und wir müssen vor allem auch unsere Systeme nachhaltig machen. Das geht nur mit agrarökologischen Systemen. Wir müssen damit aufhören, dass unsere Landwirtschaft in vielen Bereichen extrem abhängig ist von fossiler Energie. Davon müssen wir wegkommen. Und dann haben wir wirklich nachhaltige Agrarsysteme, auch in Europa.

**Hermann Tertsch (ECR).** – Señor presidente, por supuesto que la guerra es un problema más, pero nuestros problemas con la agricultura y con la alimentación nos los estamos causando fundamentalmente nosotros.

Los políticos de la Unión Europea y el Pacto Verde están contribuyendo de forma sustancial a esta crisis alimentaria que se extiende por todo el mundo, una crisis que ya estaba presente antes de la invasión y que ahora ya nadie puede ocultar. Muy pronto, beber un vaso de agua será un lujo en los países de la Unión Europea como consecuencia de aplicar un modelo agrícola irracional donde se presenta al agricultor como el enemigo número uno del medio ambiente, a la productividad como un tabú y a la rentabilidad de las explotaciones como un aspecto marginal o sin importancia.

En España estamos viendo que cada día se da una puñalada a nuestro sector primario, a nuestra agricultura, a nuestra pesca. Lo estamos viendo. España era realmente el granero y el productor agrícola del Imperio romano, y ahora vamos a acabar siendo Sri Lanka como sigamos así con la política de la Unión Europea. Recordemos todos Sri Lanka.

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**Anja Hazekamp (The Left).** – Voorzitter, wereldwijd wordt er voldoende voedsel geproduceerd om iedereen te voeden. Maar dan moeten we allemaal andere voedselkeuzes maken en het voedsel beter verdelen.

Dat bereiken we dus niet door Oekraïense graanscheppen naar Nederland te laten komen om onze plofkoppen vet te mesten, terwijl overal ter wereld mensen sterven van de honger.

Dat bereiken we dus niet door driekwart van onze landbouwgrond te gebruiken voor het voeren van miljarden dieren in de vee-industrie, terwijl we ook direct voedsel voor mensen kunnen verbouwen.

Dat bereiken we dus niet door vier grote bedrijven de wereldwijde graanhandel te laten domineren.

Dat bereiken we niet door iedere dag honderden kleinschalige boeren failliet te laten gaan, terwijl een handjevol grote voedselbedrijven miljarden winst maken.

En dat bereiken we niet zolang veel politici hier braaf zeggen wat de lobbyisten van de industrie hen in de wandelgangen hebben ingefluisterd. Schaamteloos.

Beste commissaris, houd uw rug recht. Maak haast met de beloofde kaderwet voor duurzaam voedsel, want alleen zo garanderen we voedselzekerheid.

**Anne Sander (PPE).** – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Commissaire, depuis le début de la guerre en Ukraine, nous nous sommes rappelés que manger à sa faim doit être notre priorité. Lors de la crise de 2008 et l'éclatement des premières émeutes de la faim dans les pays arabes, l'arme alimentaire avait déjà montré son pouvoir majeur de déstabilisation politique. Cette menace qui pèse sur le monde n'est donc pas à prendre à la légère.

En Europe, nous avons depuis longtemps oublié cette réalité. Or, si les Européens ont aujourd'hui de quoi se nourrir, c'est bien le fruit d'une politique agricole, cependant vivement critiquée. Et dès le début du conflit ukrainien, l'Europe a su, là encore, trouver des solutions concrètes en aidant à libérer des céréales jusque-là bloquées en Ukraine. Ce sont des mesures d'urgence qui ont été prises, mais il nous faut maintenant des solutions pérennes pour assurer la sécurité alimentaire des pays les plus pauvres.

Je voudrais donc reprendre à mon compte l'une des ambitions affichées du directeur général de la FAO, qui soutient la nécessité de développer le recours aux nouvelles technologies et notamment génétiques. C'est un levier important pour assurer une meilleure résilience de nos systèmes agroalimentaires et augmenter la production dans les pays qui en ont le plus besoin. J'invite donc la Commission à faire preuve de courage sur ce sujet-là et à être à la hauteur des enjeux qui nous attendent en nous faisant des propositions rapidement.

**Isabel Carvalhais (S&D).** – Senhor Presidente, caros colegas, sabemos hoje que há 75 a 95 milhões de pessoas, novas pessoas, a viver na condição de pobreza extrema; há mais 150 milhões de pessoas em subnutrição crónica; há cerca de 828 milhões de pessoas afetadas por diferentes níveis de fome.

Ora, todos os ministros da agricultura do G20 se mostraram cientes destes dados e conhecem bem as múltiplas razões que explicam esta condição tão dramática de insegurança alimentar de milhões de pessoas. Sabem que isto está nas alterações climáticas, mas também está na pandemia, mas também está na ganância, também está na especulação e também está nas guerras.

E, por isso, não posso deixar de lamentar, por exemplo, que os mesmos Estados não tenham sido capazes de concordar, de uma forma clara e inequívoca, quanto à condenação da agressão russa à Ucrânia e das suas graves repercussões sobre a produção agrícola, a segurança alimentar e a nutrição de milhões de pessoas. É esta hipocrisia que nós não podemos aceitar e seguramente estamos atentos a ela.

**Martin Hlaváček (Renew).** – Pane předsedající, pane ministře, vy jste se tady zaklínal cenovou dostupností potravin. Tak já se ptám, proč to neděláte?

Vy reprezentujete vládu, která snížila podpory zemědělcům, těm, kteří produkují potraviny, a dala je těm, kteří žádné potraviny neprodukují. Vládu, která nepomohla s cenami vstupů, vládu, která má nejvyšší DPH na potraviny v Evropě – to jsou fakta –, a vládu, která způsobila, že v průběhu několika měsíců tohoto roku potravinová inflace dokonce předstihla inflaci energetickou. To je rekord.



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A co je nejhorší? Necháte ještě padnout malé a střední české producenty potravin. Jste asi poslední vládou v Evropě, která také miluje obchodní řetězce víc než vlastní občany. My je tady naštěstí tolik nemilujeme. Tak já bych chtěl jenom poprosit, abyste buď začali dělat to, co tady v Evropě říkáte, anebo abyste se tady paní komisařce raději příliš nepletl pod ruce, až budeme řešit ceny potravin.

**Thomas Waitz (Verts/ALE).** – Herr Präsident, werde Kommission, werter Rat! Wenn ein einziger Produzent ausfällt im Welternährungssystem, so wie die Ukraine zumindest zum Teil ausgefallen ist, dann gerät das gesamte globale Ernährungssystem in Bedrängnis. Da sieht man, auf welch tönernen Beinen das steht. Der Großteil der Ausfälle global ist dem Klimawandel geschuldet, auch heuer in Europa. Wir haben einen Rückgang in der Getreideproduktion aufgrund von Dürre, die klimawandelbedingt ist.

Können wir in dieser Situation, wo viele Gegenden dieser Welt von Hunger bedroht sind, nach wie vor verantworten, dass wir 20 % unserer Getreideproduktion in den Tank leeren? Können wir nach wie vor verantworten, dass wir 60 % des Getreides an Tiere verfüttern? Ich rede nicht darüber, dass wir Tiere halten, auf Grünland, auf Bergmähdern oder in nördlichen Regionen. Dort ist das richtig. Nur das Getreide sollten wir für die Ernährung von Menschen verwenden, vor allem, wenn Hunger droht.

Wir müssen uns dessen bewusst sein, dass wir jedes Jahr hunderttausende Hektar an Land verlieren aufgrund einer leider zerstörerischen Monokultur, industriellen Landwirtschaft, aufgrund von Bodenerosion, Verwüstung der Regionen, Bodenversalzung. Und in einer Welt mit steigender Weltbevölkerung derartig unseren Boden zu ruinieren, halte ich für verantwortungslos. Also Agrarökologie und biologische Landwirtschaft!

**Krzysztof Jurgiel (ECR).** – Panie Przewodniczący! Pani Komisarz! Co roku przed każdym szczytem ministrowie rolnictwa państw G20 spotykają się, aby określić główne tematy, które znajdą się w ich oświadczeniu stanowiącym wsparcie informacyjne dla przywódców G20. Pytanie – czy podsumowanie przewodniczącego jako wynik szczytu może stanowić wsparcie informacyjne w dyskusji podczas kolejnego szczytu przywódców, skoro nie udało się wydać wspólnego oświadczenia?

Mam wątpliwość, czy propozycje dotyczące promocji rolnictwa, handlu czy rolnictwa cyfrowego są zgodne z polityką rolną Unii Europejskiej oraz Europejskim Zielonym Ładem i czy zapewnią równą konkurencję i bezpieczeństwo żywnościowe. W związku z powyższym wnioskuję do pani komisarz, aby w listopadowym szczycie G20 wziął udział premier Polski Mateusz Morawiecki, aby mógł zaprezentować na forum G20 spojrzenie Polski i innych krajów Trójmorza na bezpieczeństwo żywnościowe na świecie, a także przedstawić dotychczasowe działania w tym zakresie w sprawie pomocy Ukrainie.

Po raz kolejny zwracam uwagę, że w Europie obowiązuje niesprawiedliwy system dopłat bezpośrednich, który narusza zasadę niedyskryminacji obywateli ze względu na przynależność państwową oraz narusza zakaz dyskryminacji między producentami wewnątrz Unii.

**Luke Ming Flanagan (The Left).** – Mr President, good news. I come from Ireland. We are number one in the world when it comes to the global food security index. Fantastic news. Brilliant news. Especially when you come from a country where we were scattered all around the planet because of a famine.

But I have to question what does food security mean? In Ireland we eat lots of potatoes, but we don't produce enough for ourselves, we import 72 000 tonnes; 47 000 tonnes of onions, 23 000 tonnes of cabbage. We like flour, we eat lots of bread, we don't produce our flour. We like sugar, we don't produce our sugar. We don't produce any of it.

We do produce lots of dairy and lots of beef, but we can't actually feed our own animals. Now remember, we're number one when it comes to global food security. Thomas Waitz said something very interesting there. One country. One country, and we virtually have chaos in the world when it comes to food security.

So what is food security or is it different? Are we looking for food sovereignty? Because remember, we're number one in Ireland and we can't actually feed ourselves. How the hell is that security?

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**Colm Markey (PPE).** – Mr President, Commissioner, fellow Members, we've all seen the dramatic increase in food prices. Unfortunately for some, increased food prices mean unaffordability and mean hunger. Two hundred million people already face food insecurity, and that's only set to get worse. There are a number of things that are critical to address in food security.

The UN-brokered Black Sea grain deal has been a great success. Seven million tonnes of grain have been exported from the Ukraine, and have been vital for the vulnerable. However, this deal is set to end in November. It is vital that we ensure that this deal continues and that the true value of this deal will only be really achieved in the long term. We cannot let Putin link vital humanitarian action with economic sanctions.

Equally, fertiliser must pass, it plays a very important part: 60% of food production is dependent on fertiliser. Essentially, if with no fertiliser, with no food. But it's not just about the war. We have other challenges as well in the longer term: climate, sustainability, a growing population.

We must act now. In the long term, we must create a sustainable model. We must recognise the critical interplay between food, energy and sustainability. We must invest in new technologies that will help us address the challenges. And we must continue to use fertiliser, pesticides and other aid to production in a sensible, sustainable way.

And critically, in the short term, we must continue to get our grain exports out of Ukraine, and we must ensure that we have fertiliser next spring. Communication, words are not enough; we need action now, not next spring, if we are to ensure our food security in the coming weeks, months and years ahead.

**Maria Noichl (S&D).** – Sehr geehrter Herr Präsident, liebe Kommissarin! Mit Hunger gibt es keinen Frieden, das wissen wir alle. Und gegen Hunger zu kämpfen, ist Friedenspolitik Nummer eins. Aber im Schatten dieser Krise, die wir momentan haben, im Schatten wird auch jetzt Parteipolitik gemacht. Es wird behauptet, Hunger wird gestillt, wenn wir hier in Europa auf 4 % Brachfläche verzichten. Es wird behauptet, Hunger wird gestillt, wenn wir hier die Fruchtfolge nicht einhalten. Ich halte das für scheinheilig. Nachhaltige Lebensmittelsysteme sind viel umfassender grundgelegt. Zum Beispiel müssen wir endlich wegkommen von unserem Sojaimport. Nachhaltige Lebensmittelsysteme können sich nicht auf massiven Import stützen. Das funktioniert nicht. Wir müssen wegkommen davon, dass wir die Hände auf den Flächen anderer haben. Wir leben doch von den Flächen anderer. Warum wird das nicht thematisiert?

Wir müssen Länder unterstützen, dass sie sich selbst ernähren können. Natürlich gibt es auch mal Krisen, da muss von auswärts Nahrung zugeführt werden. Aber normalerweise muss es sein, dass sich Länder selbst ernähren. Vor allen Dingen brauchen wir eine Handelspolitik, die auf Augenhöhe ist. Hunger kann nur und zwar ausschließlich vor Ort gestillt werden. Das muss man erst mal begreifen und dann danach handeln.

**Asger Christensen (Renew).** – Hr. formand! Fru kommissær! 70% af den europæiske gødningsindustri er lukket. Det har allerede fået store konsekvenser for landmændene, og fødevarekrisen forværres. Vi har nu fået lukket op for korneksporten fra Ukraine, men det er slet ikke nok. Hvis vi ikke handler nu, så bliver situationen i 2023 meget, meget værre. Den helt almindelige europæer ser i øjeblikket, at fødevarepriserne stiger og stiger. I tredjeverdenslande vil millioner af mennesker gå sultne i seng. Vi ser ind i en tid med udbredt hungersnød. Vi ser ind i en tid, hvor vi risikerer store migrationsstrømme til Europa, hvis vi ikke handler nu. Derfor skal vi prioritere energien til gødningsindustrien. Samtidig skal vi sikre, at vores europæiske kollegaer kan købe gødning til en fornuftig pris, så vi kan afhjælpe fødevarekrisen. At fylde tallerkenen er lige så vigtig som, at der er energi nok til at varme husene op. At gamble med fødevarer sikkerhed kan føre til kaos i hele Europa. Jeg vil bare lige minde om, at tre dages brødmangel i Paris skabte den franske revolution.

**Michaela Šojdrová (PPE).** – Mr President, dear colleagues, Ms Commissioner, Mr Minister, food security became a topical issue for the EU and for all world leaders. The situation that would have already been hard due to the impact of climate change and COVID-19 pandemic is now even more severe due to the Russian aggression and the disruption of crop markets.

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The European Union must ensure food security for European citizens and also support countries that do not have sufficient resources. According to the World Food Programme, it is estimated that by 2022, up to 345 million people will be food insecure. War is the reason why we fear that the situation will get worse. I am convinced that green agriculture policies must not go aside. The goals of the Green Deal and Farm to Fork are long term.

However, since February this year, ensuring food security is again a crucial issue, and we should temporarily relax some environmental measures. I agree with postponing obligations to rotate crops to leave 4% of the arable land set aside or to reduce the amount of used pesticides. We call for using new genomic techniques in European agriculture. It is the duty for the European Commission. Of course, we all know that peace is the precondition of food security and we all should thank and support our European farmers.

**Karsten Lucke (S&D).** – Herr Präsident! Wir haben heute viele Aspekte über den Hunger in der Welt gehört. Ich glaube aber, wir brauchen tatsächlich einen noch stärkeren Gesinnungswandel und vor allen Dingen ein echtes und wirkliches Tun, in das wir kommen müssen. Über 800 Millionen Menschen hungern weltweit, aber wir haben Rekordproduktion von Essen auf diesem Planeten, schwindelerregende Nahrungsmittelverschwendung, Kriege, Konflikte, die Armut und Instabilität schüren, den Klimawandel, ländliche Bevölkerung, die mit miesen Arbeitsbedingungen und ohne soziale Absicherung lebt, und, und, und.

Die Liste rund um den Hunger in der Welt ist leider immer noch lang und umfangreich und beschämend. Also: *change of mindset* und proaktives Handeln. Nahrungsmittel sind für Menschen da und kein Spekulationsobjekt. Wir brauchen Anerkennung und Unterstützung von lokalen Nahrungsmittelerzeugerinnen und -erzeugern. Und weitere Stichworte: hin zu mehr Agrarökologie, Ausbau von Landrechten, Würdigung der Rolle der Frau in der lokalen Produktion und Ausbau ihrer Rechte, eine Rückbesinnung auf traditionelles Saatgut. Und abschließend: Agrarwirtschaft muss im Globalen Süden auch wieder attraktiv für junge Menschen werden. Das Problem des Hungers ist und bleibt riesig. Wir haben eine Menge an Lösungsmöglichkeiten in unserer Toolbox. Was wir brauchen, ist ein viel konsequenteres Handeln.

**Атидже Алиева-Вели (Renew).** – Г-н Председател, г-жо Комисар, срещата на Г-20 поставя акцент върху продоволствената сигурност и глобалните предизвикателства, свързани с нея. Войната в Украйна ясно ни показва, че Европейският съюз се нуждае от цялостен подход за гарантиране на продоволствената сигурност, а в дългосрочен план и осигуряване на продоволствена независимост.

За да сме сигурни, че храната ще бъде достъпна и налична е необходимо ускоряване на трансформацията към устойчиви земеделие и производствени системи, които са способни да издържат на сътресения и кризи. Решаващо за европейските фермери в момента е продължаване на антикризисното подпомагане, особено на най-засегнатите – животновъдите и малките стопанства, както и определяне на нови по-високи тавани за държавни помощи. Колеги, в заключение ми позволете да завърша с една българска поговорка „Никой не е по-голям от хляба и никой не бива да бъде лишаван от него.“

**Marlene Mortler (PPE).** – Sehr geehrter Herr Präsident, liebe Frau Kommissarin, Kollegen! Wir brauchen weltweit nicht weniger, sondern mehr Landwirtschaft. Ja, ich teile diese Einschätzung von Prof. Dr. Dr. Rademacher vom *Club of Rome*. Denn wenn wir das Megathema globale Ernährungssicherheit den Ideologen und Aktivisten überlassen, kommen wir immer weiter weg vom Menschenrecht Nahrung für alle. Die Welt wächst jeden Monat um 9 Millionen Menschen. Das geht auch nicht mit mehr Verboten und Stilllegungen wie zum Beispiel in Europa.

Trauen wir unseren Bauern einfach mehr zu. Es braucht mehr Wissenschaft, mehr Innovation, mehr Investitionen für eine nachhaltige Landwirtschaft, für widerstandsfähige Agrarlebensmittelsysteme. Die Verfügbarkeit von Düngemitteln und Pflanzenschutzmitteln für gesunde Pflanzen, ihr effizienter Einsatz und auch die Reduzierung von Nahrungsmittelverlusten und weniger Verschwendung sind essenziell. Wir müssen vermeiden, dass eine Krise beim Zugang zu Nahrungsmitteln auch zu einer Krise bei der Verfügbarkeit von Nahrungsmitteln wird, so der Generaldirektor der FAO. Steigende Lebensmittelpreise für den Verbraucher und steigende Inputpreise für die Landwirte haben jetzt schon verheerende Auswirkungen auf die weltweite Ernährungssicherheit. Umso mehr ist es unsere Aufgabe, verfügbare und erschwingliche Nahrungsmittel für alle zu gewährleisten und zu fördern. Die EU-Kommission muss sich hier endlich ihrer Verantwortung bewusst werden, und zwar aus vollem Herzen und nicht nur aus halbem.

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**Pierre Karleskind (Renew).** – Monsieur le Président, il y a trois milliards d'individus dans le monde dont l'apport en protéines dépend de la pêche, dépend des océans. Et pourtant, quand on lit les conclusions de ce sommet du G20, il n'y a rien. Rien sur la pêche, rien sur l'aquaculture. (*Le Président interrompt l'orateur*) Et pour cause, nombre des pays autour de la table au G20 pratiquent allègrement et de façon industrielle la pêche illégale. Cette pêche illégale qui pille les ressources, qui met en péril sans arrêt la vie de ces trois milliards d'individus.

Et nous alors, dans tout cela? Nous, nous courons derrière nos pêcheurs pour vérifier la taille de chaque poisson, la maille de chaque filet, mais surtout, nous importons 70 % des produits de la mer que nous consommons. Dans le meilleur des cas, nous nous berçons de l'illusion qu'ils ont été pêchés de façon légale par d'autres, sur lesquels nous n'avons aucun contrôle. Mais nous devons nous rendre à l'évidence: à chaque fois que nous consommons un poisson qui vient de l'extérieur, nous piochons dans l'assiette de ces trois milliards d'individus. Il est grand temps, chers amis, qu'ici, dans l'Union européenne, nous posions sur la table la question de la contribution de la pêche et de l'aquaculture à la sécurité alimentaire globale.

**Daniel Buda (PPE).** – Apreciez foarte mult preocupările miniștrilor agriculturii, G20, dar acestea trebuie să fie urmate de implementarea unor politici echilibrate în sectorul agricol.

Războiul din Ucraina a perturbat piețele agricole și a accentuat situația deja gravă cauzată de Covid-19, exercitând o presiune suplimentară asupra securității alimentare și cauzând creșterea prețurilor la alimente.

Doamnă comisar, apreciez foarte mult observațiile dumneavoastră vizavi de problema fertilizanților și sunt perfect de acord cu ceea ce spuneți.

Dar astăzi fermierii sunt supuși unor presiuni crescânde din partea Comisiei Europene, iar Regulamentul privind reducerea utilizării pesticidelor și Directiva privind reducerea emisiilor industriale, vă atrag atenția, îi pot distruge iremediabil pe fermierii noștri și, implicit, vor provoca foamete și migrație.

Trebuie să înțelegem că acest război pornit de Rusia nu este doar un război purtat cu arme, ci și unul alimentară și energetic.

Populația lumii este într-o continuă dinamică, ajungând la peste 10 miliarde în 2050, ceea ce presupune, potrivit studiilor, creșterea producției agricole cu peste 70 % față de perioada actuală. Uniunea Europeană și statele lumii trebuie să ia măsuri rapide și concrete pentru a asigura securitatea alimentară atât la nivel european, cât și la nivel global. Cu alte cuvinte, trebuie să transformăm provocările în oportunități.

Pentru a asigura producția necesară, fermierii au nevoie însă de sprijin (și aici mă refer atât la fermierii din Uniunea Europeană, cât și la fermierii din afara Uniunii Europene).

Nu vreau să ajungem în situația în care litrul de lapte și kilogramul de carne să fie privite ca o piesă de muzeu, imposibil de atins pentru consumatorul larg, mai ales în zonele sărace ale lumii.

**Barry Andrews (Renew).** – Mr President, Commissioner, in the last global food security crisis, in 2008, 40 countries experienced civil unrest directly as a result. So when it comes to global food security, we as a Parliament have to ask ourselves one question. Should the European Union do all it can to ensure that people have physical and economic access to safe food?

And yet the humanitarian financing gap, the difference between needs and resources, has never been higher. Europe is clearly not doing everything it can. And while the commitments made by the G20 agriculture ministers are very welcome, there is clearly more to do. According to the World Hunger Index, published last week by Concern Worldwide and Welthungerhilfe, levels of world hunger are becoming catastrophic. Forty-four countries are facing serious or alarming levels of hunger. And just this evening, reports say that doctors on the ground expect a famine to be declared in Somalia next month.

And how has Europe responded? Well, we have responded by cutting development and humanitarian aid in the ongoing budget negotiations.

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**Stanislav Polčák (PPE).** – Pane predsedajúci, potravinová kríza je skutočne reálnou hrozbou a Európska únia musí učiniť všetko preto, aby ju eliminovala, aby ji čo najviac odvrátila. Je popohánaná nepochybné Putinovou vojnou, a predstavuje ohrozenie tisíců mŕtvých denne, desiatok miliónů ľudí v extrémnej chudobe, na ktoré dopadá kombinácia rôznych kríz geopolitických, klimatických, samozrejme energetických, čo všetko vedie ke zdražovaniu potravín.

Jsem přesvědčen, že Evropská unie má kapacity na to, aby dokázala – ve spolupráci samozřejmě s našimi partnery – tuto potravinovou krizi odvrátit a také aby zajistila bezpečnost zásobování potravin na evropské úrovni. To je samozřejmě jeden z dalších cílů. Soběstačnost je v řadě států iluze, ale pro EU to musí být jeden z těch základních úkolů.

**Irène Tolleret (Renew).** – Monsieur le Président, chers collègues, j'aimerais que le Parlement européen lance un appel aux États du G20 pour qu'ils prennent l'engagement ferme d'aider les pays les plus pauvres à renforcer leur sécurité alimentaire. Ces pays sont les premières victimes du chantage sur l'approvisionnement en nourriture exercé par Poutine dans sa guerre contre l'Ukraine.

À court terme, des mesures doivent être prises rapidement avec des initiatives telles que l'opération «sauvetage des cultures» promue par le gouvernement français. En effet, il faut suffisamment d'engrais pour que les pays plus pauvres puissent produire leur propre nourriture. À long terme, nous devons également les aider à se sevrer de leur dépendance à l'égard du reste du monde. Il est essentiel d'améliorer la durabilité et la résilience de leur production face au changement climatique.

Nous devons aussi investir dans la recherche et l'innovation. Je regrette donc que la proposition de la Commission européenne sur les nouvelles techniques d'édition génétiques ne soit pas attendue avant le dernier semestre 2023. Il est urgent de trouver des solutions efficaces pour réduire la consommation d'intrants, ce qui aurait un double avantage économique et environnemental.

*(End of catch-the-eye procedure)*

**Věra Jourová, Member of the Commission.** – Mr President, honourable Members, thank you for this rich debate. You have pointed to the multiple considerations that are at the heart of the food security crisis we are facing. Its complexity requires coherent and coordinated solutions. We need close collaboration between the EU institutions, Member States and also international partners.

Obviously, the European Parliament will also play an important role and we will strive to provide you with regular updates about the crisis and our response. We need to continue working with Member States in a Team Europe approach across the various dimensions of food security and to coordinate our response with global partners in the context of the United Nations, the G7, G20, and other forums.

Let me react to some of the comments or questions. First, on fertilisers. I want to repeat again that, for the beginning of November, the Commission is preparing a communication on fertilisers. The EU is supporting the development of organic fertilisers and plants which require less fertilisers.

Also, on the need to support farmers, the Member States will have the flexibility to take account of the new situation in their common agricultural policy strategic plans, which, as you know, are connected with the use of European agricultural funding.

The last reaction – on your comments on increase of production. We need to look at the current crisis and enable a production increase, but we also need to ensure long-term food security by transforming our food systems towards sustainability.

Honourable Members, there is no single solution to address this crisis. However, and we all know that the most effective step would be for Russia to stop immediately its military aggression and stop using food and energy as geopolitical weapons, which undermines food security worldwide.

Therefore, in close collaboration with you, we will keep the pressure on Russia and will support effective multilateral solutions to prevent a possible global food crisis.

**Mikuláš Bek, President-in-Office of the Council.** – Mr President, Vice-President of the Commission, honourable Members, ensuring global food security is a key priority for the EU, and I am pleased to see that Parliament shares our views on these matters.

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First of all, let me underline that I'm here in my capacity as Presidency of the Council, and I should not comment on the situation of individual Member States. I would expect that the distinction between the role of a representative of the Council and the role of a member of a national government is not only understood, but even respected by Members of this House.

Coming back to global food security, which is the topic of this debate, our actions to address food security are part of a wider effort by the international community, which must continue to be coordinated by the United Nations. We will keep working with our international partners to prevent further escalation of the food security crisis and to alleviate the immediate humanitarian needs.

We will keep supporting ongoing UN-led efforts to keep the Black Sea maritime route open for Ukrainian grain exports. This is crucial; the world needs Ukrainian cereals. In parallel, we will pursue our action to facilitate transport of Ukrainian grain overland through the solidarity lanes.

Beyond this food crisis and the immediate humanitarian needs, decisive action is needed to address the root causes of hunger, malnutrition and food insecurity in the world. We will step up our efforts to help vulnerable countries in making their food systems more resilient and reducing their import dependency.

**President.** – The debate on this item is closed.

*Written statements (Rule 171)*

**György Hölvényi (PPE), írásban.** – Az unió elsődleges kötelessége saját tagállamait segíteni a kiszámítható mezőgazdasági termelést. Emellett azonban nem feledkezhetünk meg afrikai partnerországainkról sem, ahol az egyre fokozódó éhínség újabb tömegek elvándorlási hullámot indíthat el.

Ukrajna és Oroszország együttesen adja a világ élelmiszerigényének 30%-át. Döntő jelentőségű, hogy miként használják ezt a hatalmi eszközt a háborús felek, mindenekelőtt Oroszországgal. Látnunk kell, a globális élelmiszerhiány, illetve az orosz és ukrán élelmiszerexporttól való függőség aránytalanul érinti Afrikát, hiszen itt a lakosság élelmiszerigényének mintegy 80%-át a kontinensen kívülről importálják, szinte teljes egészében Ukrajnából és Oroszországból.

Visszás helyzettel állunk szemben: Afrika kétmillió négyzetkilóméter megművelhető, de nem hasznosított földterülettel rendelkezik, mégis 278 millió embert fenyeget éhínség. A drámai helyzetet tovább súlyosbítja a kontinens szerte romló biztonsági helyzet. Etiópiában, a Száhel régióban és Nigériában is a fegyveres konfliktusok valamint a vallási szélsőségek fokozódó támadásai akadályozzák a gazdákat, hogy a földeken dolgozzanak.

Az afrikai élelmiszerbiztonság megeremtésére csak az afrikai válaszok jelenthetnek fenntartható megoldást! Az uniónak meg kell találnia a lehetőségeket arra, hogy az afrikai országokkal és más nemzetközi partnerekkel együttműködve segítse a kontinens mezőgazdasági termelésének megerősítését. Ehhez nélkülözhetetlen a helyi gazdák támogatása, a piaci hozzáférés javítása valamint a klímaváltozás hatásainak ellenállni képes mezőgazdasági technológiák, egyebek mellett korszerű vízgazdálkodási rendszerek alkalmazása.

**Valdemar Tomaševski (ECR), raštu.** – Dabartinė ekonomikos ir energetikos krizė pasaulyje ir Europoje gilina ir destabilizuoja pasaulinę maisto rinką. Šiuo atveju Europos Sąjunga ir jos valstybės narės turi pradėti geriau koordinuoti veiksmus, padedančius susidoroti su kylančiomis kainomis ir teikti paramą skurdžiausiems gyventojams ir šeimoms. Didėjančios kainos reiškia, kad žmonės negali sau leisti nusipirkti tiek maisto, kiek galėjo prieš kelis mėnesius, o mažas pajamas gaunantys namų ūkiai, taip pat ir Sąjungoje, susiduria su dar daugiau sunkumų ir išlaidų. Pirmiausia reikia pradėti nuo ES žemės ūkio maisto produktų gamybos rėmimo; tai yra remti mūsų ūkininkus, kad jie galėtų pagaminti daugiau maisto Europos rinkai. Svarbu, kad valstybės narės remtų ES ūkininkus, kenčiančius nuo didesnių gamybos sąnaudų. Tačiau tam reikia reformuoti ES žemės ūkio politiką ir padidinti finansinius išteklius žemės ūkiui. Taip pat reikia galų gale sustabdyti ūkininkų iš naujųjų valstybių narių diskriminaciją, o išmokos už hektarą visoje Sąjungoje turi būti sulygintos. Tokiu būdu skatinsime tokių šalių kaip Lietuva ūkininkus didinti pasėlius ir žemės ūkio produkciją. Taip pat reikia nukrypti nuo tam tikrų BŽŪP reikalavimų, pavyzdžiui, nuo žemės atidėjimo. Šiandieninėje situacijoje žemės pūdymas nėra reikalingas. Nepamirškime, kad krizės metu Sąjunga turi pradėti labiausiai nepasiturintiems gyventojams.

Streda 19. októbra 2022

## 20. Vysvetlenia hlasovania

**Sēdes vadītājs.** – Nākamais darba kārtības jautājums:

Balsojumu skaidrojumi

### 20.1. Všeobecný rozpočet Európskej únie na rozpočtový rok 2023 – všetky oddiely (A9-0241/2022 – Nicolae Ștefănuță, Niclas Herbst)

Mutiski balsojumu skaidrojumi

**Miriam Lexmann (PPE).** – Mr President, dear colleagues, I co-sign and support the general budget amendment concerning the Commission's financing of a campaign promoting the hijab. I supported this amendment two weeks ago. I supported it today. And I should and I, should it be necessary, will support it again.

I find it perplexing that the Union's budget, our taxpayers' money, is used to finance a campaign that trivialises the mandatory veiling, and especially today, at a time when the women of Iran are fighting for freedom and dignity. Let me, however, also express my disappointment at those in this House who so often speak about the right to choose and yet shamefully voted against this amendment.

If we truly support women's right to choose, then we should firmly say 'no' to mandatory veiling and not fund programmes that trivialise it. It is both a question of defending human dignity and the values on which our society is founded on.

**Manon Aubry (The Left).** – Monsieur le Président, imaginez un instant que chaque Européen reçoive un chèque de 300 euros pour faire face à l'explosion des prix et sortir la tête de l'eau. 300 euros par personne, cela paraît trop beau pour être vrai et pourtant, de l'argent, il y en a, il suffit d'aller le chercher. 300 euros par Européen, c'est la somme que nous aurions pu donner en mettant uniquement à contribution ceux qui s'enrichissent le plus.

Mais cet argent, le groupe Renaissance, la droite et l'extrême droite ont, ensemble, décidé de le laisser dans la main des ultrariches en refusant de voter mes amendements au budget 2022 sur la taxation des transactions financières les plus spéculatives et sur une taxation des super-profits des grandes entreprises dans tous les secteurs, ce qui aurait rapporté 130 milliards d'euros par an.

En rejetant en bloc nos propositions, la droite et l'extrême droite ont donc, en réalité, volé 300 euros à chaque citoyen européen. Alors aux privilégiés qui s'assoient sur un tas d'or comme aux élus complices qui les protègent, j'ai envie de dire une chose: rendez l'argent.

**Stanislav Polčák (PPE).** – Pane předsedající, já jsem tento návrh rozpočtu podpořil, protože samozřejmě představuje schválení tohoto rozpočtu, určitou výzvu pro Parlament, jak najít uměřený rozpočet. Myslím si, že výsledné znění a schválené znění reaguje dostatečně na krize, kterým čelíme.

Je samozřejmě tento rozpočet vyrovnaný. Jistě víte, že Evropská unie nemůže takzvaně žít v tomto smyslu na dluh, něco jiného byla postcovidová obnova, kde byl přijat speciální program. Nicméně plnění našich cílů, ať jde o zaměstnanost, nebo digitalizaci, odstraňování rozdílů mezi regiony, digitalizaci jako takovou, inovace, tak to jsem přesvědčen, že tento rozpočet plní. Proto já jsem jej podpořil.

Zajímá mě ovšem, jak se bude nakládat s případnými tzv. novými penězi, které budou vycházet z inflačního růstu. Myslím si, že na to bychom se měli ještě v příštím roce zaměřit.

### 20.2. Udržateľné lodné palivá (iniciatíva FuelEU Maritime) (A9-0233/2022 – Jörgen Warborn)

Mutiski balsojumu skaidrojumi

Streda 19. októbra 2022

**Manon Aubry (The Left).** – Monsieur le Président, quel sens y a-t-il à voter ce texte sur les carburants maritimes soi-disant durables sans se poser plus largement la question des 10 milliards de tonnes de marchandises qui traversent le monde chaque année sur des porte-conteneurs ultra-polluants? Un iPhone, par exemple, parcourt 20 fois le tour de la Terre avant d'arriver dans nos mains. Une crevette pêchée en mer du Nord effectue 6 700 kilomètres pour arriver dans notre assiette, en passant par le Maroc, les Pays-Bas et l'Allemagne. C'est le résultat direct du tout libre-échange promu par l'Union européenne, qui fait venir de la viande du Brésil, des céréales du Canada et du lait de Nouvelle-Zélande.

De la même manière, à quoi bon débattre de la couleur du carburant qu'on met dans les grands bateaux sans s'interroger sur l'impact, notamment, des gigantesques paquebots de croisière qui ravagent les océans et polluent tour à tour Venise, Barcelone et Marseille?

Alors plutôt que de tenter de verdir un mode de transport qui restera toujours ultra-polluant, mettons fin au grand démenagement du monde et organisons la relocalisation de notre alimentation et de notre industrie, et même, dirais-je, de nos loisirs.

**Stanislav Polčák (PPE).** – Pane předsedající, já jsem tento návrh zprávy podpořil. Domnívám se, že představuje opět vítaný posun vpřed, protože námořní doprava zůstávala tak trochu mimo naše zorné pole. Spokojili jsme se s tím, že moře je volné a že na toto moře nemáme prakticky žádný vliv. Myslím si, že je proto dobře, že i Komise navrhla návrh nařízení, který ukazuje požadavky, které se v Evropě musí v tomto ohledu i na námořní dopravu vztahovat. Občané na to poukazovali, jak výrazně neekologicky se chovají různí provozovatelé námořních lodí. Počítá se snížením emisí i v námořní dopravě. Ta trajektorie je nastavená, myslím, podle tohoto nařízení správně.

Je důležité poznamenat, že samozřejmě v námořní dopravě je technologicky složitější dospět k nulovým emisím, to je nepochybné. Ale my se bavíme o tom, že se tyto emise rozhodně musí snižovat. Proto jsem tento návrh podpořil.

### 20.3. Zavádzanie infraštruktúry pre alternatívne palivá (A9-0234/2022 – Ismail Ertug)

#### Mutiski balsojumu skaidrojumi

**Stanislav Polčák (PPE).** – Pane předsedající, i tento návrh nařízení jsem podpořil, přestože jsem nehlasoval pro ukončení výroby spalovacích motorů od roku 2035 z řady dobrých důvodů, nicméně tento návrh podle mě jde samozřejmě správným směrem.

Pokud chceme podpořit užití alternativních paliv, ať je to vodík, elektřina nebo v určitém úhlu pohledu i SNG pokud je vyráběná z biomasy, tak je důležité, aby tato podpora těmto palivům byla také doprovázena rozvojem, masivním rozvojem a investicemi do infrastruktury, která bude zajišťovat využití a dostupnost těchto paliv. Všechny návrhy, které udělaly, řekněme, tu síť dostupnosti infrastruktury nebo činí tuto síť infrastruktury dostupnou, jsem podpořil, ať je to šedesát kilometrů na dálnici pro elektro nabíječky nebo sto padesát kilometrů pro vodík. Myslím si, že tento návrh jde skutečně správným směrem.

**Sēdes vadītājs.** – Tā kā mēs esam palikuši divi deputāti šajā jautājumā, mēs šo jautājumu beidzam. Tātad — balsojumu skaidrojumi ir beigušies.

### 21. Program nasledujúceho rokovanja

**Sēdes vadītājs.** – Nākamā sēde ir rītdien, t. i., ceturtdien, 2022. gada 20. oktobrī, plkst. 9.00.

Darba kārtība ir publicēta, un tā ir pieejama Eiropas Parlamenta tīmekļa vietnē.



Streda 19. októbra 2022

**22. Schválenie zápisnice z dnešného rokovania**

**Sēdes vadītājs.** – Šis sēdes protokols būs iesniegts Parlamentam apstiprināšanai rītdien, pēcpusdienas sākumā.

**23. Skončenie rokovanja**

*(Sēde tika slēgta plkst. 22.09.)*